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HISTORY
OF THE
POPPES,

FROM THE
Foundation of the SEE of ROME,
TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

VOL. II.

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*Heretofore Public Professor of Rhetoric, History, and Philosophy, in the
Universities of Rome, Fermo, and Macerata,
And, in the latter Place, Counsellor of the Inquisition.*

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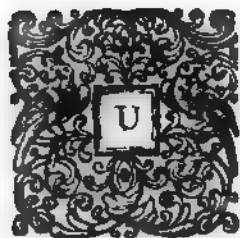
THE
HISTORY
OF THE
POPPES,
OR
BISHOPS of ROME.

THEODOSIUS II.

SIXTUS III.

VALENTINIAN III.

Forty-third BISHOP of Rome.



UPON the Death of *Celestine*, *Sixtus* the Third of Year of
that Name was chosen, with one Consent, in his Christ 432.
room^a. He was by Birth a *Roman*, the Son of one *Sixtus* chosen.
Sixtus, and in 418. a Presbyter of the *Roman*
Church^b. At first he favoured the *Pelagians*; but, First a
changing Sentiments, upon their being condemned Friend, and
by *Zosimus*, he became a most inveterate Enemy and Persecutor of all afterwards
who professed that Doctrine, insomuch that his Zeal seemed to an inveterate
exceed all Bounds, even to St. *Austin*^c, who was at the Head of the Enemy, of
the *Antipelagian* Party; and not at all remarkable for his Moderation. the Semi-
In the Year 430. he wrote a long Letter to *Nestorius*, exhorting pelagians.
him to yield to *Cyril*, as the only Means of averting the Evils, that

^a Prosp. chron. monum. etcl. Græc. per Cotell. t. 2. p. 44, 45.
Coll. c. 44.

^c Aug. ep. 191.

^b Prosp. in

Year of
Christ 432.

*He approves
and receives
the Council of
Ephesus.*

were ready to fall on him^d. But *Nestorius* was already too far engaged in the Dispute to follow his Advice. Soon after his Election he wrote to *Maximus*, who had been raised to the See of *Constantinople*, in the room of *Nestorius*, and to several other Bishops in the East, to let them know, that he approved and received the Council of *Ephesus*^e.

*He strives to
reconcile the
Oriental and
Egyptian
Bishops.*

He spared no Pains to reconcile the *Oriental* and *Egyptian* Bishops. The former, under *John* of *Antioch*, would not own *Nestorius* to have held heretical Doctrines, or to have been lawfully deposed; and the latter, under *Cyril*, peremptorily insisted on their condemning him as a Heretic, and signing his Deposition. It must be observed, that the Orientals did not maintain the Doctrine that was ascribed to *Nestorius*, but only that *Nestorius* held no such Doctrine: so that it was a Question *de facto*, and not *de jure*, that kept the contending Parties thus divided. *Sixtus* wrote a circular Letter to the Orientals, exhorting them to Peace and Concord: but as Peace and Concord were only to be purchased by signing the Condemnation and Deposition of *Nestorius*, his Exhortations had not the desired Effect^f. At last *Theodosius*, who was a weak and bigotted Prince, ascribing the bad

*The Emperor
interposes his
Authority.*

Year of
Christ 433.

Success of his Arms in *Africa* to his Neglect in procuring the Tranquillity of the Church, thought himself obliged to interpose his Authority. He wrote accordingly to the Heads of the Two Parties, *John* of *Antioch*, and *Cyril*, commanding the former to anathematize the Doctrine of *Nestorius*, and sign his Deposition; and the latter to anathematize his own Anathemas against *Nestorius*. *John* obeyed with great Reluctance: *Cyril* would not retract a Syllable of what he had said or written, during the Dispute. However, he condescended, in the End, to explain such of his Propositions as had given most Offence. With that Explanation *John* was, or pretended to be satisfied, and the Communion between him and *Cyril* was renewed^g.

*John of An-
tioch and
Cyril at last
reconciled.*

*The Orientals
divided
among them-
selves, some
of them ad-
hering to
their Patri-
arch, and
some to Ne-
storius.*

The Conduct of *John* was highly commended by some of his Party, but no less blamed by others. The former, finding *Cyril* unalterably bent on the Ruin of *Nestorius*, thought it would be no Crime to sacrifice one Man to the public Welfare, and the Tranquillity of the Church. But the latter, not Casuists enough to think Evil might be done, that *Good might come*, could on no Consideration be prevailed upon to abandon *Nestorius*, or own him guilty: nay, looking upon

^d Gennad. c. 54.
t. 3. p. 1087.

^e Concil. t. 4. p. 1178.

^f Cotel. ibid.

^g Concil.

Sixtus III. BISHOPS of Rome.

3

their Patriarch as a Betrayer of the common Cause, they met at *Anazarbus* in *Cilicia*, and there not only excommunicated anew, and deposed *Cyril*; but with great Solemnity pronounced the same Sentence against all who communicated with him. Having thus revolted from their own Patriarch, they wrote to *Sixtus*, giving him a particular Account of the irregular Proceedings of the Council of *Ephesus*, clearing *Nestorius* from the Calumnies of his Enemies, charging *Cyril* with heretical and impious Doctrines, and censuring, in the sharpest Terms, *John* of *Antioch*, for communicating with him, without requiring him to condemn the Doctrine for which he had cut him off from his Communion. This Letter was signed by the Bishops of *Syria Euphratensis*, of the Two *Cilicia's*, of *Bithynia*, *Thessaly*, and *Mæsia*^h; so that many Bishops of the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, though abandoned by their Patriarch, still continued to adhere to *Nestorius*, and thinking him unjustly condemned, stood up in Defence of his Innocence. The Answer of *Sixtus* to this Letter has not reached our Times; but we may well suppose it to have been intirely agreeable to those which he wrote soon after his Election to *John* and *Cyril*, commending them for sacrificing their private Animosities to the public Tranquillity, and approving their Agreement, as well as the Terms, on which they had agreedⁱ.

Year of
Christ 433.

The latter
write to Six-
tus in favour
of Nestorius.

The Patriarch of *Antioch*, greatly concerned to see his Authority thus scorned, and set at nought, by those of his own Patriarchate, wrote several Letters to the refractory Bishops, striving to convince them, that *Nestorius* had been justly deposed: but, finding that his Arguments and Reasons were of no greater Weight with them than his Authority and Example, he had recourse in the End to more effectual Means of convincing, penal Laws, and Imperial Edicts. Accordingly, at his Request, Two Edicts were enacted, commanding all the Bishops to be driven from their Sees, and sent into Exile, who should refuse to communicate with the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, or to sign the Condemnation of *Nestorius*. As these Edicts were executed with the utmost Severity, most Bishops complied. But *Alexander* of *Hierapolis* Metropolitan of *Syria Euphratensis*, and *Eutherius* of *Tyana* (A), Two of the most eminent Pre-

The Patri-
arch of An-
tioch recurs
to the secular
Power.
Year of
Christ 434.

Some Bishops
comply with
the Imperial
Edicts, and
condemn Ne-
storius;
others refuse
to comply, and
are banished.

^h Concil. append. per Baluf. p. 810—820.
Lirin. Common. c. 43.

ⁱ Concil. t. 4. p. 1177. Vincen.

(A) He wrote an excellent Treatise, which has long passed under the Name of

St. *Athanasius*, and was by *Photius* ascribed to *Theodoret*, but is quoted by *Marius Mercator*,

Year of
Christ 434.

lates at that Time in the Church, chose rather to lose their Sees, than to keep them at the Expence of their Consciences. *Alexander* was admired and revered for his Piety and Learning, even by the most sanguine of the opposite Party, who therefore left nothing unattempted to gain him over: but he was so fully convinced of the Innocence of *Nestorius*, and the Malice of *Cyril*, that neither his Friends could prevail upon him with Exhortations, nor his Enemies

cator, who lived at this very Time, as the Work of *Eutherius*. In that Piece the Author first enumerates the many Evils that were ready to fall upon those of his Party; Evils capable, as he expresses it, of affording a no less copious Subject for Lamentations than those which the Prophet *Jeremiah* formerly complained of. As it was urged against him, that *Nestorius* had been condemned by almost all the Bishops of the Catholic Church, he alleges several Instances to prove, that *the many* have often erred, that Truths have been often maintained, and supported, by *the few*; adding, that Numbers may indeed frighten, but cannot convince; that in receiving or rejecting a Doctrine, we ought not to be swayed by the Number, or by the Authority, of those who have rejected or received it before us, but merely by the Number or Strength of those Reasons on which it is grounded; that a Majority is not always owing to Conviction, but often to selfish and worldly Motives, and therefore, in most Cases, deserves very little Regard, if any at all; that, in the present Case, many have adhered to *Nestorius*, and thought him Orthodox, till, recourse being had to the secular Power, they found, that they must either condemn him as a Heretic, or be driven from their Sees into Exile. Were we to inquire what the Majority has been owing to in most Councils, we should find, that it was not to Conviction, but to very different Motives. And yet, in the Church of *Rome*, all are bound, on Pain of Damnation, to believe that Doctrine, which has the Majority on its Side. It is this Principle that *Eutherius* undertakes to confute, in the first Part of his Work, as inconsistent both with Reason and Facts. In the second Part he answers, with great Sense and Learning, the Reasons that some alleged

to deter People from reading the Scripture; and the very same as those, which are still alleged by the *Roman Catholics*, for the same Purpose. But *Eutherius* fully answers them, by shewing, that whoever reads the Scripture with due Humility and Attention, will there discover all that is necessary for him to know; that the Scripture is the Standard of our Faith; and that such as dissuade Men from so useful a Study, can have nothing else in view but to prevent, by that means, a Discovery of the Errors they teach. *Eutherius*, throughout the whole Work, speaks like a true Protestant; and, upon Protestant Principles, rejects the opposite Errors. From what he writes it appears, that about this Time the Study of the Scripture first began to be publicly discountenanced; so that we need not wonder, if, in this and the following Centuries, we shall see Truth almost intirely banished from the Church, and Error, attended by the most superstitious and idolatrous Practices, introduced in its room, and everywhere reigning, without Controul, till the Time of the Reformation, when the Study of the Scripture was again countenanced, and revived. The remaining Part of this Treatise *Eutherius* employs in clearing the Orientals from the Errors that they were charged with by the *Egyptians*, who adhered to *Cyril*, and in combating the Expressions used by him, and those who followed him. *Eutherius* was deposed, and confined to *Scythopolis* in *Palestine*, but removed from thence to *Tyre*, where he died (1). His Treatise, which every Protestant must read with Pleasure, is to be found in the second Volume of the Works of St. *Athanasius*, under the Name of that Father, and in the fifth Volume of the Works of *Theodoret*, published by Father *Garnier*.

(1) Concil. append. p. 886.

with Threats, to anathematize the one, or communicate with the other; nay, he used to say, that if the Dead should all rise up, and advise him to admit *Cyril* to his Communion, he would reject their Advice with Scorn, and still look upon him as a Heretic, unworthy of the Catholic Communion^k. Twelve more maintained, to the last, the same Sentiments; but they being deposed, and others more compliant ordained in their room, the Doctrine, or rather the Expressions of *Cyril* were universally received, and made Catholic; those of *Nestorius* were universally rejected, and he was condemned as a Broacher of Heresy. Thus were the Troubles, occasioned by the Quarrel between the *Oriental*s and *Egyptians*, composed at last, and the Church restored to her former Tranquillity, which however was but short-lived, as we shall soon see.

Year of
Christ 434.

*The Troubles
composed at
last.*

A long Letter from *Sixtus III.* to the Eastern Bishops, establishing several of the Papal Prerogatives, has been long received as genuine, and is quoted by *Bellarmino*^l, to prove, that Councils ought to be called by none but the Pope, *Sixtus* saying there, *The Emperor Valentinian has summoned a Council by our Authority*. But that Letter is wholly made up of Passages borrowed from the VIIIth Council of *Toledo*, from *Gregory the Great*, from *Felix III.* from *Adrian*, and from the *Theodosian* and *Justinian* Codes; and therefore evidently supposititious. *Sixtus* is supposed to have written it on Occasion of his having cleared himself before a Council, from the Charge of debauching a sacred Virgin. But the Acts of that Council are so manifestly fabulous, that even *Binius* and *Baronius* have been forced to give them up, though the Emperor *Valentinian*, whom the Acts suppose to have assisted at the Council, is there said to have referred the pronouncing of the Sentence to the Pope himself, *because the Judge of all ought to be judged by none*. It was, without all doubt, to establish this Maxim, that the Acts of this Council were forged, as well as those of the famous Council of *Sinuessæ*, which I have spoken of elsewhere^m. As for the Charge brought against *Sixtus*, it is indeed vouched by *Anastasius* and *Platina*, and those who have copied them, but not by any more antient, or more credible Writer (B).

In

^k Lup. divers. epist. c. 148. p. 80, 81, 82.

^l Bell. de Concil. l. 2. c. 12.

^m See Vol. I.

(B) To the Acts of this Council are supposed to have been given at *Rome*, on commonly added, those of the Judgment Occasion of an Appeal made to that See, by

Year of
Christ 434.
The Bishops
of Illyricum
attempt, in
vain, to with-
draw them-
selves from
all Subjection
to Rome.

Year of
Christ 435.

Churches said
to have been
repaired or
enriched by
him.

In the Time of *Sixtus* the Bishops of *Illyricum* made several Attempts towards the Recovery of their antient Liberty. They had borne the Yoke ever since the Pontificate of *Damasus*ⁿ; but as it grew daily more galling, they resolved in the End to shake it off, pleading a Decree of the late Council of *Ephesus*, by which it was enacted, That no Bishop should claim or exercise any kind of Authority or Jurisdiction over Provinces, which had not been from the Beginning subject to his See. *Sixtus* wrote on this Occasion Three Letters (C); and, partly by Menaces, partly by Exhortations, prevailed upon the *Illyrican* Bishops, unwilling to raise new Disturbances in the Church, to acquiesce, though the above-mentioned Decree had been signed by all the Bishops of the Council of *Ephesus*, and even by the Legates of his immediate Predecessor^o.

Sixtus is said to have built or repaired some Churches, and to have enriched others with magnificent Presents^p. Pope *Nicolas IV.* pretends, that he distinguished the Church of *St. Mary the Greater* with perpetual Indulgences^q. But it is certain, that the Name of Indulgence, as that Word is now commonly understood, was not known in his Time, nor many Ages after. Three small Treatises have long passed under the Name of *Sixtus*^r; but if they are really his, they must have been written before *Pelagius* and *Celestius* were condemned by *Zosimus*; for the Author, whoever he was, betrays a great Bias to their Doctrine.

ⁿ See Vol. I. p. 226, 227.

^p Bar. ad ann. 440. n. 5.
Pat. t. 5. p. 573. 656.

^o Cotel. ubi supra, p. 88. 90. Concil. t. 4. p. 115.

^q Bolland. 28 Martii, p. 16.

^r Biblioth.

by one *Polychronius*, said to have been Bishop of *Jerusalem*, and to have appealed from the Judgment of his Collegues in the East, to that of the Bishop of *Rome*. The Acts of this Judgment too have been long received as genuine, and often quoted to prove, that the Power of receiving Appeals, claimed by the Popes, has been acknowledged even by the Eastern Bishops; nay, one of the Popes, *Nicolas I.* appeals to them as genuine, in a Letter, which he wrote to the Emperor *Michael*. And yet that they are a mere Forgery, may be as easily as evidently made to appear. For that Judgment is supposed to have been given while the Emperor *Valentinian* was the Seventh time Consul with *Avienus*, that is, no fewer than Eleven Years

after the Death of *Sixtus*. Besides, it is manifest from the Acts of the Councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, that *Juvenalis* assisted at both as Bishop of *Jerusalem*; and the first of these Two Councils was held a Year before the Election of *Sixtus*, and the latter Eleven Years after his Death; so that *Polychronius* was not Bishop of *Jerusalem* in his Time: it may be even questioned whether there ever was a Bishop of *Jerusalem* bearing that Name; at least I can find none in the Catalogues of the Bishops of that City, that have been handed down to us.

(C) One of these Letters is dated the 8th of *July* 435. the other the 18th of *December* 437. the Third bears no Date.

Leo.

BISHOPS of Rome.

7

Sixtus died in the Year 440. and on the 18th of *August*, if he governed, as *Prosper* writes, Eight Years and Nineteen Days. He was buried, according to *Anastasius*, in the Church of St. *Laurence*, called *in Lucina*, which he had built; and is now honoured by the Church of *Rome* as a Saint, on account, perhaps, of his having supported, against the Bishops of *Illyricum*, the Claims and Pretensions of his See; for I know of no other extraordinary Merit that could have intitled him to that Honour.

THEODOSIUS II.
VALENTINIAN III.
MARCIAN,
AVITUS,

L E O,

MAXIMUS,
MAJORIANUS,
LEO THRACIUS.

Surnamed the Great,

Forty-fourth BISHOP of Rome.

LEO, surnamed *the Great*, was a Native of *Rome*, and not of *Leo*, before *Volterra*, in *Tuscany*, as the Pontificals make him; the Son of one *Quinctianus*, and, at the Time of his Election, Archdeacon of the *Roman Church*. When *Sixtus* died, he was absent in *Gaul*, whether he had been sent, either by *Sixtus* or *Valentinian*, to make up a Difference between the famous *Aetius*, the greatest General of his Time, and a Lord in that Country, of great Interest and Power, named *Albinus*. As the Western Empire was then at the lowest Ebb, being over-run by the *Goths*, the *Burgundians*, the *Franks*, and the *Hunns*, and governed by *Placidia*, and her Son *Valentinian III.* a Youth of no Experience, and very slender Parts, it was apprehended, that a Misunderstanding between these Two great Men might be attended with fatal Consequences: and to prevent them *Leo* was pitched upon as a Man of all others the most capable, by reason of his Eloquence and Address, of succeeding in such a Negotiation. He succeeded accordingly; *Aetius* and *Albinus* were reconciled, the Apprehension of the Evils, that their Disagreement was likely to produce, was removed, to the great Satisfaction of *Valentinian* and *Placidia*, and *Leo* honoured by both as the Angel of Peace, as the Deliverer of the Empire. When *Sixtus* died, he was chosen, though at so great a Distance from *Rome*, with one Consent, to succeed him, no one

* *Prosp. chron.*

* *Idem. ad ann. 441. Leo serm. 1.*

Year of
Christ 440.

presuming to stand in Competition with a Man of his Reputation and Merit. Upon his Return to *Rome*, which happened Six Weeks after his Election, he was received by the People and Clergy, with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy, and ordained the *Sunday* following, the 29th of *September* 440^t.

He applies
himself, with
great Zeal,
to the Func-
tions of his
Office.

From the very Beginning he applied himself wholly to the Functions of his Office, instructing the People committed to his Care by his Sermons, and the rest of the Christian World by his Letters. He thought the Preaching of the Word the indispensable Duty of every Bishop, and more especially of the Bishop of *Rome*^u. But that Duty has been, long since, almost intirely neglected by the Popes as well as by the other *Roman* Catholic Bishops, among whom there are very few who ever preach, or think it, as *Leo* did, a Part of their Duty

His Sermons. to preach. He preached Ninety-six Sermons that have reached our Times, of which Thirty-two are on the Fast of the Ember-Weeks, and Twelve on that of *Lent*. He is the first who mentions the former Fast, and the Institution of it he ascribes to *Moses*, pretending, in Opposition to the unanimous Decision of the Apostles, in the Council of *Jerusalem*, that the *Jewish* Precepts, with respect to Fasts, and several other Practices, are binding under the Gospel Dispensation^w: and it is upon this erroneous, or rather heretical Principle, that he excludes those from Orders who had married Widows^z.

His Letters. Of the many Letters he wrote 141 are still extant intire; and the Fragments of several others, calculated, for the most part, to revive the ancient Discipline, and banish the many Abuses that had crept into the Church; but he also enjoined some things not warranted by the Antients, and undoubtably contrary to the Terms of the Gospel. In a Letter which he wrote, about the Year 442. to *Rusticus* Bishop of *Narbonne*, he extends the Law of Celibacy to the Subdeacons, who nevertheless were not to abandon the Wives they had married, while in the inferior Degrees, but, changing the carnal into a spiritual Marriage, live with them, not as Wives, but as Sisters^y. This Law however did not universally obtain, even in the Suburbicarian Provinces, till long after *Leo's* Time; nay, some of his Successors, and among the rest, *Gregory the Great*, thought it very hard that Subdeacons should be debarred from all Commerce with the Wives they had married, or even from marrying^z. The contrary Prac-

He extends
the Law of
Celibacy, to
the Subdea-
cons.

^u Leo ep. 16. c. 7.
^y Leo ep. 2.

^w Leo serm. 1.

^z Greg. l. 2. Regist. ep. 42.

^w Idem serm. 16.

^z Serm. 19.

tice prevailed in *Gaul*, even in *Leo's* Time, as appears, from the Canons of the first Council of *Orange*; of the second of *Arles*, and of that of *Angers*, only forbidding Deacons to marry. In the same Letter *Leo* declares, that it is no Sin for a Clerk to give his Daughter in Marriage to a Man who keeps a Concubine, nor for the Woman, whom he marries, to live with him; and that a Man, who quits his Concubine to live with his Wife, is not guilty of Adultery. The Concubines spoken of here, were Slaves whom their Masters lived with, as with their Wives, without having any Commerce with other Women; and it was doubted, it seems, in those Days, whether their agreeing to live thus together, might not be deemed a true Marriage.

Year of
Christ 442.

The Letter which *Leo* wrote in 445. to the Bishops of the Province of *Vienne*, is no less remarkable, than the Occasion on which it was written. *Celidonius*, Bishop of *Besanzon*, being accused of having formerly married a Widow, and sentenced some Criminals to Death, while, being yet a Layman, he exercised the Office of a Judge; *Hilarius*, Bishop of *Arles*, and Exarch of the seven Provinces of *Narbonne*, a most strict Observer of the Ecclesiastical Discipline, as established by the Canons, assembled a Council, and the Charge being proved by several Persons of great Distinction, and other unexceptionable Witnesses, *Celidonius* was deposed by the unanimous Consent of all the Bishops, who composed the Assembly, and another ordained in his room. From this Sentence, which was, no doubt, agreeable to the Canons, he appealed to *Leo*, and, repairing to *Rome*, complained there of his having been unjustly condemned and deposed: the Predecessors of *Leo* had, but very lately, met with such a Check from the *African* Bishops, in pursuing their pretended Right of receiving Appeals, as had obliged them to give over, or rather to suspend that Pursuit^a; which, one would think, might have deterred *Leo* from engaging in a like Dispute with the *Gallican* Bishops: but he, no less intent than the most ambitious of his Predecessors, on the great Object, which they all had in View, the Exaltation of his See, readily embraced the Opportunity that offered, of founding the Disposition of the *Gallican* Bishops, and trying, whether he might not, in the same Attempt, meet with better Success in *Gaul*, than *Zosimus* and *Celestine* had lately met with in *Africa*. With this View, he not only received *Celidonius* with great Demonstrations of Kindness, but

He quarrels
with Hila-
rius, of
Arles.

Year of
Christ 445.

Occasion of
this Quarrel.

Celidonius,
deposed in
Gaul, ap-
peals to
Leo.

^a See Vol. I. p. 370, et seq.

Year of
Christ 445.

Leo admits
him to his
Communion.

Hilarius re-
pairs to
Rome.

He speaks,
with great
Liberty, to
Leo.

Consents to
hear Celido-
nius, in the
Presence of
Leo.

admitted him to his Communion; nay, and allowed him, in Defiance of the Judgment given against him in *Gaul*, to exercise the Functions of his Office in *Rome*: but he found the Prelates in those Parts no less jealous of their just Rights and Liberties, no less upon their Guard, against all Papal Encroachments, than the most zealous among the *Africans*. *Hilarius* had presided at the Council, and therefore, thinking it chiefly incumbent upon him, to oppose the irregular Proceedings of *Leo*, and maintain the Sentence pronounced by the Council, he no sooner heard of the Reception *Celidonius* had met with at *Rome*, than he set out, on Foot, for that City; and, performing on Foot the whole Journey, though it was then in the Depth of Winter, he equally surprised both *Leo* and *Celidonius* with his unexpected Arrival. Being introduced to *Leo*, after he had visited the Tombs of the Apostles and Martyrs, he addressed him with all the Respect that was due to the Bishop of the first City; but, at the same time, with all the Liberty of one, who, in every other respect, thought himself his Equal: he acquainted him with the Motives of his Journey; complained of the Reception he had given to *Celidonius*, who had been deposed in *Gaul*, and yet was allowed to discharge all Episcopal Functions in *Rome*; begged he would govern according to the approved and received Rules of the Church, and redress, at least, by a private Order, such an open Violation of the Canons. He added, that if he thought his Complaints just, it was to be hoped, he would take care to have the Evil speedily removed, on which they were founded; if he did not, that he should give him no farther Trouble, not being come to *Rome*, to engage in a Dispute, but only to pay his Respects to him; to inform him of the Truth; and to beg he would maintain inviolate the Canons of the Church, and suffer himself to be governed by them alone ^b.

Though *Hilarius* had declared, that he was not come to *Rome* to engage in a Dispute, which was, in effect, declaring that he did not acknowledge, in *Leo*, the Power of receiving Appeals, or re-examining a Cause determined elsewhere; yet he consented to hear, in the Presence of *Leo*, and some other Bishops, what *Celidonius* had to offer against the Judgment passed upon him by the *Gallican* Bishops. We know but very little of what was said, on either Side, at that Interview; and that little we know only from *Leo*, who assures us, that *Hilarius* behaved with great Insolence; that in the Transport of

^b Leonis op. per Quesnel, t. I. p. 744—754.

his Passion, he uttered things, that no Layman would have uttered, and no Bishop could hear; that he himself, was greatly concerned to see a Bishop thus exposing himself, and degrading his Character, but bore the Whole with great Patience^c. Had *Hilarius* given us an Account of what had passed on that Occasion, he had probably told us a different Story; at least, the subsequent Conduct of *Leo* leaves great room to question his boasted Forbearance and Patience; for, upon the breaking up of the Conference, without any Regard to a Man of *Hilarius's* Dignity and Character, he caused him to be seized, and kept under Arrest^d; an Instance of Violence, which *Rome* had not yet seen with respect to a Bishop, and in Matters, not of Faith, but only of Discipline. From *Leo's* own Account, it appears, that the insolent Behaviour, which he complained of in *Hilarius*, consisted merely in his maintaining, with the Freedom that became him, the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church; in his opposing the Encroachments of *Leo*; and in refusing to acknowledge his pretended Right of judging at *Rome* a Cause, which had been already judged in *Gaul*: for, giving an Account of what happened in that Interview, he taxes *Hilarius* with refusing to submit to *St. Peter*, and acknowledge the Primacy of the *Roman* Church^e; as if the Primacy included the Power of receiving Appeals, which it certainly did not, since all the Western Bishops owned the Primacy at this very Time, and not one of them such a Power.

Leo, notwithstanding the Remonstrances of *Hilarius*, appointed a Day for examining, and judging anew, the Cause of *Celidonius*: but before the appointed Day came, *Hilarius*, that he might not be obliged to appear, or be any-ways accessory to such irregular Proceedings, found Means to escape from his Guards, and travelling through By-roads, after a most painful Journey, arrived safe at *Arles*. *Leo* was so provoked at his Escape, that, out of Pique to him, he immediately annulled the Judgment of the Council, at which he had presided, declared *Celidonius* unlawfully deposed, cleared him from the Charge of having ever married a Widow, though proved by a great Number of unexceptionable Witnesses, and restored him to his former Dignity^f. He did not stop here; but in the Height of his Resentment declared *Hilarius* cut off from the Communion of the

Year of
Christ 445.

His Behaviour
on that
Occasion, how
represented by
Leo.

Leo causes
him to be
seized.

Hilarius
escapes from
Rome, and
returns to
Gaul.

Leo's irregular
and pas-
sionate Con-
duct on this
Occasion.

^c Leo ep. 10. c. 3.

^d Leon. op. t. 1. p. 744.

^e Leon. ep. 10. c. 7.

^f Leon. op. t. 2. p. 744. et ep. 10. c. 3. et 7.

Year of
Christ 445.

He cuts Hilarius off
from his Communion.

And strives
to discredit
him among
the Gallican
Bishops.

What Crimes
laid by Leo
to his Charge.

Apostolic See; deprived him of all Jurisdiction over the Seven Provinces; suspended him from ordaining any Bishop, or even assisting at the Ordination of any; and, to be more fully revenged on him, utterly suppressed the Dignity of Exarch, annexed to the See of *Arles*. Such Treatment did the best of Men meet with from the Bishops of *Rome*; when, prompted by Zeal for the Welfare of the Church, and the Observance of her Laws, they attempted to check their lawless Ambition and Encroachments. *Leo* carried his Resentments against *Hilarius* still farther; for, in order to discredit him among the Bishops of his own Diocese, who looked upon him as a true Pattern of every Christian Virtue, he wrote the Letter, which I have mentioned above, well calculated for that Purpose, but altogether unworthy of a Man of *Leo's* Character and Reputation: for, giving an intire Credit to every malicious Report he had heard, to the Prejudice of that excellent Prelate, he inveighs against him in the most bitter Terms, as one, who was a Disgrace to the Episcopal Order, and therefore deserved to be deprived, not only of the Power and Jurisdiction, which he had wantonly abused, but of the Dignity itself. To read *Leo's* Letter, so long as he speaks in general Terms, one would conclude the Bishop of *Arles* to have been guilty of the blackest Crimes; but when he descends to Particulars, it plainly appears, that his only Crime was, his *Rebellion against St. Peter*, and his *not acknowledging the Primacy of his See*, that is, his not suffering, out of Respect to *St. Peter*, his pretended Successors to exercise a despotic and tyrannical Dominion over the Churches committed to his Care: for the only things he charges him with, are, his having ordained some Bishops against their Will (B); his taking Delight in condemning Bishops, and excommunicating Laymen; his performing the Journey, when he visited the Diocese, with a Quickness and Expedition ill becoming the Gravity of a Bishop. From *Leo's* Words we should conclude, that he rid Post, were we not assured, by the Author of his Life, that he never travelled otherwise than on Foot: but the Charge

* Concil. t. 3. p. 1400. Leo ep. 9. et 10.

(B) This Practice obtained in several Places, and was never before found Fault with. *St. Austin* writes, that in *Africa*, when Men of eminent Parts and Virtue declined the Episcopal Dignity, to which they had been named by the People and Clergy, they were even kept in Prison till they accepted it (2).

(2) Aug. ep. 173.

against

Leo.

BISHOPS of Rome.

13

against *Hilarius*, on which *Leo* lays the greatest Stress, is, his having ordained a new Bishop, in the room of one of his Suffragans, named *Projectus*, who indeed lay dangerously ill, and, as was thought, past Recovery, but nevertheless recovered, and was re-established, or rather confirmed, in the Possession of his See^b. Of this remarkable Transaction not the least Mention is made by *Honoratus* Bishop of *Marseilles*, who was one of the Disciples of *Hilarius*, and wrote his Life. But, allowing the Fact to be true, many Circumstances, unknown to us, might have concurred to justify the Conduct of *Hilarius* on that Occasion. As *Leo* does not reproach him with performing that Ordination alone, or without the Consent and Approbation of the other Bishops of the same Province, which, as both were commanded by the Canons, he would certainly have done, had *Hilarius* failed in either, we may well suppose Two Bishops more, at least, to have been present, and the rest to have concurred with their Suffrages; and that I can hardly think they would have done, but on a very urgent Occasion, such an Occasion as sufficiently justified the Breach of the Canon forbidding Two Bishops to be ordained for one and the same See. However, that Breach *Leo*, blind with Passion and Prejudice, studies to exaggerate into an unpardonable Crime, maliciously suppressing, in order to set it out in the worse Light, the material Circumstance of the dangerous Malady, or rather approaching Death, as was apprehended, of *Projectus*: I said *maliciously*, because *Leo* could not be unapprised of that Circumstance.

Year of
Christ 445.

Leo maliciously represents some of his Actions.

In the same Letter he employs the whole Force of his Eloquence in displaying the Privileges, and magnifying the Authority, of the Apostolic See, roundly asserting that, upon Appeals from *Gaul*, his Predecessors had frequently reversed or confirmed Judgments given there. It were to be wished he had alleged one instance at least to confirm so bold an Assertion; but that was more than was in his Power to do, *Celidonius* being the first *Gallican* Bishop who ever thought of appealing from the Judgment of his Collegues in *Gaul*, to that of the Bishop of *Rome*. This *Leo* could not but know; but probably thought it no Crime in so material a Point to sacrifice Truth to the Exaltation of his See.

He sacrifices Truth to the Exaltation of his See.

He was sensible that little Regard would be paid to his Decrees by the *Gallican* Bishops, to that especially, which suppressed the Ex-

^b Leo ep. 10.

Year of
Christ 445.

He applies to
the Emperor,
of whom he
obtains a
Rescript,
establishing
his Authority
in Gaul.

What re-
quired of the
Gallican
Bishops by
that Re-
script.

archate or Primacy of *Arles*. In order therefore to prevent all Opposition, and establish at once his Authority in *Gaul*, he resolved to apply to the Emperor, and engage in his Favour the secular Power ¹. *Valentinian III.* was at this Time Emperor of the West, a very weak Prince, and therefore a fit Tool for a Man of *Leo's* Craft, Ambition, and Address. To him therefore he applied, and, having by many false and malicious Insinuations strangely prejudiced him against *Hilarius*, as a Disturber of the public Peace, nay, as a Rebel not only to the Authority of the Apostolic See, but to the Majesty of the Empire (for he stuck at nothing), he obtained the famous Rescript, vesting the Bishops of *Rome* with an absolute and uncontrouled Authority over the *Gallican* Churches and Bishops. It was addressed to *Aetius*, General of the *Roman* Forces in *Gaul*; and, under Pretence of maintaining the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church, *Valentinian* there requires the *Gallican* Bishops to pay an intire Obedience and Submission to the Orders of the Apostolic See; which he supposes (as had been falsely suggested to him by *Leo*) to have been ever practised till the Time of *Hilarius*; he commands all Bishops to hold and observe, as a Law, whatever it shall please the Bishop of *Rome* to ordain or decree; and strictly enjoins the Magistrates to oblige those, who shall be summoned to *Rome*, to obey the Summons. He adds, that as *Leo* has a Right to command what he pleases, with respect to the Discipline of the Church, there ought to have been Occasion for no other Authority but his own, to make all Men concur in executing the Judgment which he had lately given against *Hilarius*, whom he styles a Traitor, and an Enemy both to the Church and State, both to *Leo* and himself; nay, he imputes it to him as a Crime, that he had, by a bold and unprecedented Attempt, deposed some Bishops, and ordained others, without having first consulted the Bishop of *Rome* ^k. From this Rescript, which was undoubtedly dictated, if not penned, by *Leo*, as some have thought, it appears, that, notwithstanding his boasted Sanctity, he carried his Pretensions much higher than the most ambitious of his Predecessors had done; nay, that he aimed at nothing less than to have himself acknowledged as absolute Monarch of the whole Church. The preceding Popes had indeed claimed and exercised a far greater Power than was allowed them by the Canons; but yet that Power they pretended to derive from the Canons, as appears

¹ Leo ep. 10.

^k Concil. t. 3. p. 1401. Leo ep. 10.

from the long Dispute between them and the *African* Bishops, with respect to this very Point of Appeals now disputed by the *Gallican* Bishops *. But *Leo*, sensible that his Views were too extensive to be any-ways countenanced by the Canons, however misconstrued, had the Assurance to command, without any Regard to them, *all Bishops to observe as a Law, whatever it should please the Bishop of Rome to command*, and at the same time to declare, *That he had a Right to command what he pleased*; which was abrogating at once all Ecclesiastical Laws, substituting his own Will in their room, and assuming to himself, by that means, the sole Monarchy of the Church. His daring to go such a Length was owing to the Credit he had with the Emperor, both before and after his Elevation to the Popedom, and to the Weakness of that Prince, which, being well known to him, encouraged him to make an Attempt that would have been vain and absurd under one of a different Character. But throughout his whole Papacy he never failed to make the utmost Advantage he could of his Favour with the Emperors both in the West and the East, for the Advancement of the See of *Rome*; and in this his Example was followed, with all possible Care, by his Successors.

The Rescript of *Valentinian* has been often quoted by the Advocates for the See of *Rome*, to prove, that the Popes have ever exercised an uncontrouled Authority and Jurisdiction over the *Gallican* Church. For the Emperor, say they, by this Rescript, grants no new Privilege to the *Roman* See, but only confirms the Practice and Custom that had obtained, Time out of Mind. But the Authority of the Emperor can be of no Weight here, since the Emperor believed what *Leo* told him; and what he told him was certainly false, as I have shewn above. It is true, that *Celidonius* was restored, according to the most probable Opinion †, and *Importunus* driven out, who had been ordained by *Hilarius* in his room. But that was owing to the Imperial Rescript, not to *Leo's* Decree; for *Hilarius*, and with him the other *Gallican* Bishops, opposed to the last the Papal Encroachments, and could never be induced to acknowledge the pretended Power in the See of *Rome*, of receiving Appeals, and re-examining a Cause which they had determined. As for *Leo's* Decree, depriving the Church of *Arles* of its Primacy, it has been evidently shewn, by a learned Critic, that it never took place ‡.

* See Vol. I. p. 375. † Chifflet, t. 2. p. 115. ‡ Quesnel dissert. prima de S. Hil. c. 8, et 9.

Year of
Christ 445.
Hilarius
strives to ap-
pease Leo.

He writes
to him.

And sends
Deputies to
Rome to
soften Leo.

But all in
vain.

While *Leo* was using his utmost Efforts to bring *Hilarius* into Disgrace with the Emperor, and by that means compass his Ruin, the holy Prelate lay dangerously ill at *Arles*; and being greatly concerned to see a Man of *Leo's* Rank and Character abandoning himself thus to Passion and Revenge, he left nothing unattempted, he could think of, to appease him. He would not indeed yield to his lawless Ambition, and, out of a criminal Complaisance, give up the just Rights and Liberties of the Church committed to his Care and Protection, but strove, by all other lawful means, by all kinds of honest Submission, to allay his Resentment, and bring him to a more Christian Temper. He first wrote to *Leo*, clearing himself, in the most submissive and respectful Terms, from the many malicious and groundless Aspersions of his Enemies, which the Pope had credited, without giving himself the Trouble to inquire whether they were true or false, and charged him with as real Crimes. As *Leo* did not condescend to answer this Letter, the Bishop of *Arles*, actuated by a truly Christian Spirit, and mindful of the Command of our Saviour ^a, dispatched to *Rome* *Ravennius*, a Man of distinguished Merit, at that Time one of his Presbyters, and afterwards his Successor in the See of *Arles*, hoping, by his means, to remove the Prejudices which *Leo* had imbibed against him. But neither *Ravennius*, nor the Two Bishops *Nectarius* and *Constantius*, both Men of eminent Sanctity, whom the Metropolitan of *Arles* sent afterwards, with the Character of his Legates, to soften *Leo*, and incline him, if possible, to a Reconciliation, could make the least Impression on his obstinate Mind. He was unalterably bent on having his Authority acknowledged by the *Gallican* Church, without Limitation, as required by the Imperial Rescript, and would hearken to no other Terms till that was complied with. On the other hand, *Hilarius*, not caring to purchase the Favour of the Pope at the Expence of his Conscience, had strictly enjoined his Legates not to agree to any Terms that might prove in the least prejudicial to the Rights and Privileges which they enjoyed by the Canons, and of which he looked upon himself as the Guardian. With this Disposition on either Side the Legates were soon convinced, that it was impossible for them to succeed in their Negotiation. However, before they left *Rome*, they resolved to make one Attempt more, and try whether, by the Interest of some Man in Power, they might not prevail upon the Pope to relinquish his Pretensions, or, at

^a Matth. v. 23, 24.

least, to be reconciled to a Man, who opposed them, not out of any Disrespect to the Apostolic See, but merely because he thought them inconsistent with the Canons. Year of
Christ 445.

Of all the great Men at that Time in *Rome*, *Auxiliarius* seemed to them the most proper to be employed on this Occasion. He was Prefect of *Italy*, and had been formerly of *Gaul*, where he had contracted an intimate Friendship with *Hilarius*, of whose Virtue he entertained the highest Opinion. To him therefore they applied, and he, glad of the Opportunity that offered of serving a Friend, whom he so much valued, readily took upon him the Office of Mediator between him and *Leo*. But his Mediation proved unsuccessful; *Leo* could by no Reasons or Remonstrances be prevailed upon either to abate of his Pretensions, or admit *Hilarius* to his Communion, till he had owned the Power, which he said the *Roman* See had always enjoyed, and the most pious Emperors had lately confirmed, that is, an absolute Power over all the Churches of *Gaul*. *Auxiliarius*, grieved to find that his good Offices had not answered his Expectation and Wishes, wrote the following Letter to *Hilarius*, soon after his Interview with *Leo*: “As you look upon all transitory things
“with an Eye of Contempt, and are not capable of being elated
“with Joy, when they succeed, or dejected with Grief, when they
“miscarry; I need not, in writing to you, disguise the Truth,
“out of an Apprehension of disturbing the Tranquillity of your
“Mind.” He then acquaints him with the Disposition and Temper, in which he had found *Leo* towards him; and adds, “I see not
“the least Appearance of Pride or Arrogance in the Conduct of your
“Holiness; but Men cannot bear plain Truth, and are offended, if
“we speak our Thoughts freely. The *Romans* must be courted,
“and it is only by Condescension and Complaisance that they are
“to be gained. Could you bring yourself to that, you would lose
“nothing, but gain much by it. I therefore beg it as a particular Favour, that you would. A little Condescension on your Side
“will lay the Storm, and restore the wished for Tranquillity.” Thus *Auxiliarius*: But as *Hilarius* was better acquainted, than the Prefect seems to have been, with the Duty and Obligations incumbent on a Bishop, he thanked him for his Advice, but did not embrace it. On the contrary, he continued to the last steady and unalterable in his

Auxiliarius
employed to
mediate a
Reconciliation.

Leo inflexible.

Auxiliarius's
Letter to
Hilarius.

Hilarius's
Steadiness.

° Concil. t. 3. p. 1401. Leon. op. t. 1. c. 17. p. 744.

Year of
Christ 445.

*The Conduct
of Leo re-
pugnant to
all Princi-
ples of Mo-
rality and
Religion.*

former Resolution, chusing rather to die out of *Leo's* Communion, than be restored to it by yielding up to his Ambition the Rights and Liberties which had been trusted to his Care.

The Conduct of *Leo* on this Occasion was so remarkably scandalous, so inconsistent with all Principles of Morality or Religion, that the Church of *Rome*, which honours him not only as one of her greatest Popes, but greatest Saints, has thought herself obliged to employ some of her ablest Pens to excuse or rather disguise it. But that it was altogether inexcusable, may be easily made to appear: for, in the first Place, the Bishop of *Rome* had no kind of Right, even by the Canons of *Sardica* (C), and much less by those of any other Council, to the Power which *Leo* claimed, and at this Juncture exercised, over the *Gallican* Church. In the second Place, because the Bishop of *Arles*, out of a conscientious Regard to the Canons and established Laws of the Church, refused to acknowledge such a Power, *Leo* upon that Provocation alone, giving, or pretending to give, an intire Credit to every Report he heard to his Prejudice, without inquiring whether they were true or false, without leaving him room to clear himself, or allowing any one to speak in his Defence, condemned him as guilty, cut him off from his Communion, and, depriving him of all Authority and Jurisdiction, reduced the First Bishop of *Gaul*, so far as in him lay, to the State of a Layman. 3dly, In order to compass the Ruin of the innocent Prelate the more effectually, he applied to the Emperor, though he had imputed as a Crime to *Hilarius* his having had recourse (as he falsely supposed) in Ecclesiastical Matters to the secular Power; and, representing him not only as a Man of an insufferable Pride and Presumption, but as a Rebel to the State, brought him into Danger even of his Life; and this irreconcilable Aversion, this implacable Hatred, he maintained to the last, in spite of all the Submissions *Hilarius* could make, compatible with his Conscience and Duty, to appease him. Lastly, giving full Scope to his unbounded Ambition, and most egregiously abusing the Confidence which the young and unexperienced Prince reposed

(C) By the Canons of *Sardica*, the most favourable to the See of *Rome*, and fatal to the Church, that ever were made, the Pope was only impowered, upon an Appeal to him, to order the Cause to be re-examined, not at *Rome*, but in the Province, and by such of the neighbouring Bishops as he should name (1). But *Leo* claimed a Power of summoning Bishops to *Rome*, and judging their Cause anew there.

(1) See Vol. I. p. 121.

in him, he made him believe what he himself knew, and could not but know, to be false, and by that means surreptitiously obtained a Rescript, highly derogatory to the Liberties of the Church, utterly repugnant to the Canons of all the Councils, that had been held to that Time, and calculated only to establish the Papal Power on the Ruins of the antient Discipline, and all Ecclesiastical Laws. As for *Hilarius*, the Church of *Rome* herself has cleared him from the many Calumnies, with which *Leo*, and his other Enemies, strove to blacken his Reputation; for by that Church he is now honoured as a Saint of the first Class; nay, even *Leo* seems, in the End, to have acknowledged his Innocence; for speaking of him after his Death, he calls him *Hilarius of holy Memory* ^p; which was, in a manner, retracting all he had written against him.

The Jesuit *Papebrok*, convinced, on one hand, of the Innocence of *Hilarius*, but on the other, not daring to find Fault with *Leo*, pretends to justify both, saying, that the Metropolitan of *Arles* was guilty before *Leo*, but not before God, that is, in other Words, *Leo* believed him guilty, though he really was not. And was it excusable in *Leo*, to believe him guilty, to condemn him as guilty, upon the bare Testimony of his avowed Enemies, as he certainly did? Ought he not, in Conscience and Justice, to have heard both Parties, as he set up for a Judge, before he condemned or absolved either? Besides, it may be very much questioned, whether or no *Leo* did believe him guilty of the Faults, which he lays to his Charge, it being almost incredible, that a Man of his Sense and Penetration should not, at least, suspect the Truth of what he had heard against a Prelate of *Hilarius's* Reputation and Character from those only, whose Interest it was, as he well knew, to have him condemned.

The Zeal which *Leo* exerted against the *Manichees*, the worst of Heretics (D), might atone, if any thing could, for his unaccountable Conduct

The Manichees fly from Africa to Rome.

^p Leo ep. 50.

(D) As the Heresy of the *Manichees* made a great Noise in the Church for many Ages, and is much spoken of by the Fathers, it may not be improper to give a succinct Account here of the Author, or rather the Authors, of that Sect, and their Tenets. The first Principles of the *Manichees* were broached about the Middle of the Second Century, by one *Scythianus*, a Native of *Arabia*, who, observing many

Beings in the Universe, opposite to, and incompatible with one another, argued from thence, that the Causes, from which they proceeded, were, in like manner, opposite and incompatible. To prove this Doctrine, he wrote four small Books; the First styled, *The Mysteries*; the Second, *The Chapters*; the Third, *The Gospel*; and the Fourth, *The Treasure*. As he had but one Disciple, named *Terbinthus*, he travelled

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Conduct on this Occasion. The *Manichees*, who were still a very numerous Sect, flying from the Provinces, which the Barbarians had seized,

velled to *Jerusalem*, hoping to gain some Profelytes there, but died soon after his Arrival in that City (4). He was a Man of a sprightly Genius, and, though he had applied himself to Trade from his Youth, and by that means acquired great Wealth, he had not suffered himself, by his Application to Business, to be diverted from the Study of the *Greek* and the *Egyptian* Sciences; and is said to have addicted himself chiefly to the Study of Magic, at that Time in great Request all over the *East* (5). Upon his Death, *Terbinthus*, seizing his Books, and all the Gold and Silver he had brought with him, fled into *Persia*, and there took the Name of *Buddas*, lest he should be discovered by his true Name, and sued by the Widow of his deceased Master for the Effects he had seized. Among the *Persians* he passed for a Prophet, giving out, that he was born of a Virgin, and brought up among the Mountains by an Angel, who had instructed him in all the Sciences of the *Egyptians*: but having one Day ventured to enter into a public Dispute about his two opposite Principles, with the Priests of *Mithra*, or the *Sun*, he was by them so shamefully silenced, that, not presuming ever after to appear, he lived retired in the House of a Widow, and left to her, at his Death, both the Books, and the Money, of which he had defrauded his Master's Widow. The Woman seeing herself thus enriched at once (for *Buddas* left her very considerable Sums) she purchased a Slave about Seven Years old, named *Cubrichus*, gave him his Liberty, adopted him, and, grudging no Expence to have him well educated, and instructed in the Sciences and Philosophy of the *Persians*, she bequeathed to him the Books, and whatever else she possessed at the Time of her Death. *Cubrichus*, who neither wanted Parts nor Address, studied the Books, with the greatest Application; and, having made himself Master of the Doctrine

they contained, and improved it with many new Opinions of his own, he began to preach it in the City, where the King of *Persia* resided, that is, in *Seleucia*, or *Ctesiphon*. But first, to conceal his original Meanness, he took care to change the Name of *Cubrichus* into that of *Manes*, signifying, in the *Persian* Language, Speech, and alluding to the Talent, which he certainly had, of speaking well (6). And this is the Man, who became afterwards so famous, or rather infamous, by founding a Sect, which soon spread all over the Empire, had great Numbers of Followers, both in the East and the West, and kept its Ground for the Space of at least 700 Years, in spite of the utmost Efforts of the Temporal, as well as the Spiritual Power, combined to suppress and destroy it. His Doctrine was, at first, universally rejected with Indignation and Contempt, especially by the *Christians*; and, therefore, to render them the less averse to it, he began to mix some of their Doctrines with his own, styling himself, in his Letters, *Manes, the Apostle of Jesus Christ*; and sometimes, the Paraclet sent into the World to reform the Manners of Mankind, agreeably to the Promise which Christ had made to his Apostles (7). Having made his Escape out of Prison, to which he had been confined by the King of *Persia*, probably *Sapor*, for killing his Son, whom he had undertaken to cure, he fled into *Mesopotamia*, where he was so confounded, in a public Dispute with *Archelaus* Bishop of *Cascar*, or *Carra*, that he withdrew to a small Village on the River *Stanga*, with a Design to keep himself there for some time concealed: but as that Village stood within the Bounds of the *Persian* Dominions, he was seized there, and carried to the King, who, to revenge the Death of the Prince he had murdered, caused him to be flayed alive, his Body to be thrown to the Dogs, and his Skin stuffed with Straw, to be ex-

(4) Archelai Epif. contra Manet. disput. a Valef. edit. p. 94—96. Epiph. hæc. 66. c. 1. et 2. Socr. l. 1. c. 22. (5) Epiph. c. 3. Arch. p. 96. (6) Epiph. c. 4. hæc. Hieru. cat. catech. 6. Arch. p. 98. Euseb. chron. (7) Epiph. Arch. Cyr. ibid. Aug. hæc. 46.

seized, especially from *Africa*, after the taking of *Carthage*, in 439. Year of
by *Genseric* King of the *Vandals*, had repaired, in great Numbers, to *Rome*,
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posed to public View, on one of the Gates of the City, where it was still to be seen in the Time of *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, and *Epiphanius* (8). After his Death, *Arche-laüs*, having assembled all the Christians and Bishops in that Neighbourhood, with great Solemnity, anathematized him, his new Opinions, and all his Followers (9). Such was the End of the chief Author and Founder of the famous Sect of the *Manichees*.

As for the Tenets of this Sect ; 1. They held two opposite Principles, or Natures ; the one the Author of Good, whom they called *God* ; the other the Author of Evil, whom they styled *Satan*, but both eternal, immortal, and independent of each other, which was, in reality, admitting two Gods. They believed the Light in the Sun and the Moon, to be the Substance of God ; and, therefore, adored the Sun as the Throne of his Power, and the Moon as the Seat of his Wisdom (10). And it was in Opposition to that idolatrous Worship, that *Leo* endeavoured to suppress the Custom, that had long obtained among the Christians, of turning to the East when they prayed. He alleges two Reasons why it should be suppressed, and both worthy of particular Notice ; the first, because Men may easily pass from worshipping God in the Sun, to worship the Sun itself ; for he supposes some, who, in his Time, used to kneel down before the Sun, to have paid that Respect, not to the Sun, but to God in the brightest Work of his Hands. The second Reason he alleges is, because it is a wicked Profanation of the Worship of the true God, to use the same Ceremonies in worshipping him, that are used by the Pagans, when they worship their Idols (11). By the first of these Reasons, Images ought to be banished from all Places of Worship, at least for the sake of the gross and ignorant Vulgar, who may easily, and commonly do, pass from the worshipping of God, or our Saviour, in an Image or Statue, to worship the Image or Statue itself ;

and I may safely say, that among the *Roman* Catholics, there is scarce one in a thousand, who does not immediately address, in his Prayers, the Image itself, which is rank Idolatry. Of the Images of the Saints, and the Worship that is paid them, I shall speak hereafter. By *Leo's* second Reason, the far greater Part of the Ceremonies, used at present by the Church of *Rome*, are evidently condemned, as a wicked Profanation of the Worship of the true God, since most of them have been borrowed of the *Pagans*, as is notorious, and has been demonstrated, by an eminent Writer of our own Time (12). But to return to the *Manichees* ; they taught, that in a Combat between the good and the evil Principle, the former had been obliged to yield Part of its own Substance to the latter ; that the two Natures were mixed together ; and that to the Mixture of the two Natures, the Soul of Man owed its Origin ; inasmuch that each Man had two Souls, the one consisting of the Substance of the good Principle, the other of the Substance of the evil. The Particles of the good Nature were, according to them, in all the Beings of this Universe, mixed with, and chained to the Particles of the evil Nature ; such however, as happened to be in the Food, which they used, were, in being used by them, delivered for ever from so painful a Bondage. Thus was Gluttony, with them, a cardinal Virtue, and eating to Excess highly meritorious. They rejected the *Old Testament*, and some Parts of the *New*, especially the *Acts of the Apostles* ; pretending the *Old Testament*, by reason of the different Spirit that appeared in it from that of the *New*, to have been dictated by the evil Principle, and the *New* to have been, in many Places, interpolated and corrupted. They denied the Mystery of the Incarnation, maintaining Christ to have been born, to have suffered and died, only in Appearance. They acknowledged no Free-will, ascribing all sinful Actions to

(8) *Cyril*. *Epiph.* *Arch.* *ibid.* *Socr.* l. 1. c. 22. (9) *Arch.* p. 100.
hæc. 46. in *Fauf.* l. 5. c. 11. (11) *Leo* ser. 7. in *Natal. Domini*.
Middleton, in his *Exact Conformity between Popery and Paganism*.

(10) *Aug.*
(12) *Dr.*

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Rome, as to a Place of Safety. They did not publicly own their impious Doctrines; but, pretending to be Catholics, frequented the Churches;

the evil Principle, and to the good Principle all good Actions. They held the *Metempsychosis*, or Transmigration of Souls, believing, that even the Trees, Fruits, Herbs, and all other Vegetables, had Souls, by which they were rendered capable of Grief and Pain. Of this they thought the Juice, that issues from them, especially from the Fig, when first cut or gathered, and which they called Tears, a sufficient Proof. Upon this Principle, they condemned Husbandry and Gardening as sinful Professions; and used to say, that an Usurer was less guilty, than a Husbandman or Gardener. They seem to have entertained the same Opinion of a military Life, and to have held it unlawful to make War; for on that Score *Moses* was greatly blamed by *Faustus*, one of the most renowned Teachers they ever had: and yet the famous General *Sebastian* professed their Tenets; but he was, probably, only one of their *Auditors*, and not of their *Elect*. To Marriage they professed the greatest Abhorrence; and to the begetting of Children, because the Particles of the good Principle were, by Generation, more streightly united, according to their Doctrine, to the Particles of the evil (13). These were, so far as I have been able to gather from the Antients, the fundamental Principles of a Sect the most famous, after that of the *Arians*, of all that ever sprung up in the Church.

Their Sect consisted of two Sorts of Persons, viz. of their *Auditors*, or Hearers, whom they called *Catechumens*, and their *Elect*, who were thoroughly instructed in their Doctrine, and professed to conform their Lives to it (14). The latter were, by their Rule, to abstain from Wine, Meat, Eggs, Milk, and Fish. Had an *Elect* plucked up but one Blade of Grass, gathered a single Fruit or Flower, or pulled a Leaf off of a Tree, he had been imme-

diately excommunicated, had it been proved, and never re-admitted to their Communion. Such was their Institution. But *St. Austin*, who was one of their Auditors for the Space of Nine Years, declares, that he never knew one of their *Elect*, who had not been convicted, or at least suspected, of some Transgression; he adds, that he had himself informed against some of them, but that he could never prevail upon the rest to take the least Notice of his Information (15). They pretended to observe the Gospel in the literal and strictest Sense, not possessing Money, Houses or Lands; but if we believe *St. Austin* (16), though their Pockets were empty, their Coffers were full. As they held Marriage to be sinful, they preached up Virginity, acting, in that respect, more agreeably to Reason and good Sense, than their Opposers the Catholics, who, owning with the Apostles Marriage to be honourable in all, yet preached up Virginity, and decried Marriage, with as much Zeal as the *Manichees* themselves; nay, and excluded from it, in spite of the Apostle, great Numbers of the one and the other Sex. The *Manichees* had their sacred Virgins as well as the Catholics; and *St. Chrysostom* does them the Justice to own, that they observed a strict Poverty, that they kept their Fasts with great Rigour; and, what is still more, lived chaste and undefiled (17). The *Manichees* abstained from Wine, as I have observed above, calling it *the Gall of the Prince of Darkness*, but rioted, says *Austin* (18), in other Liquors, that had the same Effect as Wine; and in other Viands, says *St. Cyril of Jerusalem* (19), no less pleasing to the Palate, than those which they were commanded to forbear. Though it was a Crime with them to gather Fruit, yet they did not scruple to eat that which others had gathered, nor even to force others to gather it for them (20). They not only taught, that the Par-

(13) Aug. hæ. 46. et in Faust. per tot. Theodoret. hæ. fab. l. i. c. 26. Arch. p. 196—199, &c. (14) Aug. hæ. 4. (15) Aug. de morib. Manich.

l. i. c. 34. et l. 2. c. 19. (16) Aug. in Faust. l. 5. c. 5. (17) Chrys. de virg. c. 4. (18) Aug. de morib. Manich. c. 16. (19) Cyril. catech. 6.

(20) Cyril. ibid. Epiph. hæ. 66. c. 28.

Churches; assisted at the sacred Mysteries, and even received the Eucharist; so that they not only lived undisturbed, notwithstanding the severe Laws that had been enacted against them; but by an external

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ticles of the good Principle, in the Food they used, were redeemed by them from their Slavery, flying from their Stomachs up to Heaven; but held, that the same Particles, when used by others, were tied with a new and stronger Tie to the evil Matter.. Hence it was an unpardonable Crime with them, and a kind of Sacrilege, to let others have any Share of the Eatables, that were given to them; and, therefore, when they had eaten till they could not possibly eat any more, but were upon the point of regorging what they had eaten, they used to cram the Children, who were of their Sect, till they were ready to burst; nay, they were accused at *Rome*, of having forced some Children to eat, till they actually did burst (21).

The Laws or Rules which I have mentioned here, were only binding with respect to their Elect. As for their Auditors, or Catechumens, they were allowed to eat Meat, to drink Wine, to cultivate the Ground, and even to marry, if they chose it, but were, by all means, to avoid the begetting of Children, and the killing of any living Creature, let the Occasion be ever so urgent (22). Though the *Manichees* eat to Excess, by Principle; yet their Auditors, as well as their Elect, kept Two Fasts in the Week, the one on *Sunday*, in Honour of the Sun; and the other on *Monday*, in Honour of the Moon (23). They seem to have admitted Baptism; but did not look upon it either as a Sacrament, or a necessary Ceremony. The great and chief Mystery of their Sect was their Eucharist; and it was in celebrating the Eucharist that they committed the Abominations, with which the Fathers have reproached them. We might indeed suspect the Testimony of the Fathers, it being well known, that in declaiming against Heretics they were apt to exaggerate, and did not always scrupulously adhere to Truth.

But that the *Manichees* abandoned themselves, in the Celebration of their Eucharist, to the most impure and infamous Practices, is not only attested by them, but has been often proved by unexceptionable Witnesses, nay, and owned by themselves, before the civil Magistrates in *Italy*, in *Gaul*, in *Paphlagonia*, and in *Africa*. To that Mystery of Iniquity none but their Elect were admitted, and what passed on that Occasion was concealed with so much Secrecy from the rest, that *St. Austin*, tho' he had been Nine Years their Auditor, did not even know at what Time they used to celebrate their Eucharist, or in what Place (24).

As to their Hierarchy, they had, in Imitation of Christ and his Apostles, a College, consisting of Thirteen Elect, of whom Twelve were called the *Masters*, and the Thirteenth the *Chief*. By the Masters their Bishops were ordained, and their Presbyters and Deacons by the Bishops. The other Elect, as well as the Masters, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, were employed in instructing their Catechumens, propagating their Doctrine, and preaching it in the Countries, where it had not yet been received. *Manes* himself had Three famous Disciples, *Hermias*, *Addas*, and *Thomas*. *Hermias* preached his Doctrine in *Egypt*; *Addas*, called also *Adimantus*, in *Syria*; and *Thomas* in *India*. They were succeeded by others, who, being sent into different Countries, gained every-where, and even in *Rome*, considerable Numbers of Profelytes: insomuch that *Epiphanius*, who flourished about the Middle of the Fourth Century, speaks of the *Manichees* as a famous Sect, that had already got Footing in many Places (25). And thus much of the Origin, Tenets, and Practices of a Sect that has made, for so many Ages, so great a Noise in the World, and could brag of having once had among its Followers one of the brightest Lights of the Church.

(21) Aug. de morib. Manich. c. 16, 17. o. 17. in Faust. l. 20. c. 23. hæ. 46. collat. cum Fortunat. Manich. c. 25.

(22) Aug. contra Lit. Petil. l. 3.

(23) Aug. ep. 86.

(24) Aug. in

(25) Epiph. hæ. 66. c. 1.

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Appearance of an extraordinary Piety and Devotion, gained daily new Profelytes to their abominable Sect. There were *Manichees* in *Rome* when *St. Austin* went first to that City, that is, in the Year 383. for he lodged in the House of a *Manichee*, and most frequently conversed with those, who professed their Doctrine. However, they were obliged, even then, to keep themselves concealed, several severe Laws having been published against them before that Time (E).

§ Aug. confess. c. 5.

(E) *Julian* Proconsul of *Africa*, having informed the Emperor *Dioclesian*, that a new Religion, brought from *Persia*, countenanced the greatest Abominations, and thereby occasioned great Disturbances in the Province, the Emperors *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, by a Rescript dated from *Alexandria*, the last Day of *March* 290. commanded the leading Men among the *Manichees* to be burnt alive, and all their Writings with them; the Persons of Quality, who had embraced, or should embrace, their impious Doctrine, to be condemned to work in the Mines, and the rest to be all beheaded (25). *Valentinian* I. in 372. declared all Places confiscated, where the *Manichees* should meet to teach their profane Doctrine, ordering, at the same time, their Teachers, where-ever they should be found, to be punished with the utmost Severity (26). The Emperor *Gratian*, by a Law issued in the Year 379. granted to Christians of all Persuasions the free Exercise of their Religion, except the *Manichees*, the *Photinians*, and the *Eunomians* (27). In 381. *Theodosius* I. declared all *Manichees* infamous, and incapable of giving or receiving any thing by Will, even of inheriting their paternal and maternal Estates (28). This Law he confirmed the following Year, adding, that those who distinguished themselves from the rest by a particular Profession of Piety, meaning, no doubt, their Elect, should be punished with Death; and commanding them to be everywhere carefully sought for. In virtue of this Law, *Messianus* Proconsul of *Africa*

in 389. caused some, whom he had discovered, to be immediately executed (29). *Honorius* declared the *Manichees* in general Traitors to the State, and ordered them to be treated as such (30).

The *Manichees* were not only persecuted by the *Roman* Emperors, but by other Princes too, and with no less Severity. *Huneric*, the Son and Successor of *Genferic* King of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, caused great Numbers of their Elect to be burnt alive, and drove the rest out of his Dominions (31). They were very numerous in *Persia*, and in greater Repute there than the Christians, till the Reign of *Cabades*; and he too countenanced them at first; but the Christians having afterwards gained his Favour by a great Miracle, which they were supposed to have wrought, he began to persecute the *Manichees* with great Cruelty, and in the Year 525. made a general Massacre of all who were found in his Dominions to profess their Doctrine (32). They met with no better Quarter from the *Sueves* in *Spain*, from the *Franks* in *Gaul*, or the other Nations, that settled in the different Provinces of the Empire. And yet they were, tho' thus universally detested, abhorred, and persecuted, still a numerous Sect in the Beginning of the Ninth Century. The *Waldenses*, who sprung up in the Twelfth Century, were stigmatized by their Enemies with the odious Name of *Manichees*; but that their Doctrine was very different from that of the *Manichees*, nay, that it was altogether Orthodox, I shall shew in a more proper Place.

(25) Bar. ad ann. 287. n. 3.

Theod. l. 7. p. 120. Socr. l. 5. c. 2.

contra Lit. Petil. l. 3. c. 25.

Vitenfis de perfec. Vandal. l. 2. p. 17.

Misc. hist. l. 15. p. 458, 459.

(26) Cod. Theod. l. 3. p. 113.

(28) Cod. Theod. l. 9. p. 124.

(30) Cod. Theod. l. 35. p. 152.

(32) Cedren. p. 364. Zonar. l. 3. p. 49.

(27) Cod.

(29) Aug.

(31) Victor

But though they had lived, and exercised their Religion in *Rome*, undiscovered by other Popes, they could not long escape the Vigilance of *Leo*; for as he kept a watchful Eye over the Flock committed to his Care, he soon discovered, in some, an uncommon Depravation of Manners; and inquiring, with great Care and Application, to what it was owing, he found that there were *Manichees* in *Rome*, and that Part of his Flock was infected with their poisonous Doctrines. Upon that Discovery, he spared no Pains to find them out; and, being informed by some, whom they had attempted to seduce, where they assembled, he caused great Numbers of them to be seized, in virtue of the Imperial Edicts, and among the rest, their Bishop, and some of their Teachers. Having them thus in his Power, his first Care was, to learn of them their true Tenets, and the secret Practices of their Sect; which he had no sooner done, than he assembled the neighbouring Bishops, and those who happened to be then in *Rome*, with a great Number of Presbyters; inviting to the Assembly, even the Laymen of any Rank, the great Officers of the Empire, and the Senate. *Baronius* bestows on this Assembly the Name of a Council^r; but the Emperor styles it only *Leo's Audience*^s. Being all met, and in great Expectation, *Leo* ordered the *Elect* of the *Manichees*, that is, their Teachers and chief Men among them, to be brought forth. Great was their Confusion, when they first appeared before so grand an Assembly; but, being encouraged by *Leo*, they first owned their impious Tenets, their superstitious Practices, and discovered a Crime, which Modesty, says *Leo*, would not allow him even to name; but it was so fully proved, adds he, that the most incredulous were thoroughly satisfied it was true: for all those who had been concerned in that abominable Act, were present; viz. a Girl of Twelve Years old, the two Women who had brought her up, and prepared her for the Crime; the Youth who debauched her; and the Bishop, who presided at that detestable Ceremony, and directed it. All agreed, without the least Contradiction or Variation, in their Depositions; but the Act was so abominable in itself, says *Leo*, that we could hardly bear to hear it, nor can we relate it, without offending the chaste Ears of those who hear us. It appeared from the Confession, which their Bishop made openly, and gave in Writing, that they committed those Abominations chiefly on their Festivals. Of all that passed on this

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Are discovered
there by
Leo.

And many of
them seized
with their
Bishop.

Their abomi-
nable Myste-
ries, declared
by Leo, in a
grand Assem-
bly.

And owned
by them.

^r Bar. ad ann. 444.

^s Leon. op. t. 1. p. 426. et ep. 15.

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Some of them
converted,
others persist
in their Er-
rors, and are
banished.

Occasion, authentic Acts were drawn up, and sent by *Leo* into all the Provinces of the Empire, that they might serve for an Antidote against the abominable Doctrines of that Sect*. Some of the *Manichees*, whom *Leo* had caused to be arrested, abjured their Errors; and, having first performed the due Penance, were received by him into the Church. But against those who continued obstinate, the Imperial Laws were put into Execution, and they condemned to perpetual Banishment. They deserved, says *Leo*, a more severe Punishment; but to punish them more severely, was repugnant to the Spirit of the Church, and to that Lenity in which she places her chief Glory, abhorring to shed the Blood even of the most detestable Heretics†. How different the Spirit of that Church is now, those too well know, who have ever had the Misfortune to be any ways concerned with that Tribunal, of all that ever were heard of, the most cruel and sanguinary, the Tribunal of the *Inquisition*. But, even in *Leo's* Time, the Lenity of the Church was not so very remarkable, as much to be boasted; I do not mean with respect to the *Manichees*, whose Immoralities, if not exaggerated, deserved to be punished with the utmost Severity; but with respect to those, who for holding Opinions ever so harmless, but not intirely agreeing with the Doctrines then in Vogue, were stripped of all their Effects, driven from their Habitations, and condemned to perish for Want, in the Deserts, or the most inhospitable Places of the Empire. These Punishments, it is true, were inflicted by the Imperial Edicts and Laws, for the Church had not yet acquired any temporal Power; but they were procured (as is well known) by the Rulers of the Church, especially by the Bishops of *Rome*; and it was generally speaking, at their Request and Solicitation, that they were put in Execution. As several *Manichees* found Means to make their Escape from *Rome*, *Leo* took care to warn, by a circular Letter, all Bishops to be upon their Guard against them, to cause them to be seized, when discovered, and to prosecute them without Mercy, according to the utmost Rigour of the Imperial Laws‡. Those of that Sect, who had been apprehended in *Rome*, having been forced to declare who were their Bishops, who their Teachers, and their Elect, in the other Cities and Provinces, they too were all seized, and banished, with the rest, to the most distant Parts of the Empire. *Leo's* Zeal did not stop here, but applying to the

*Leo warns
all Bishops by
a circular
Letter, to be
upon their
Guard a-
gainst them.*

* Prosp. chron. *Leo*, ep. 8. et 15.

† *Leo*, ep. 8.

‡ *Leo*, ep. 8. Prosp. chron.

Emperor *Valentinian* III. who was then in *Rome*, and informing him of the wicked Doctrine, and abominable Practices of that Sect, obtained a Law, dated the 19th of *June* 445. confirming all the Laws enacted against them by his Predecessors, and commanding them to be treated as sacrilegious Persons, banishing them from the Cities, excluding them from all Employments both Civil and Military, declaring them incapable of giving or receiving any thing by Will or Testament, of suing any one at Law, or making any Contract; and ordering all Persons to inform against them, without being bound, in giving their Information, to observe the usual Forms of the Law^w. But the *Manichees* were so far from being retrieved from their Errors by the Severity of these Laws, that they gloried in them, as *St. Austin* informs us^x, and boasting that they suffered for the sake of Justice, the more they suffered, the more obstinately they adhered to the Doctrine for which they suffered. That *Leo* did not extirpate this wicked Sect, as his Panegyrist pretended that he did, is very certain; for, not to mention other Countries, where they were very numerous long after his Death, in the Latter-end of the Sixth Century, many, who professed their Doctrine, were discovered in *Sicily*, though one of the Suburbicarian Provinces, and immediately subject to the See of *Rome*, nay, on the very Lands belonging to that See, nor could *Gregory the Great*, notwithstanding the Pains he took, drive them quite out of the Island^y. In the Ninth Century their Doctrine obtained, almost universally, in the Two Provinces of *Lycania* and *Phrygia*, being greatly countenanced by the Emperor *Nicephorus*^z. But soon after his Death they seem to have failed of themselves, no farther Mention being made of them in History.

The Reader must have observed a wonderful Conformity, with respect to Abstinence from Meats, between the Elect among the *Manichees*, and the Monkish Orders. For some of them abstain by Rule, as the *Manichees* did, not only from Meat, and every thing that comes from Meat, but from all Sorts of Fish too, chusing rather to die than to taste any kind of animal Food, though prescribed as the best, and sometimes as the only Means of saving their Lives. The Abstinence of the *Manichees* was in some degree more rational than that of the Monks; for they abstained from such Food only, as

^w Leon. op. t. 1. p. 426, 427.
ep. 25.

^z Miscel. hist. l. 24. p. 779.

^x Aug. in Faust. l. 5. c. 1.
Zonar. t. 3. p. 100.

^y Greg. l. 2.
See Note (D).

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in their Opinion, proceeded from the evil Principle, to whom they ascribed a Dominion equal with that of God, or had in its Mixture a greater Number of the evil Particles than of the good; and was therefore held by them to be unclean. But, to believe that so many good things have been given us by God for our Use and Pleasure, yet think it criminal, as the Founders of some of the Monkish Orders have done, ever to use them, or meritorious constantly to abstain from them, is not only absurd and ridiculous, but wicked and blasphemous, since it can be only owing to a Notion highly injurious to God, as if he took Delight in vexing and tormenting his Creatures, or seeing them vex and torment themselves. Had they not better acknowledge, with the *Manichees*, a good and bad Principle, than thus transform, with their heathenish Notions, the good Principle into a bad one?

The Heresy
of Priscillian
revived in
Spain.

It was not against the *Manichees* alone, that *Leo* exercised his Zeal for the Purity of the Faith. In his Time the *Priscillianists*, of whom I have spoken elsewhere^a, were grown very numerous in *Spain*, the long Wars between the *Romans* and the Barbarians, who entered that Province in 409. having given them an Opportunity of propagating their Doctrine, without the least Check either from the spiritual or the temporal Power. When the Troubles were somewhat composed, *Turibius*, Bishop of *Astorga*, apprehending that the Church had suffered by the late Distractions, as much as the State, the better to inform himself of the Disorders that might have crept in during the War, undertook a Visitation throughout the Province. On this Occasion he discovered, to his great Surprize, the extraordinary Progress which the Doctrine of *Priscillian*, however infamous, had insensibly made in most Churches, especially in those of *Galicie*, which at this Time was subject to the *Sueves*. In some Places it was countenanced by the Bishops themselves; at least they could not be prevailed upon to join their Collegues in the vigorous Measures suggested by *Turibius* to suppress it. He therefore had recourse to *Leo*, giving him a particular Account of the Doctrine taught by the *Priscillianists* (F), and imploring his Assistance against the spreading Evil.

Turibius of
Astorga im-
plores the
Assistance of
Leo to sup-
press it.

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^a See Vol. I. p. 245:

(F) He reduces their whole Doctrine to the following Articles: I. That the spiritual Beings proceed from the Essence of God. II. That the Father, the Son, and

the Holy Ghost, are but one Person. III. That *Jesus Christ* is the Son of God, merely because he was born of a Virgin. IV. That all ought to fast on Christmas-Day,

Leo

Leo in his Answer commends the Zeal of *Turibius*; condemns the Doctrine of *Priscillian*, as impious and detestable; and declares all, who tolerate Heresies, no less guilty than those who embrace them. Agreeably to this, in the same Letter he approves of the Death of *Priscillian*, and some of his Disciples, formerly executed by an Order from *Maximus*, who had usurped the Sovereignty in *Gaul*^b. On this Letter of *Leo*, *F. Maimbourg* lays great Stress to prove, that Heresy is a capital Crime, and may be justly punished with Death^c; as if the Authority of *Leo* could counterbalance that of the Gospel, discountenancing all kind of Persecution, and recommending Mercy, even towards those, who rejected our Saviour in Person, because he came not to destroy Mens Lives, but to save them.

Indeed, the Crimes ascribed to *Priscillian*, and his Adherents, were such as merited Death from the Civil Laws, and were only more dangerous by being perpetrated under a Notion of Religion; so that the punishing them, in any manner, was not Persecution; but *Leo's* Doctrine extended to such religious Opinions, as, though erroneous, did not impel those who held them, to commit any Crimes, and with which therefore the Civil Magistrate had nothing to do: this is properly Persecution; and the want of attending to this plain Distinction, is what has sometimes led even good Men to favour that Practice, so contrary to Reason, and the Gospel of Christ.

Leo, with his Answer to *Turibius*, sent into *Spain* a circular Letter to all the Bishops of that Province, earnestly intreating, or rather commanding them, to assemble, without Delay, a general Council, or if that could not be conveniently done, at least a Provincial Synod, and there, by condemning the Doctrine of *Priscillian*, clear

Priscillian
anathema-
tized, and
his Doctrine
condemned by
Two Councils
in Spain.

^b See Vol. I. p. 245, 246.

^c Maimb. hist. du Pontificat de St. Leon, l. 1.

Day, and on *Sundays*. V. That the evil Spirits were never good; that they were not created by God, but formed out of the Chaos, and Darkness. VI. That Marriage is unlawful, and the begetting of Children highly criminal. VII. That our Bodies were formed by the Devil, and are not to rise from the Dead. VIII. That the Elect are born of Women, but conceived of the Holy Ghost. IX. That our Souls were created in Heaven, but confined to our Bodies, by way of Punishment for the Crimes they had committed. X. That

the Planets and Stars govern all things by an unavoidable Fatality. This Summary of their Doctrine was, by *Turibius*, extracted out of their own Books, and sent by him to *Leo* (1). In Practice they did not much differ from the *Manichees*, the same, or almost the same, infamous Mysteries being common to both; for, in the Tryal of *Priscillian* before the Emperor *Maximus*, it appeared, that he had countenanced all manner of Debauchery, that he had held nocturnal Assemblies of lewd Women, and that he used to pray naked among them.

(1) Conc. t. 4. p. 1737. Leon. op. t. 1. p. 460.

them.

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themselves in the Eyes of the World, from all Suspicion of their adhering to, or conniving at, his Errors. In Compliance with his Desire or Command, Two Councils were held, the one at *Toledo*, the other at *Braga*, then the Metropolis of *Galiccia*; and in both *Priscillian* was anathematized with his Doctrine, and all who received or approved it; Seventeen Articles were drawn up to be signed by all Bishops, on Pain of Deposition, and such Measures taken, at the Suggestion of *Leo*, as put an immediate Stop to the Growth of that Heresy, and would have utterly suppressed it, if they had been more steadily pursued^d.

The Doctrine
of Eutyches
begins to make
a great Noise
in the Church.
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Christ 448.
Who Eutyches
was.

But the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, which began about this Time to make a great Noise in the East, opened a larger Field for the Zeal of *Leo*, than the exploded Heresies of *Priscillian* or *Manes*. *Eutyches* was a Monk, and Abbot of a Monastery of 300 Monks, in the Neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, where he had led a chaste and continent Life, for the Space of 70 Years, as he himself declared in a Letter, which he wrote this very Year. He had even taken a Resolution of never setting his Foot out of the Doors of his Monastery, but upon the most urgent Occasions. He was, after *Cyril*, the most inveterate Enemy *Nestorius* had, and therefore one of that Prelate's chief Favourites; for to him, tho' no Bishop, *Cyril* sent, as a Token of his Friendship, a Copy of the Acts of the Council of *Ephesus*. He used to brag, that he was grown hoary in combating Heresies, and defending the Faith. When *Nestorius* first broached his Doctrine, he did not scruple to quit his Monastery, notwithstanding the Resolution he had taken to live ever shut up in it as in his Tomb, and repair to Court, in order to prejudice the Emperor, so far as in him lay, against the pretended Heresiarch. He was looked upon by those of his own Party, that is, by the *Egyptians*, and the other Enemies of *Nestorius*, and the Orientals, as a Man of extraordinary Sanctity; and, in the Instruction which *Epiphanius*, Archdeacon of *Alexandria*, sent to *Maximian* Bishop of *Constantinople*, he is styled, *The Holy and most Reverend Eutyches*^e. As to his Parts, he is said to have had little Knowledge, and to have been very slow of Apprehension. Pope *Leo* ascribes his Errors not to Malice, but Ignorance, styling him an *old, imprudent, and ignorant Dotard*^f; and *F. Petau* paints

^d *Leo*, ep. 15. *Leon.* op. t. 1. p. 459. *Concil.* t. 2. p. 1227. et t. 5. p. 837. * *Leo*, ep. 52. *Liberat.* c. 11. *Prosp. chron.* *Concil.* t. 4. p. 273—275. ^e *Leo*, ep. 24. 26, 27.

Leo.

BISHOPS of Rome.

3rd

him as a Man of a stupid and unsettled Mind &c. However, he seems to have been better acquainted with the Subtleties then in Vogue, ^{Year of Christ 448.} than most of those who opposed him.

As to the Doctrine he taught, it may be reduced to the Two following Heads: 1. That as there was but one Christ, so there was but, one Nature in Christ. 2. That this Nature consisted of the human and the divine Natures, become one by the hypostatical Union. This he maintained to be the genuine Doctrine of *Cyril*, and intirely agreeable to an Expression which that Father had frequently used, *The one incarnate Nature of the Word*. And truly it would be no easy Task to prove the Doctrine of *Eutyches* heretical, and, at the same Time, admit the Expression of *Cyril* as orthodox, which some have attempted to do, as we shall see hereafter. That the Soul of Christ had been created in Heaven, and had remained there till the Time of the Incarnation; that his Body was of a different Substance from ours, not taken of the Virgin *Mary*, but brought from Heaven; that Christ had been once a mere Man, but was become God, by being united to the Divine Nature; that the Divinity itself had suffered, and been crucified; were no Part of his Doctrine, but only Inferences drawn from it by his Enemies, and denied by him. He even admitted of Two Natures in Christ, the human and the divine; but these Two Natures, by being united, were, according to him, in an ineffable manner, become one, there being, as he often repeated, but one Christ, and not Two. His Meaning therefore was certainly orthodox; for he meant no more than that there was but one Christ; and this Catholic Truth he thought could be no otherwise maintained than by supposing, that the Two Natures were become one, in a manner which he did not comprehend, nor pretend to explain. But it was not his Doctrine alone, or rather his Expressions, that gave Offence; he was charged with speaking contemptuously of the Fathers, nay, with having called them Heretics, and having, on a certain Occasion, declared, that he did not take them, but the Holy Scripture, for his Guide; and that he was satisfied with studying the Scripture, without troubling himself about the Opinions and Sentiments of the Fathers. A heinous Crime indeed!

As *Eutyches* had greatly disoblged the Orientals, that is, the Bishops of the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, charging them with *Nestorianism*, ^{The Orientals declare against his Doctrine.}

8 Pet. dog. t. 4. l. 1. c. 14. b Concil. t. 4. p. 193. Leo, ep. 24, 25. 27. 59. 77.

rianism,

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And declare
it heretical.

The Egyp-
tians, in Op-
position to the
Orientals,
declare for it.

Domnus of
Antioch at
the Head of
the Orientals.

rianism, because they would not admit the Expressions of *Cyrl*, and had even procured from the Emperor *Theodosius* II. with whom he was in great Favour, an Edict, driving several of them from their Sees, and sending them into Exile, he no sooner began to teach his Doctrine, than they, all to a Man, declared against it. *Domnus*, the Nephew and Successor of *John* in the See of *Antioch*, put himself at the Head of the Party; and having assembled a Council without Loss of Time, it was there declared, with one Consent, that the Doctrine of *Eutyches* was the same with that of *Apollinaris*, and altogether incapable of being understood, or expounded, in a Catholic Sense. Before they broke up, to lessen the Credit of *Eutyches* at Court, they wrote to the Emperor, informing him of what had passed, and giving him a particular Account of the pretended Errors of the new Heresiarchⁱ. To this Letter the Emperor returned no Answer, nor did he take the least notice of the Charge it contained, ascribing it perhaps to what it may be but too truly ascribed to, a Spirit of Revenge.

In the mean time *Dioscorus*, the Successor of *Cyrl* in the See of *Alexandria*, hearing that the Orientals had declared against *Eutyches*, thought that a sufficient Motive to declare in his favour. For the ancient Animosities between the *Egyptians* and the Orientals still subsisted, and the latter had but very lately sided with the Bishop of *Constantinople* in a Dispute between him and *Dioscorus* about Jurisdiction. The Bishops of *Egypt* all ranged themselves under the Banner of their Patriarch, and with them a whole Army of Monks, zealous in the Defence of one of their own Profession, tho', generally speaking, utterly unacquainted with the Merits of the Cause. And thus, after a few Years of a very precarious and unsettled Peace, was War again openly declared between the Two rival Patriarchs and their Suffragans; a War, which did not end as the other Ecclesiastical Wars, which I have hitherto had Occasion to mention, in Councils only, and the Result of Councils, Curses, Anathemas, Depositions, Exiles; but in Slaughter and Bloodshed, one of the most eminent Prelates of his Age having lost his Life in the Quartel: and all this for Words or Expressions, in speaking of a Mystery, which neither Party understood, or pretended to explain.

The Heads of the Two opposite Parties, *Domnus* and *Dioscorus*, were but ill matched. *Domnus*, who had spent great Part of his

ⁱ Facund. l. 12. c. 5.

Life in the Desert, was a Man of a mild Disposition, and very slender Parts; had little Knowledge, less Resolution, and no Foresight to avoid Difficulties, or Address to extricate himself out of those which he could not avoid ^k. *Dioscorus*, on the contrary, was a Prelate of excellent Parts, of great Subtlety, Penetration, and Address, well versed in most Branches of Learning, and no less distinguished by an apparent Piety before his Elevation, than he was by an apparent Moderation for some time after it. *Leo* styles him, in one of his Letters, *a Prelate adorned with many Virtues, and enriched with the Gifts of the Holy Ghost*^l; and another very eminent Writer of that Time paints him as a Man, who despised all worldly Grandeur, and was wholly intent upon securing a Place for himself in the Kingdom of Heaven ^m. But he soon changed; or rather pulled off the Mask, when it could serve no End to wear it any longer, and swelled with Pride, in seeing himself raised to so high a Station, and vested with so much Power, he committed such Excesses in the Use of it, as procured him the Surname of *Dioscorus the Tyrant* ⁿ. As the See of *Alexandria* had been held for the Space of Threescore Years by one Family, that of *Cyril*, the Bishops had, by the Indulgence of the Emperors, the Connivance of the Governors unwilling to quarrel with them, and the Support of the Monks, and their own Relations, whom they had enriched with the Ecclesiastical Revenues, greatly encroached on the Secular Power, and made themselves in a manner Sovereigns of that City. But *Dioscorus* carried his Usurpations far beyond the Bounds, at which the most ambitious of his Predecessors, even *Cyril* himself, had thought it adviseable to stop. For without any regard to the Governors, who represented the Emperor, and acted in his Place, he imprisoned, fined, and even condemned to Banishment, all whom he disliked, or who seemed to dislike him. He began with the Relations of his Predecessor, whom he stripped of the immense Wealth they possessed, and reduced to Beggary, pretending they had been enriched with the Revenues of the Church, the Patrimony of the Poor ^o. And indeed this Charge seems not to have been groundless; at least *Cyril* gave Reason to think it was not; for by his Will he bequeathed a very considerable Sum to his Successor, conjuring him not to molest his Relations: and why should he have been under any Apprehension that his Successor would molest them, had he not

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His Character, and
the Character of
Dioscorus of
Alexandria,
who headed
the Egyptians.

His Pride,
Ambition,
and tyrannical Government.

He persecutes the Relations of
Cyril.

^k Concil. t. 4. p. 727. Bolland. 20. Jan. p. 308. ^l Leo ep. 11. c. 1. ^m Theodoret. ep. 60. ⁿ Concil. t. 4. p. 414. ^o Liberat. c. 10.

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*Applies to his
own Use what
was given
and designed
for the Sup-
port of the
Poor.*

*He treats the
Alexan-
drians with
great Cruelty.*

*Is supported
at Court by
the Eunuch
Chrysaphius.*

*Acts as So-
vereign of all
Egypt.*

known that the Wealth they were possessed of belonged, at least in part, to the Church, and might be claimed by his Successors? However that may be, while *Dioscorus* was thus prosecuting the Relations of *Cyril*, under Pretence that they had been enriched with what he called the Patrimony of the Poor, he was enriching himself with what truly was the Patrimony of the Poor: for a Lady of great Distinction, named *Peristheria*, having bequeathed a very large Sum to the Hospitals, and the Poor of *Egypt*, he seized the Whole for himself; nay, and caused the Corn, which was given yearly by the Emperor for the Support of the poor Christians in *Libya*, where no Corn grew, to be conveyed into his own Granaries; and there kept it, while they were starving, till a Year of great Dearth, when he sold it at most exorbitant Prices, without bestowing a single Grain on the Poor, for whose Use it was given. His Conduct, with respect to the People of *Alexandria*, was that of a perfect Tyrant; for he did not scruple, upon the least Provocation, to seize by Force on their Estates, to cause their Houses to be set on fire, their Trees to be cut down, their pleasant Gardens to be destroyed, and such of them as were most obnoxious to him, to be sometimes privately, and sometimes publicly, murdered by a Band of Ruffians, whom he kept constantly in his Pay; insomuch that had not *Theodorus*, then Governor of *Egypt*, from time to time, ventured to check him, and flattered the People with the Hopes of a speedy Redress, he would, in a very short time, have turned that populous City into a Desert. He was powerfully supported, at Court, by the Eunuch *Chrysaphius*, who had an intire Ascendant over the Emperor, and a large Share in the Spoils of the *Alexandrians*; and it was on that Consideration, that the Governor did not chuse to break with the Bishop; being sensible, that he would thereby hurt, if not intirely ruin, his own Fortune, without bettering the Condition of the People. However, by his good Offices in behalf of the Citizens, and his great Complaisance, and condescending Behaviour towards *Dioscorus*, he had the Satisfaction of saving the Estates, and even the Lives, of many, whom the cruel and avaritious Prelate had destined to Death or Beggary. *Dioscorus* was so elated with the extraordinary Deference and Respect the Governor paid him, that, blind with Pride and Ambition, he began to look upon himself as Sovereign of *Alexandria*, and King

¹ Concil. t. 4. p. 399—402.

² Concil. t. 4. p. 395—399.

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of all *Egypt*; insomuch that he caused those, who, upon the Death of *Theodosius* II. came to *Alexandria* to proclaim *Marcian* in his room, to be driven out of the City, for presuming to proclaim another Emperor in *Egypt* while he was alive. Thus much of the Character and Conduct of a Man whom I shall have frequent Occasion to mention in the Sequel, as the chief Author of the Disturbances I am to relate, and the Evils attending them. And now to resume the Thread of the History.

The Emperor, as I have related above, returned no Answer to the Letter of *Domnus*, and the other Orientals, charging *Eutyches* with heretical Opinions concerning the Incarnation. But, in the meantime, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dorylaeum* in *Phrygia*, being informed that *Eutyches* taught a new Doctrine, which had given great Offence to the Orientals, resolved to learn of *Eutyches* himself his true Sentiments; for, as to the Orientals, he knew them to be greatly prejudiced against him, and therefore capable of having been swayed, in censuring his Opinion, with Passion and Revenge. Pursuant to this Resolution, he had several private Conferences with *Eutyches*, who opened his Mind to him with great Freedom and Candor, not thinking that any Exception could be made against his Doctrine, by one who had defended *Cyril*, and opposed *Nestorius*, with so much Zeal as *Eusebius* had done. But, to his great Surprise, he found him so shocked at the bare Mention of *one Nature in Christ*, that, instead of allowing him room to explain or defend his Opinion, he began to treat him as a Heretic, and exhort him to abjure such an impious Tenet, lest, by obstinately defending it, he should involve both the Church and himself in endless Troubles. *Eutyches*, unmoved by his Exhortations, maintained his Doctrine to be the pure Doctrine of *Cyril*, and his Expressions to be intirely agreeable to the Expressions of that Father, which had been approved by the Council of *Ephesus*. *Eusebius*, finding his Exhortations and Remonstrances made no Impression on the Mind of *Eutyches*, resolved to apply to *Flavianus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and arraign him of Heresy at his Tribunal. *Flavianus* had assembled several Bishops to examine a Judgment that had been given by the Metropolitan of *Lydia*, against Two of his Suffragans. At that Assembly assisted *Eusebius* among the rest, who, rising from his Seat, when the Business was dispatched, for which

† Concil. ibid. p. 414, 415.

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Flavianus
unwilling to
receive the
Accusation.

But receives
it, and sum-
mons Eu-
tyches to ap-
pear before
the Council
then sitting.

He appears
and owns his
Doctrine.

they had met, presented unexpectedly a Memorial, requiring them to summon *Eutyches*, and oblige him to give an Account of his Faith, and answer the Charge of Heresy, which he was ready to prove against him. *Flavianus* was not a little alarmed at this Accusation. *Eutyches* was in great Credit at Court; *Chrysaphius*, the reigning Eunuch, professed a particular Friendship for him; the *Egyptians*, with *Dioscorus*, whom every Man dreaded, at their Head, had declared in his Favour; and the Orientals, who had condemned him in their Synod, were, on that very score, thought by the Emperor still to adhere to the Doctrine of *Nestorius*. Upon these Considerations *Flavianus* was for leaving the Orientals to pursue the Accusation they had begun, in what manner they pleased, without taking Part either with them against *Eutyches*, or with the *Egyptians* in his favour. He therefore pressed *Eusebius*, with great Earnestness, to drop his Accusation, or at least to defer it to a more proper Season, but to no Effect: *Eusebius*, in spite of all he could say, still insisted upon his Memorial being registred, and *Eutyches* summoned to give an Account of his Faith. *Flavianus*, finding him unalterable in his Resolution, complied in the End with his Request; and *Eutyches* was accordingly summoned to appear, on an appointed Day, before the Council, and there answer the Charge brought against him by the Bishop of *Dorylaeum*. He refused to obey the First and the Second Summons, pleading the Resolution he had taken, never to set Foot out of his Monastery; but complied with the Third, finding the Council was determined to proceed against him according to the Canons, if he did not, that is, to excommunicate and degrade him from the Priesthood. The Day appointed for his Appearance in the last Summons, was the 22d of *November*; and on that Day he appeared accordingly; but surrounded and guarded by a great Number of Monks, Officers, and Soldiers, not knowing to what Extremities the Fathers of the Council might suffer themselves to be carried by their great Zeal for what they called the Purity of the Faith. Being admitted, and examined on several Articles relating to the Mystery of the Incarnation, he returned such Answers to the Questions that were put to him, as fully satisfied the whole Assembly. But being at last pressed by *Florentius*, Metropolitan of *Sardes*, to declare, without Ambiguity, and in the plainest Terms, his real Sentiments concerning the Nature of Christ, he confessed, with great Can-
dor,

dor, that he acknowledged Two Natures before the Union, and but One after it. Year of.
Christ 448.

At these Words the whole Council was in an Uproar, and nothing was heard but Anathemas and Curses, each Bishop there present striving to distinguish himself above the rest, by being the foremost in uttering the most bitter and severe his Zeal could suggest. When the Tumult and Noise began to abate, *Flavianus*, addressing *Eutyches*, let him know, that unless he acknowledged two Natures after the Union as well as before it, and anathematized all who held the contrary Opinion, he should be obliged to proceed against him according to the Canons. *Eutyches* replied; that he believed Christ to be perfect God and perfect Man; that nothing more had been required by the Fathers of *Nice* and *Ephesus*; that he had read in *St. Cyril*, in *St. Athanasius*, and in the other Fathers, of two Natures in Christ, abstracting from the Union or Incarnation, but in none the least Hint that could countenance the Doctrine of the two Natures after the Union; but nevertheless that he was ready to confess them, should the Bishops of *Rome* and *Alexandria* desire or command it. This was plainly appealing to those two Bishops; but the Fathers of the Council, without taking the least notice of such an Appeal, no doubt because they did not think it worthy of their Notice, proceeded to the Sentence, and declared *Eutyches* fully convicted of having revived the Heresies of *Valentine* and *Apollinaris*, and therefore degraded from the Sacerdotal Dignity, cut off from the Communion of the Church, deprived of the Government of his Monastery; and all, who for the future should converse with him, were in like manner separated from the Communion of the Faithful. This Sentence was signed by 32 Bishops, and 23 Abbots.

Is anathematized by the whole Council.

Refuses to retract his Doctrine; and is condemned, and deposed.

Eutyches, seeing himself thus condemned by the Council, appealed from their Sentence to the Patriarchs of *Rome*, of *Alexandria*, of *Jerusalem*, to the Bishop of *Theffalonica*, and other Bishops, that is, to an Oecumenical Council. At the same Time, he wrote a long Letter to *Leo*, informing him of his having been condemned by the Council of *Constantinople*, which he ascribed to the Intrigues of his avowed Enemy, *Eusebius* of *Dorylaeum*, assuring him, that he held none of the Errors for which he had been condemned, but sincerely anathematized the Doctrine of *Valentine* and *Apollinaris*; and com-

He appeals to an Oecumenical Council, and writes to Leo.

Year of
Christ 448.

His Doc-
trine taught
by two Popes.

He applies to
the Emperor,
for the assem-
bling of an
Oecumenical
Council.

The Empe-
ror, unwill-
ing to assem-
ble a Council,
strives to re-
concile Euty-
ches and
Flavianus.

plaining, in the strongest Terms, of the Conduct of *Flavianus*, who he said, had condemned him, without allowing him to explain his Doctrine, or deigning to read a Confession of Faith, which he had presented to the Council. In the same Letter he not only owns his Opinion, without the least Dissimulation or Disguise; but alleges several Passages out of the Fathers, and some from two of *Leo's* Predecessors, *Felix* and *Julius*, to confirm it. The Words of *Julius*, as quoted by him out of one of that Pope's Letters, are as follows: *It must not be said that there are two Natures in Christ after their Union; for as the Body and Soul form but one Nature in Man, so the Divinity and Humanity form but one Nature in Christ*†. The very Doctrine of *Eutyches*. Indeed the Advocates for Infallibility will not allow that Letter to be genuine; but none of them have been yet able to prove it supposititious; and it is not at all probable that *Eutyches*, in writing to *Leo*, would have quoted a Letter of one of his Predecessors, who had lived but in the preceding Century, had he not known it to be genuine. At least *Leo* never reproached him with quoting Writings that were not genuine, but only with ignorantly misinterpreting the Fathers he quoted.

Eutyches could hardly believe, that *Leo* would condemn a Doctrine that had been taught, in the plainest Terms, by one of his Predecessors. However, not to depend intirely upon his Judgment, as he had great Interest at Court, he applied at the same Time to the Emperor, for the assembling of an Oecumenical Council. *Theodosius* had nothing more at Heart than the Peace of the Church; and no Prince was ever more ready to concur in the Measures, that were thought the most proper to produce or maintain it. But he knew by Experience, that the assembling of Councils was, of all others, the least proper for the attaining of so desirable an End; and therefore, notwithstanding the great Regard he had for *Eutyches*, he rejected, at first, his Request, being determined to try whether he could not, by some other Means, divert the Storm, which he saw, with great Concern, beginning to gather. The Means he chose was, to mediate a Reconciliation between *Eutyches* and *Flavianus*, and persuade the former to make some Submissions to his Bishop, and the latter to accept them, and restore *Eutyches* to the Government of his Monastery, and the Communion of the Church. With this View, he

† Lup. coll. c. 225.

sent a friendly Message to *Flavianus*, exhorting, and even condescending to beg him to be satisfied with the Symbol of *Nice*, without perplexing himself with Subtilties and Distinctions, concerning a Mystery, which he could not pretend to understand or explain. But *Flavianus* could by no Intreaties be prevailed upon to hearken to the Proposal; so that *Theodosius* was obliged, in the End, to have recourse to a Council; and accordingly, by a circular Letter, dated the 30th of *March* 449. he summoned all the Heads of the Dioceses in his Dominions to meet at *Ephesus*, on the First of *August*, each of them with Ten Metropolitans, and the like Number of other Bishops, under their Jurisdiction^u: so that the Bishops, who assisted at this Council, must in all have been 120, the Eastern Empire consisting, at this Time, of Six Dioceses, viz. *Egypt*, the East, properly so called, or the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, *Asia*, *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*: At the same time, the Emperor wrote to *Leo*, acquainting him with the Resolution he had taken of assembling an Oecumenical Council, with the Place and Time, at which it was to meet; and inviting him to it, in order to concur with his Brethren in examining a Difficulty, in point of Faith, that had been lately started. *Leo*, in his Answer to this Letter, commended the Zeal which the Emperor had shewn, on all Occasions, for the Purity of the Faith, and the Peace of the Church; but begged he might be excused from attending in Person, since the Affairs of his own Church required his Presence, and, besides, none of his Predecessors had ever assisted in Person at Councils held out of *Italy*. However, he promised to send Legates, who should act in his Name; and the Persons he chose for that Purpose were, *Julius* Bishop of *Puteoli*, now *Pozzoli*, *Renatus*, and *Hilarius*, the former Presbyter, and the latter Deacon of the *Roman* Church, and afterward his Successor in that See. These he styles, and it is the first Time the Pope's Legates were so styled, Legates *de latere suo*^w, that is, belonging to the Church of *Rome*, or under her immediate Jurisdiction.

Year of
Christ 448.

Flavianus
will hearken
to no Terms.

The Council
summoned.
Year of
Christ 449.

Leo invited
to it.

His Answer
to the Empe-
ror's Invitation.

Theodosius, having thus summoned the Bishops to *Ephesus*, dispatched thither *Elpidius*, one of his Privy Council, and *Eulogius*, Secretary of State, with an Order for the Proconsul of *Asia* to assist them, with all the Troops under his Command, in maintaining the public Peace, and keeping the City quiet, while the Council was sit-

The Instruc-
tions given by
the Emperor
to his Com-
missioners.

^u Concil. t. 4. p. 101—104.

^w Leo ep. 28.

Year of
Christ 449.

ting. Their private Instructions were, to assist at the Council, and suffer nothing to be transacted there rashly, and without due Deliberation; to take into Arrest, without Distinction, or regard to the Rank, such as should attempt to raise Disturbances in the Council; to oblige those, by whom *Eutyches* had been condemned, to be present at the Council, but not allow them to vote, since the Council was assembled chiefly to examine the Judgment which they had given; and lastly, to transmit to Court a distinct and impartial Account of every thing that should be proposed, debated, or transacted in the Council ^x.

*Leo condemns
the Doctrine
of Eutyches.*

In the mean time, *Leo*, being informed by *Flavianus*, of what had passed in the Council of *Constantinople*, highly approved of the Proceedings and Decisions of that Assembly, openly declared against *Eutyches*, condemned his Doctrine as heretical and blasphemous, and strictly enjoined his Legates, at their setting out for the East, to agree in all Things, and act in Concert with the Bishop of *Constantinople* whose Faith he knew to be orthodox. He answered that Prelate by a Letter, which is deemed one of the most valuable Monuments of Antiquity, and is thought to have contributed more than any thing else, to the great Fame and Reputation which he afterwards acquired. For he there explains at Length, and with all the Perspicuity the Subject can bear, the Doctrine of the Church, concerning the Mystery of the Incarnation, and alleges from the Scripture, and the Fathers, all that can be said to confirm it. This Letter was afterwards received by the Oecumenical Council of *Chalcedon*, and by all the Bishops of the Catholic Church; nay, in the Western Churches it was constantly read, during the Advent, together with the Gospel. The Council of *Rome* under *Gelasius* anathematized all, who should reject but a single Word it contained ^y; and *Gregory the Great* would allow none to be truly orthodox who did not admit the Definitions of the Four First Oecumenical Councils, and *Leo's* Letter ^z. It was received by the Council of *Apamea* about the Year 535. and styled, by the Fathers of that Assembly, *the true Column of the Orthodox Faith* ^a. Some even caused it to be read to them at the Point of Death, to shew that they died in the Faith of the Church ^b. But what Reception it met with from the present Council, we shall see hereafter.

^x Concil. t. 4. p. 108.

^y Concil. t. 4. p. 1263.

^z Greg. l. 5. ep.

^a Concil. t. 5. p. 101.

^b Vigil. Tapfenf. in Eutych. p. 83.

Leo wrote several other Letters on this Occasion, all bearing the same Date with that to *Flavianus*, the 13th of *June 449*. viz. one to the Emperor *Theodosius*, one to the Empress *Pulcheria*, one to the Abbots of *Constantinople*, and one to the Council c. These Letters were all calculated to prove the Doctrine of the two Natures, to confute the opposite Opinion, and to encourage those, to whom they were addressed, to contribute, so far as in them lay, towards extinguishing the Flame, which *Eutyches* had ignorantly kindled. For *Leo* constantly ascribes the Errors of *Eutyches* to his Ignorance; and speaks of him in his Letters, as a Man altogether incapable of understanding either the Catholic System, or his own. These Letters were all delivered to the Legates, who set out for *Ephesus* about the latter End of *June*.

Year of
Christ 449.
Several other
Letters written
by Leo, on
this Occasion.

Eutyches had not written to *Leo* alone, but, at the same time, to all the Bishops of the chief Sees in the West; and among the rest, to the famous *Petrus Chrysologus* Bishop of *Ravenna*: And that Prelate returned him the following Answer; That he was greatly surprised to hear of Disputes about a Point, that should no more be questioned than the Incarnation itself; that as to the Quarrel between him and *Flavianus*, he was not sufficiently informed to determine who was in the right, and who in the wrong, having heard but one Party; that if any thing relating to the Faith still remained undecided, the Desire he had of maintaining the Peace and Unity of the Church, engaged him to decide it jointly with the Bishop of *Rome*, and not by his own Authority alone; and therefore, he could only advise him to hearken, with Submission, to the Doctrine, which that Bishop had already declared in his Writings d. On this Letter some of the Advocates for the See of *Rome* have laid great Stress; as if *Chrysologus* had thought it unlawful, in any Case whatever, for a Bishop to judge in Matters of Faith, without the Consent of the Bishop of *Rome*. But surely, they can by no Prejudice be so blinded, as not to see, that *Chrysologus* speaks here, only with respect to the present Case; and that, in the present Case, it had been great Temerity in him, and contrary to the Union and Concord, that ought to reign among Bishops, to have set up for a Judge, or even to have delivered his Opinion, without consulting the first Bishop of the Catholic Church, who was near at hand, and to whom *Eutyches* had

Chrysologus's Answer to Eutyches.

c Leo, ep. 26, 27, 28, 29.

d Concil. t. 1. ante Concil. Chalced.

appealed, as well as to him. Besides, what Right had the Bishop of *Ravenna* to judge, without the Consent and Concurrence of *Leo*, and his other Brethren in the West, to whom *Eutyches* had appealed, a Cause that had been already judged and determined by a whole Council? *Leo* himself was an utter Stranger to the Doctrine which the Friends of his See endeavour to prove from the Letter of *Chrysologus*; for though no Pope was ever more jealous than he of the Authority of St. *Peter's Throne*, as he styled it, yet he never found fault with *Flavianus* for judging and condemning *Eutyches*, without either his Consent, or his Knowledge. I might add, that the Bishops of *Ravenna* were bound, on a particular Account, to act in Concert with, and in some kind of Dependence upon the See of *Rome*, since it was chiefly by the Interest of the Bishops of *Rome*, that their City was raised, about this very time, to the Rank of a Metropolis, and they vested with the Metropolitan Jurisdiction.

*The Council
meets at
Ephesus.*

The Council had been appointed to meet on the First of *August*, as I have related above; but they did not assemble till the 8th of that Month, when they met, for the First time, in the great Church, where the First Council of *Ephesus* had been held 18 Years before. They were in all 149, counting the Bishops who assisted in Person, and the Deputies of those, who did not. *Dioscorus* presided, by the Em-

*The Order in
which they
sat.*

peror's express Order, seated on a high Throne. *Julius* of *Puteoli*, the Pope's First Legate, held the Second Place; *Domnus* of *Antioch* was placed after *Juvenalis* of *Jerusalem*, and *Flavianus* of *Constantinople* after both. To the Deacon *Hilarius*, *Leo's* other Legate, and *Dulcitius*, Notary of the *Roman* Church, was assigned the last Place of all. As for *Renatus*, the Pope's Second Legate, he died in the Island of *Cos*, on his Way to *Ephesus*. *Flavianus*, and the other Bishops, who, jointly with him, had condemned *Eutyches* in the Council of *Constantinople*, were declared Parties, and, as such, excluded from voting in the present Council. This, however consonant to Justice, was contrary to the Practice of the Church; for *Alexander*, and the other Bishops of *Egypt*, who had condemned *Arius*, were nevertheless allowed to vote in the Council of *Nice*, assembled to examine their Judgment, and his Doctrine; and a few Years before, *Cyril*, and the Bishops of his Diocese, were admitted among the Judges of *Nestorius*, though they had already condemned him in a National Synod.

*Flavianus,
and the Bi-
shops of his
Party, ex-
cluded from
voting.*

The Bishops being seated, and the Emperor's Letter for the Calling of the Council read, according to Custom, *Hilarius* presented *Leo's* Letter to the Council, and *Dioscorus* ordered it to be received, and read. But the Notary, who was ordered to read it, not having immediately complied with the Order, and some Disputes arising in the mean time, it was laid aside, and no more thought of. Some of the Bishops, and among the rest *Julius* the Legate, were for examining in the First place, and settling the Point of Faith in Dispute; but it being carried by a great Majority, that *Eutyches* should be first heard, he was called in, and ordered to give an Account of his Faith. In Compliance with that Order, he presented a Confession of Faith, declaring, that he held the Doctrine of *Nice*, with that of *Cyril*, as approved by the Council of *Ephesus*, and sincerely anathematized *Manes*, *Valentine*, *Apollinaris*, *Nestorius*, and all who had been condemned by the Church, from the time of *Simon* the Magician, to the present. This Confession being read, *Flavianus* rising up, desired that *Eusebius* of *Dorylaeum*, his Accuser, might be likewise heard; and this Motion was seconded by the Legates. But *Elpidius* and *Eulogius*, who assisted at the Council in the Emperor's Name, let them know, that they had been called together, not to judge *Eutyches* anew, but those who had judged him; and therefore that their only Business was, to examine the Acts of the Council of *Constantinople*; which was done accordingly, without the least Disturbance, to the Seventh Session, where *Eusebius* of *Dorylaeum* was said to have presented *Eutyches* to acknowledge Two Natures in Christ after the Incarnation. But when that Passage was read, the same Tumult and Uproar was raised in the present Council, against *Eusebius*, for requiring Two Natures to be owned in Christ, as had been raised against *Eutyches* in the former, for refusing to own them; nay, and in part, by the same Prelates. Let *Eusebius* be burnt alive, they all cried out with one Voice; let him be cut asunder; as he divides, so may he be divided. *Dioscorus*, not satisfied with these confused Cries, desired, that those, who could not raise their Voices so as to be heard, should lift up their Hands, in Token of their concurring with the rest in anathematizing the Doctrine of the two Natures. His Voice, his threatening Mien, the Presence of the Soldiers, the Menaces of the Monks, who were more dreaded than the Soldiers themselves, and had surrounded the Place, where the Council was held, struck such a Terror into the whole Assembly, that, lifting up their Hands, they all

Year of
Christ 449.
Leo's Letter
to the Council
not read.

Eutyches
presents a
Confession of
Faith to the
Council.

Which is ap-
proved; and
all are ana-
thematized,
who main-
tained the
two Natures.

Year of
Christ 449.

Eutyches ab-
solved and re-
stored.

joined, as one Man, in crying out aloud, *Whoever admits of Two Natures, let him be anathematized, let him be driven out, torn in Pieces, massacred*. The Doctrine of *Eutyches* being thus declared *Orthodox*, he was not only restored, with one Consent, to the Communion of the Church, and the Government of his Monastery, but by all extolled with the most pompous and fulsome Encomiums on his Courage in daring to teach, and his Firmness in daring to defend, the true and genuine Doctrine of the Fathers; and on this Occasion, those distinguished themselves the most by their Panegyrics, who had most distinguished themselves by their Invectives before. I do not find, that either *Flavianus*, or the Legates, offered to oppose the Restoration of *Eutyches*, or spoke a single Word in Defence of the Sentence pronounced against him by the Council of *Constantinople*.

Flavianus,
and Eusebius
of Dorylæ-
um, deposed.

Dioscorus, finding the Prelates thus intimidated, and himself, through their Pusillanimity, absolute Master of the Council, thought this a favourable Opportunity of crushing at once all the Enemies of *Eutyches*, and resolved to use it. He began with *Flavianus*, and *Eusebius* of *Dorylæum*; and pretending that they had acted contrary to a Decree of the First Council of *Ephesus* (A), the one in accusing *Eutyches*, and the other in condemning him, he declared them both, in virtue of that Decree, anathematized and deposed. *Flavianus*, in hearing the Sentence, appealed from *Dioscorus*, saying, I *except against* you (*παραιτῶμαι σε*); and he said no more, but delivered his Appeal, in Writing, to the Pope's Legates ^h (B). *Victor* of *Tunes*, *Theodoret*, and *Leo* himself, write, that the Legates opposed the Deposition of *Flavianus* with great Intrepidity, and protested aloud

Hilarius, the
Pope's Le-
gate, protests
against the
Sentence.

against the Injustice of the Sentence ⁱ. But *Prosper*, *Leo's* Secretary, and the Acts of the Council, only take notice of the Opposition that was made by *Hilarius*, and of him they speak with the greatest Com-

^f Concil. t. 4. p. 188, 189.
p. 305.

^g Concil. ibid. p. 255.
ⁱ Concil. p. 39. 46. Theodoret. ep. 116.

^h Concil. t. 4.

(A) The Fathers of *Ephesus* only forbid any Symbol to be publicly made use of, besides that of *Nice*. But their Decree *Dioscorus* interpreted, as if they had forbidden any Article to be defined, that was not in express Terms contained in that Symbol.

(B) *Bellarmino*, *Davidius*, and *Lupus*,

make long Descants on this Appeal, pretending it was to *Leo* *Flavianus* appealed. But *Leo* himself supposes him to have appealed to an Oecumenical Council, since it was upon his Appeal, that he pressed the Emperor to assemble one (1); which he would never have done, had *Flavianus* appealed to him alone.

Leo.

BISHOPS of Rome.

45

Year of
Christ 449.

commendations, without ever mentioning the Bishop *Julius* ^k. The other Friends of *Flavianus*, well apprised of the Injustice of the Sentence, and unwilling to confirm it with their Suffrages, but apprehending, at the same time, the dreadful Consequences of their opposing, or any-ways disobliging *Dioscorus*, rose from their Seats, and, prostrating themselves before him, begged, in the most submissive Terms, that he would consider what he was doing, and not proceed to such Extremities, which they could not approve without betraying their Con-
sciences, and rendering themselves unworthy of the Rank they held in the Church. But the only Answer he returned to their Prayers and Intreaties was, that were his Tongue to be cut out, he would not order a single Syllable to be altered in the Sentence they had heard. As the Bishops, not satisfied with this Answer, continued in the same humble Posture, to intercede for *Flavianus*, *Dioscorus*, losing all Patience, started up unexpectedly from his Throne, and with a stern Look, and angry Voice, *What!* said he, *do you think to raise a Tumult? Where are the Counts?* meaning *Elpidius* and *Eulogius*, the Imperial Commissioners. The Counts, who were both present, upon hearing themselves called, immediately ordered the Doors of the Church to be set open; which was no sooner done, than the Proconsul of *Asia* entered, surrounded with a Band of Soldiers, and followed by a confused Multitude of the Rabble and Monks, some of them with Chains in their Hands, and others with Clubs and Stones, the usual Arms of that Militia. It is impossible to express the Terror and Confusion which their Appearance occasioned in the Assembly: some of the Bishops took Refuge behind the Throne of *Dioscorus*, while others either crept under the Benches, on which they were sitting, or strove to conceal themselves, the best they could, in the most retired Places of the Church; for the Doors were all well guarded, and no Bishop was allowed to go out. In the midst of this Confusion *Dioscorus*, raising his Voice, cried out, with an imperious Tone, *The Sentence must be signed: if any one objects to it, let him take care, for it is with me he has to deal.* At these Words the Bishops, trembling and pale with Fear, resumed their Places; when *Dioscorus*, and *Juvenalis* of *Jerusalem*, attended by an armed Multitude, carried about a blank Paper, and presenting it to each Bishop, obliged all to sign it. *Juvenalis* signed it the first, *Domnus* of *An-*

The other Bishops intercede for *Flavianus*.

The Soldiers, Monks, and Rabble, break into the Council.

The Terror and Consternation of the Bishops.

Dioscorus obliges all the Bishops to sign a blank Paper.

^k Prosp. chron.

tiach

Year of
Christ 449.

The Pope's
Legates re-
fuse to sign it.

Some of the
Bishops inhu-
manly beaten.

The blank
Paper, how
filled up by
Dioscorus.

Flavianus
treated with
great Barba-
rity.

Is sent into
Exile, but
dies on the
Road.

tioch signed after him, and the rest after *Domnus*, in the Order they sat, except the *Egyptians*, who were not required to sign till all the rest had, that they might have something to plead, in case, upon a Change of Affairs, they should be obliged to give an Account of their Conduct; and it was upon this Consideration that *Dioscorus* himself chose to sign the last of all¹. The Defection was general; for out of 149 Bishops, and their Deputies, not one was found, besides the Pope's Legates, who had the Courage to withstand the Menaces of *Dioscorus*, and his Satellites. They indeed stood up to the last, in Defence of *Flavianus*; nor could they by any Menaces be prevailed upon to follow the Example of the rest, declaring, with great Intrepidity, when threatened by *Dioscorus*, that they had rather suffer a Thousand Deaths, than it should ever be said, that he had been countenanced in his Wickedness by the Representatives of the Apostolic See^m. *Dioscorus* however spared them; but some other Bishops, who, animated by them, refused at first to sign the above-mentioned Paper, he caused to be inhumanly beaten; and one among the rest, for only pointing at the Soldiers, while he was upon the Point of signing, to declare, that he did not do it freely, but merely out of Fear. The Treatment these met with, so awed the rest, that they all signed, without betraying the least Reluctance or Scrupleⁿ; and then the Paper, to which they had all set their Names, was filled up by *Dioscorus* with the Charge of Heresy against *Flavianus* for acknowledging Two Natures in Christ, and with the Sentence of his Deposition for presuming to condemn *Eutyches*, in Defiance of an express Canon of the Council of *Ephesus*, because he acknowledged but One; which was there declared the true Catholic and Orthodox Doctrine. *Flavianus*, in hearing the Sentence read, excepted anew against *Dioscorus*; which so provoked that haughty Prelate, that he, and others of his Party, falling upon him, in a Transport of Passion, first beat him in a most barbarous manner, as it were in Emulation of one another, and then, throwing him on the Ground, trampled upon him till he was ready to expire; when *Dioscorus*, not thinking he had yet his full Revenge, ordered him to be carried, in that Condition, to Prison, and the next Morning, when he was scarce able to stir, into Exile. The Soldiers, appointed to attend him, dragged him as far as *Epipus* in *Lydia*, Two Days Journey from *Ephesus*; where

¹ Concil. t. 4. p. 113. Liberat. c. 12.
p. 939.

^m Concil. ibid. p. 39.

ⁿ Concil. t. 4.

he died of the Bruises he had received in the Council, Three Days before, and the Fatigues he had been forced to undergo in his Journey^o. He is now honoured as a Saint, by the Church of *Rome*; and his Festival is kept, with great Solemnity, on the 24th of *November*, at *Recanati*, between *Loreta* and *Macerata*, and at *Giulia-nuova* in *Abruzzo*, the former City pretending to have one of his Arms, and the latter the rest of his Body. Upon the Death of *Theodosius*, the Emperor *Marcian*, his Successor, caused the Body of *Flavianus* to be translated from *Epipus* to *Constantinople*, and to be deposited there in the Church of the Apostles: but of a Second Translation no mention is made by any credible Writer.

Year of
Christ 449.
Is honoured
as a Saint.

Hilarius, the Pope's Legate, terrified at the Treatment *Flavianus* met with in the Council, withdrew unexpectedly from *Ephesus*, before the Death of that Prelate, and, travelling only in the Night, and through By-roads, got safe out of the Reach of *Dioscorus*, who, as he suspected, was determined to treat him no better than he had done *Flavianus*, if he could by no other Means prevail upon him to consent to his Condemnation⁹. With *Flavianus* were condemned, deposed, and sent into Exile, the greater Part of the Orientals, and *Domnus*, their Patriarch, though both he and his Suffragans had, through Fear of forfeiting their Sees, signed the Condemnation of *Flavianus*, anathematized the Doctrine of Two Natures, and consented to every thing else, that *Dioscorus* had required of them. The Crime laid to their Charge was, their having formerly opposed *Cyril*, and lately *Eutyches*, whose Doctrine, it was pretended, they could not condemn as heterodox, without approving and admitting that of *Nestorius*, as Catholic and Orthodox. The Day after the Deposition of the Orientals, *Dioscorus* unexpectedly left *Ephesus*, and by his Departure dissolved the Council.

*Hilarius the
Pope's Le-
gate escapes
from Ephesus.*

*Many of the
Orientals de-
posed, with
their Patri-
arch, and sent
into Exile.*

*The Council
dissolved.*

This Council, though Oecumenical, and lawfully assembled, was never received, as the Reader may well imagine, by *Leo* and the other Bishops in the West; nay, they would not even allow it to be styled a Council, but stigmatized it with the Name of *Latrocinium Ephesinum*, the Name by which it is generally known, on account of the Violence, peculiar to Robbers, that was used there by *Dioscorus*, and those of his Party. *Facundus* Bishop of *Hermiana* in *Africa*, who

*This Council
never receiv-
ed in the
West.*

^o Concil. ibid. p. 403. Liberat. c. 12. Prosp. chron. ⁹ Leo, ep. 59. ¹ Libe-
rat. c. 12.

Year of
Christ 449.

The Deposition of Flav-
ianus con-
firmed by the
Emperor.

All condemn-
ed who held
the same Do-
ctrine, and
likewise their
Books and
Writings.

Leo assembles
a Council in
the West.

flourished In the Time of *Justinian*, alleges this Council, and that of *Rimini*, to shew, that there is no depending on the Definitions of Councils, when the Bishops, who compose them, are not free, but awed either by Princes, or their own Brethren^r. There are but very few, if any, Oecumenical Councils, whose Definitions can, by this Rule, be depended on. The Definitions of this Council were soon after declared null by that of *Chalcedon*; and *Leo* did all that lay in his Power to procure an Edict from the Emperor *Marcian*, forbidding it even to be mentioned, lest Posterity should know, that such a Judgment had ever been given, that such an Assembly, or Conventicle, as he styles it, had ever been held^s. However, *Dioscorus* and *Eutyches* had Interest enough at Court to obtain an Edict of the Emperor *Theodosius*, not only confirming the Condemnation and Deposition of *Flavianus*, and the other Bishops, but commanding all, who professed the same Doctrine, which he there supposes to be the Doctrine of *Nestorius*, to be treated in the same manner. By the same Edict, Persons of all Ranks and Conditions were forbidden, on Pain of perpetual Banishment, to harbour or conceal any, who taught, held, or favoured the Tenets of *Nestorius*, *Flavianus*, and the deposed Bishops; and the Books, Comments, Homilies, and other Works, written by them, or passing under their Names, were ordered to be publicly burnt^t. The good Emperor was utterly unacquainted with the Circumstances attending the Deposition of *Flavianus*; nay, the Friends of *Eutyches* and *Dioscorus* at Court, especially the favourite Eunuch *Chrysaphius*, concealed from him, with so much Care, every Circumstance that could any-ways prejudice him against the Council, that in the Height of the Disturbances, and universal Confusion, which reigned all over the East, and had been occasioned by the Condemnation of *Flavianus*, he wrote to the Emperor *Valentinian*, that, by the Deposition of so turbulent a Prelate, Peace had, in the End, been happily restored to all the Churches in his Dominions^u.

In the mean time *Leo*, being informed by his Legate *Hilarius*, who had escaped from *Ephesus*, of what had passed there before his Departure, assembled, without Delay, a Council at *Rome*, consisting of almost all the Western Bishops; and, with their Advice, wrote to *Theodosius*, in his own and their Name, complaining of the Violences that had been committed at *Ephesus*, and intreating him, in

^r Facund. 1. 12. c. 3. ^s Concil. t. 4. 674. ^t Concil. ibid. p. 864. Theodoret. ep. 140. ^u Theodoret. ep. ad Joan. Germaniciæ Epif. p. 702.

the Name of the Holy Trinity, to declare null what had been done there, and leave all things in the Condition they were in before the Council of *Constantinople*, till a greater Number of Bishops shou'd assemble from all Parts of the World, to give their Opinion concerning a Point, in which they were all equally concerned. He begs, that they may be allowed to assemble in *Italy*, since his Legates had protested against the Decisions of the Council of *Ephesus*, and to them *Flavianus* had delivered his Appeal. As he was not a Subject of *Theodosius*, but *Valentinian*, over whom he had a great Ascendent, he speaks, throughout his whole Letter, with great Freedom, of the Council of *Ephesus*, though approved by *Theodosius*; and even warns that Prince to be more upon his Guard against those, whose Interest it was to deceive him, because the Sins that were committed by Men acting with his Authority, would, on the last Day, be imputed to him^w. Not satisfied with writing to the Emperor, he wrote at the same time to the Empress *Pulcheria* his Sister; to the Clergy, Nobility, and People of *Constantinople*; to the Abbots of that City; to *Anastasius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, and to *Julianus* Bishop of the Island of *Cos*^x. In all these Letters he encourages, exhorts, intreats those, to whom they were addressed, to continue in the Communion of *Flavianus*, for he had not yet heard of his Death, to adhere stedfastly to the antient Faith, in Defiance of all the Powers combined against it, and to join him in defending the Truth, and combating, even at the Expence of their Lives, the opposite Errors. In his Letter to *Pulcheria*, who was greatly addicted to the See of *Rome*, and has therefore been sainted, he intreats her to employ all her Interest with the Emperor to obtain the assembling of an Oecumenical Council, and all her Authority to prevent the Evils, that would be otherwise occasioned by the War, which had been lately declared against the Faith of the Church, vesting her for that Purpose with the Legation of *St. Peter*. The Deacon *Hilarius* wrote likewise to the Empress *Pulcheria*, and in his Letter had the Vanity to brag, as if the vigorous Resolutions taken by *Leo* were chiefly owing to him.

Year of
Christ 449.

*Writes to the
Emperor for
the assembling
of an
Oecumenical
Council.*

*Writes to the
Empress
Pulcheria,
and several
others.*

Not long after *Leo* had written these Letters, the Emperor *Valentinian*, with his Mother *Placidia*, and his Wife *Eudoxia*, the Daughter of *Theodosius*, came from *Ravenna*, the usual Place of their Re-

*The Emperor
Valentinian, at
Rome.*

^w Leo ep. 40.

^x Idem ep. 41. 43, 44, 45. 47.

Year of
Christ 450.

Leo applies,
to him for the
assembling of
an Oecume-
nical Coun-
cil.

In his Grief
not forgetful
of the Dig-
nity of his
See.

sidence, to visit the Churches of the Saints in *Rome*, according to a superstitious Custom which began to obtain about this Time. They arrived in that City on the Eve of the Chair of St. *Peter*, a Festival, which was then kept, as it is to this Day, with great Solemnity, on the 21st of *February*. The very next Morning they went to perform their Devotions in the Church of that Apostle; and in entering it were received by *Leo*, attended by a great Number of Bishops, whom he had assembled from the different Provinces of *Italy*, to make, on that Occasion, a more grand and awful Appearance. He no sooner came into the Presence of the Imperial Family, than he burst into Tears; and when he began to speak, his Words were so interrupted with Sighs, as not to be understood by any that heard him. Having thus, like a skilful Orator, disposed the Emperor to hearken to him with Attention, and intirely gained the Two Empreſſes, who are said to have mixed their Tears with his, though they could not yet know why he shed them, he restrained for a while the Excess of his Grief, and addressing the Emperor with a more intelligible Voice, first represented, with his usual Eloquence, the great Danger the Church was in, and the Calamities she had Reason to apprehend from the Violences committed at *Ephesus*, and the Deposition of the holy Bishop *Flavianus*. Then resuming his Sighs and Tears, he conjured the Emperor and the Empreſſes, by the Apostle to whom they were going to pay their Respects, by their own Salvation, and the Salvation of *Theodosius*, to write to that Prince, and spare no Pains, since the true Faith and Religion were at Stake, to persuade him to declare null, whatever had been done by the unhappy Council of *Ephesus*, to restore *Flavianus*, whom he still believed alive, to his former Dignity, and refer the whole Affair to the Judgment of the Apostolic See. A modest Demand indeed! But he immediately added, that Bishops being allowed to assemble in *Italy* from all Parts of the World, he (the Pope) might hear them, and together with them, impartially examine every Step that had been hitherto taken by either Party. His Grief did not make him forget his own Dignity, or that of his See. For in the Close of his Speech he put the Emperor in mind of the eminent Rank he held in the Church; of his being raised above all other Bishops; and its being, on that Consideration, incumbent upon him, as *Flavianus* had appealed, to apply for the assembling of a Council. In Compliance with his Request, *Valentinian*, as well as

Leo.

BISHOPS of Rome.

51

the Two Empreſſes, wrote to *Theodoſius* before they left *Rome*, in-
treating him, by all that was holy, to agree to the aſſembling of an
Oecumenical Council in *Italy*, as the only means of healing the
Diviſions, which the violent and irregular Proceedings of the Council
of *Ephesus* had already occaſioned in the Eaſt, and would ſoon pro-
duce in the Weſt, the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the other Weſtern Bi-
ſhops, being determined never to acquieſce in the Decisions of that
Aſſembly; ſo that a general Schiſm would enſue, and an intire Sepa-
ration between the Eaſt and the Weſt, unleſs an Oecumenical Coun-
cil were quickly aſſembled. In all theſe Letters long Deſcants are
made on the Dignity and Pre-eminence of the *Roman* See; which
has induced ſome to think, that they were dictated by *Leo* himſelf.
And indeed the Sentiments are his; for he inſinuates them in ſeveral
of his Letters; but the Style comes far ſhort of the Propriety and
Elegance ſo remarkable in the Writings, which all agree to be his.
To theſe Letters *Theodoſius* returned no other Answer, than that he
had done already all that could be done, to procure and maintain
the Peace and Unity of the Church, which he had as much at heart as
they; that *Flavianus*, the Author and Fire-brand of the late Diſturb-
ances, having been depoſed, the ſo much wiſhed for Calm and
Tranquillity had, by that means, been reſtored to all the Churches in
his Dominions; and therefore as there could be no Occaſion for the
aſſembling of any more Councils, he begged they would lay aſide
all Thoughts of that kind.

Year of
Chriſt 450.

The Emperor
and the Em-
preſſes write
to Theodo-
ſius, and in-
treat him to
aſſemble an
Oecumenical
Council.

But in vain.

In the mean time ſeveral Biſhops, who had been aſſiſting to *Dioſcorus*
in the Violences committed at *Ephesus*, being informed of the Meaſures
that *Leo* was purſuing to procure the aſſembling of an Oecumenical
Council, which they well knew would give them no Quarter; and ap-
prehending from his Courage and Zeal, as well as from the great In-
tereſt he had not only with the Imperial Family in the Weſt, but like-
wiſe with *Pulcheria* the Siſter of *Theodoſius*, that he might prevail
in the End; began to abandon the Party of *Eutyches*, and make
ſome Overtures towards an Accommodation with the Friends of *Leo*
in the oppoſite Party.

Some through
Fear abandon
the Party of
Eutyches.

Of this *Dioſcorus* was well apprized, and therefore, as he was
himſelf a Stranger to all Fear, to ſhew how little he valued the Bi-
ſhop of *Rome*, and thereby inſpire with new Courage thoſe, whom

▪ Concil. p. 52. Liberat. c. 12.

Year of
Christ 450.
Dioscorus, to
encourage the
rest, excom-
municates
Leo.

Leo writes
anew to
Theodosius
and Pulche-
ria.

Dispatches
Four Legates
to the Court
of Constanti-
nople.

Theodosius
dies.

he saw inclined to draw back, he solemnly excommunicated *Leo*, in an Assembly of Ten Bishops, for presuming to judge anew, and annul what had been by the Eastern Bishops already judged, and finally determined. The Sentence was signed by the Ten Bishops, who all separated themselves from the Communion of *Leo*; much against their Will, says *Theodoret*; but *Dioscorus* was so dreaded by all, that not even his Friends had Courage enough to speak or act freely before him^a. Of these Proceedings *Leo* took no notice for the present; but steadily pursuing the same Measures, he wrote anew to *Theodosius*, notwithstanding the discouraging Answer that Prince had returned to *Valentinian* and the Empreses; and in that, as well as in the Letter which he sent at the same time to the Empress *Pulcheria*, he may be truly said to have omitted no Reason or Argument, that could possibly be offered to convince both, that it was absolutely necessary an Oecumenical Council should be convened without Delay, and that *Italy* was the most proper Place for it they could chuse^b. *Leo* was not satisfied with Letters alone; he dispatched, at the same time, Four Legates to the Court of *Constantinople*, viz. Two Bishops *Abundius* and *Asterius*, and Two Presbyters *Basilus* and *Senator*. Their Instructions were to acquaint the Emperor, by Word of Mouth, with the irregular and violent Proceedings of the Council of *Ephesus*, to which he seemed, and really was, an utter Stranger; and to inform him of the dreadful Effects it had produced in his own Dominions; for at this time a general Schism, occasioned by that Council, reigned in the East; the Bishops of *Thrace*, of *Egypt*, and *Palæstine*, siding with *Dioscorus*; and those of the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, of *Asia*, and *Pontus*, standing up in Defence of the Innocence of *Flavianus*.

This had proved a dangerous Legation, had *Dioscorus* been still in Power; but before the Legates reached *Constantinople*, *Theodosius* was dead, *Marcian* was declared Emperor in his room, and *Chrysaphius*, the great Friend and Supporter of *Eutyches* and his Party, publicly executed. As *Theodosius* left no Issue Male behind him, his Sister *Pulcheria*, who had shared the Sovereignty with him, and bore the Title of *Augusta*, during his Life, remained by his Death sole Mistress of the Empire; and no Person was more capable of governing it well. However, as no Woman had yet reigned alone in either

^a Concil. t. 4. p. 398. Lupi notæ in Can. t. 1. p. 893, 894. et 54.

^b Leo ep. 52.

Year of
Christ 450.

Empire, she thought it advisable to marry, notwithstanding the Resolution she had taken to continue a Virgin to her Death; and the Person she chose for her Husband was *Marcian*, a Man of extraordinary Qualifications, though descended from a Family of no great Distinction. To him therefore she was married, after he had, at her Request, solemnly promised to suffer her, agreeably to the Resolution she had taken, to live and die a Virgin. As *Pulcheria* was greatly attached to the See of *Rome*, and had a particular Veneration for *Leo*, the new Emperor, out of Complaisance to her, not only received his Legates with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem, but wrote him a most obliging Letter to acquaint him with his Accession to the Imperial Throne, to implore the Assistance of his Prayers, and assure him, that he had nothing so much at Heart as the Unity of the Church, and the Extirpation of Heresies; and that, in order to procure the one and the other, he was determined to assemble an Oecumenical Council, of which the Bishop of *Rome*, whom he styles the First Bishop, should be absolute Master^c. Not long after he wrote anew to *Leo*, inviting him into the East to assist in Person at the Council, which he proposed to assemble, and desiring him, if he did not care to undertake such a Journey, to acquaint him with it, that he might summon all the Bishops in his Dominions to meet at the Place, which *Leo* should chuse^d. Thus wrote *Marcian*, says *Baronius*^e, well knowing, that it is by the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* alone that Oecumenical Councils can be lawfully assembled. I should be glad to know what Records helped *Marcian* to that Knowledge. It would puzzle *Baronius* to point them out, nothing being better known, nothing more certain, if there is any Truth in History, than that all the Oecumenical Councils held till *Marcian's* time in the Church, were assembled by the Imperial Authority, and not by the Papal. To deny, or even to question this Truth, would be arrant Scepticism; and therefore of all the Pretensions of the Bishops of *Rome*, that of their being vested, by divine Right, with the Power of assembling, translating, and dissolving Councils, as *Leo X.* defined it, may perhaps be justly reckoned the most intolerably impudent; since it gives the Lye at once to all the Monuments of Antiquity, nay, and to the Councils themselves, where it is said, and often repeated, that they met *by the Authority, by the Decree, by the Com-*

Pulcheria marries Marcian, on whom she bestows the Empire.

The new Emperor's obliging Letter to Leo.

He promises to assemble a Council, and to make Leo absolute Master of it.

He writes again to Leo.

Oecumenical Councils assembled by the Emperor, not by the Pope.

^c Leo t. i. p. 550, 551. Theodoret. t. i. p. 551.
^e Bar. ad ann. 450. p. 121. edit. Antwerp.

^d Concil. t. 4. p. 61.

mand of the most pious Emperors, without the least Notice being ever taken of the Bishop of *Rome*, or his Authority. The Bishops who composed this very Council, that was held under *Marcian*, when they were assembled, owned themselves *to have been gathered together by the Grace of God, and the Command of the Emperors*. Not a Word of the Pope, by whose Authority alone they were assembled, according to *Baronius*. *Leo* indeed, in speaking of this Council, cunningly brings in the *Apostolic See*: *It has been thought fit*, says he, *that a general Council should be convened by the Command of the Christian Princes, and with the Consent of the Apostolic See*^a. He could say no more, and every other Bishop might have said as much with respect to his See. And yet Pope *Gelasius* had the Assurance to affirm, that this very Council was convened *by the Authority of the Apostolic See alone*^b. As for the Annalist, he sufficiently confutes elsewhere what he advances here; for he owns, that the Second and Fifth Occumenical Councils were convened and held, the one against the Will of *Damasus*, and the other of *Vigilius*^c, and consequently not by their Authority.

Eutyches
and Diosco-
rus aban-
doned by most
of their
Friends.

The extraordinary Deference and Regard paid both by *Marcian* and *Pulcheria* to the Bishop of *Rome*, changed at once the Face of Affairs all over the East. The Change began at Court, and the Example of the Court was soon followed by the Church. Such of the Ministers as had, in the late Reign, espoused with most Warmth the Cause of *Eutyches*, and pretended most Zeal for his Doctrine, became all on a sudden the most implacable Enemies both of him and his Doctrine^d. And no wonder, says *Theodoret*, since they had no other Rule of Faith but the Will of the Emperor. It were to be wished the Church had given no Occasion for the like Reproach. But the Change was no less sudden, no less remarkable, in the Church than it was in the Court. For the Inclinations of the Imperial Family were no

sooner known, than *Anatolius*, who had been chosen Bishop of *Constantinople* in the room of *Flavianus*, and had been ordained by *Dioscorus*, and the Bishops of his Party, assembled in great Haste all the Bishops, Abbots, Presbyters, and Deacons, who were then in *Constantinople*, and in their Presence not only received and signed the famous Letter of *Leo* to *Flavianus* concerning the Incarnation, but at the same time anathematized *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, their Do-

^a Leo ep. 61.

^b Gelas. ep. ad episc. Dardaniæ.

^c Bar. ad ann. 553.

^d Theodoret. ep. 138, 139.

ctrine, and all their Followers, declaring, that he professed no other Faith but what was held and professed by the *Roman* Church, and by *Leo*, meaning, by the Court, and the Emperor. The Example of *Anatolius* was followed by the other Bishops, and the rest of the Assembly, except Three Abbots, and a few of the Clergy; and nothing was heard but Anathemas against *Eutyches*, whom most of those, who uttered them, had but a few Months before honoured as a new Apostle, as the true Interpreter of the Doctrine of the Church, and the Fathersⁱ. Those, who allege the Declaration made at this time by *Anatolius*, and his Council, to prove, that they acknowledged the Infallibility of *Leo* and the *Roman* Church, deserve no Answer; it being manifest, that the Compliment (for so I may style it) was not paid to *Leo*, or his Church, but to *Marcian* and *Pulcheria*.

The Letter of *Leo* being thus received by the Bishop and Clergy of *Constantinople*, and soon after by all the Bishops of the East, excepting those of *Illyricum*, *Palestine*, and *Egypt*; *Marcian*, at the Request of *Leo*, recalled, by a special Law, the Bishops, who had been banished by the Council of *Ephesus* for defending the Doctrine it contained, removed *Eutyches* from the Government of his Monastery, and confined him to a Place in the Neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, till the Meeting of the Council, which he intended to assemble^k. *Leo* had begged both of *Theodosius* and *Marcian*, that the Council might be assembled in *Italy*, and *Marcian*, in the very first Letter he wrote to him, had left the Place to his Choice; but afterwards, changing his Mind, probably on Account of the Irruption made at this time by *Attila* in the Western Empire, by a circular Letter, dated the 17th of *May* 451. he summoned all the Bishops in his Dominions to meet at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, by the First of *September*. This was a great Disappointment to *Leo*: however, he immediately dispatched into the East *Paschasinus* Bishop of *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*, and the Presbyter *Bonifacius*, to assist at the Council as his Legates, together with *Lucentius* Bishop of *Asculum*, and *Basilus*, a Presbyter, whom he had sent already to *Constantinople*. By the Two former he wrote to *Marcian*, to *Pulcheria*, and to the Fathers of the Council, to excuse his not assisting in Person, and beg, that since the far greater Part of the Bishops, by receiving his Letter, had already condemned the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, they would, to avoid all Disputes, con-

The exiled
Bishops re-
called, and
Eutyches
confined.

Marcian
summons all
the Bishops to
meet at Nice
in Bithynia.
Year of
Christ 451.

Leo sends
Legates to
assist at the
Council in
his room.

ⁱ Concil. t. 4. p. 531. Leo ep. 60, 61. 68.
p. 66. Theodorst. ep. 139.

^k Leo ep. 60. 63. Concil. ibid.

Year of
Christ 451.

The Council
transferred
from Nice
to Chalce-
don.

The Number
of the Bi-
shops.

The Imperial
Commission-
ers.

The Order
in which the
Bishops were
placed.

demn it anew, without any further Examination, without hearken-
ing to any who should offer to defend or to explain it^l.

The Bishops met at *Nice*, on the First of *September*, agreeably to the Emperor's Summons and Command. But, in the mean time, the *Huns* breaking into *Illyricum*, *Marcian*, who had promised to assist at the Council in Person, did not think it adviseable to quit the Metropolis at that Juncture; and therefore wrote a very obliging Letter to the Bishops at *Nice*, requiring them to remove from that City to *Chalcedon*, separated from *Constantinople* only by the *Bosporus*, which in that Place is not a Mile over. They readily complied with his Request, and the Council met, for the first time, in the great Church of *St. Euphemia* in *Chalcedon*, on the 8th of *October* 451^m. It was the most numerous Council that had been yet held; for it is said, by most Writers, to have consisted of 630 Bishops, all, besides the Pope's Legates, Two Bishops from *Africa*, and one from *Persia*, Subjects of the Eastern Empire. *Marcian* proposed, and had a great Desire, to be present in Person; but, thinking his Presence more necessary in *Illyricum*, where the Barbarians were committing dreadful Ravages, he appointed the Six first Officers of the Empire, and the most distinguished Men in the Senate, to supply his room at the Council, with the Character of his Commissioners; and marched himself at the Head of his Army to the Relief of the oppressed Provinceⁿ. When the Council met, the Commissioners placed themselves in the midst of the Assembly, near the Banisters of the Altar. On their Left, the most honourable Place after theirs, sat the Bishops *Paschasinus* and *Lucentius*, with the Presbyter *Bonifacius*, the Pope's Legates. Of the Presbyter *Basilus*, the Fourth Legate, no Mention is made in the Acts of the Council, or by any Writer; whence we may, with better Reason, suppose him to have been dead or indisposed, than imagine, with *De Marca*, that he absented himself because *Anatolius* of *Constantinople* would suffer Three Legates, but not Four, to sit above him^o. Next to the Legates were *Anatolius*, *Maximus* of *Antioch*, *Thalassius* of *Cæsarea*, *Stephanus* of *Ephesus*, and all the Bishops of the Dioceses of *Pontus*, of *Asia*, of *Thrace*, and of the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, except those of *Palestine*. On the Right were seated *Dioscorus* of *Alexandria*, *Juvenalis* of *Jerusalem*, *Quintillus* of *Heraclæa* in *Macedon*, in the room of *Anastasius* of *Thessalonica*, *Peter*

^l Leo ep. 62. 73, 74, 75. ^m Concil. t. 4. p. 69. Liberat. c. 13. ⁿ Concil. ibid. p. 77, 78. Facund. ^o Pet. de Marc. de Concord. Sacerd. et Imp. l. 5. c. 6.

of *Corinth*, with the Bishops of *Egypt*, of *Illyricum*, of *Palestine*. In the middle of the Assembly was placed, on a high and stately Throne, the Book of the Gospels. At this grand Assembly the Pope's Legates held the first Place among the Bishops, and presided, not in virtue of any Right which they had, or even pretended to have, of presiding at an Occumenical Council held in the East; but because those, who might have claimed that Honour as their Due, had all forfeited it by their late Conduct. And it was their late Conduct, not his Right, that *Leo* alleged, in one of his Letters to the Emperor, as a Reason why his Legates should be allowed to preside. *It is fit*, says he, *that Paschasinus should preside at the Council in my Name; because some Bishops have not withstood the Efforts of Error with due Firmness and Constancy* p. And truly, if we reflect on the Conduct of the chief Bishops in the East, we shall find them all equally exceptionable, all equally unworthy of being placed at the Head of such an Assembly. *Dioscorus*, *Juvenalis*, and *Thalassius* were the chief Authors of the Violences committed at *Ephesus*; *Stephen* of *Ephesus* had not only yielded to their Violences himself, but forced others to yield; and besides, was not a lawful Bishop, having seized on the See of *Ephesus* by Force, and by Force kept himself in it; and was afterwards, on that account, deposed by the Council. *Maximus* of *Antioch* had been ordained in the room of *Domnus*, who had been unjustly deposed by the Council of *Ephesus*. *Anastasius* of *Thessalonica* did not assist in Person, and if he had, he would never have pretended to preside, when the Legates of the Pope were present, whose Vicar he was for the Provinces of *East Illyricum*. *Anatolius* of *Constantinople* might indeed have claimed the Right of presiding at a Council held within the Limits of his Jurisdiction, and perhaps did; for he was canonically chosen upon the Death of *Flavianus*, and canonically ordained. But as he had been ordained by *Dioscorus*, and had formerly lived in great Friendship with that Prelate (for he was a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, and his Nuncio at the Court of *Constantinople*, when he was raised to that See), it was justly apprehended he would not judge impartially, but might be somewhat biassed in favour of his old Friend. From what I have said it is manifest, that *Calvin* was, at least, better acquainted with the History of the Church, and the State of Affairs at this time in the East, than the great Cham-

Year of
Christ 451.

Reason why
the Pope's
Legates pre-
sided at this
Council.

The chief
Bishops all
alike excep-
tionable.

Calvin bet-
ter acquaint-
ed with the
State of Af-
fairs at this
time than
Bellarmine.

p Leo ep. 69.

Year of
Christ 451.

pion of the *Roman See*, *Bellarmino*: for the former having written, that *Leo* begged it of the Emperor as a Favour, that his Legates might be allowed to preside at the Council of *Chalcedon*, and that the Emperor granted him his Request, because he found none besides them, on whom he thought proper to confer such an Honour at that Juncture; the latter styles both these Assertions *bare-faced and most impudent Lyes*, adding, *That Leo sent his Legates to preside without asking the Emperor's Leave, or any body's else* &c. But which of the Two was guilty of a bare-faced and most impudent Lye, I leave the Reader to judge. And, after all, the Imperial Commissioners may be properly said to have presided; for the Council was intirely governed by them, and by the Pope's Legates only in their Absence. Hence they are always named the first, and the Bishops after them, in the Order they were placed.

The great
Arrogance
of the Pope's
Legates.

When the Bishops were all seated, the Pope's Legates rising up, and advancing into the middle of the Assembly, *We have here*, said *Paschasinus*, holding a Paper in his Hand, *an Order from the most Blessed and Apostolic Pope of the City of Rome, which is the Head of all Churches, by which his Apostleship hath been pleased to command* (*præcipere dignatus est ejus Apostolatus*), *that Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria, should not be allowed to sit in the Council. Let him therefore be ordered to withdraw, else we must withdraw.* The Commissioners asked, what they had to object against *Dioscorus* in particular. *He must*, replied *Lucentius*, *be called to account for the Judgment he gave at Ephesus, where he presumed to assemble a Council without the Consent of the Apostolic See; which has never been thought lawful, which has never been done: as he is therefore to be judged, he ought not to sit as a Judge.* Here one of the Commissioners interrupting him, *Neither ought you*, said he, *to sit as a Judge, since you take upon you to act as a Party. However, let us know what particular Crime you lay to the Charge of Dioscorus; for it is not agreeable to Justice or Reason that he alone should be charged with a Crime, of which many others are no less guilty than he.* To this the Legates made no other Reply, than that *Leo* would by no means suffer *Dioscorus* to sit or act in that Assembly as a Judge, and that they must withdraw, if he did, agreeably to their Instructions. The Commissioners finding them unalterable, and apprehending the

They will
not allow
Dioscorus
to sit as a
Judge.

* Bellar. de Concil. et Eccl. l. 1. c. 19.

Disturbances, which their absenting themselves from the Council would occasion, yielded at last; and, ordering *Dioscorus* to quit his Seat, placed him by himself, as a Person accused, in the midst of the Assembly^r.

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Christ 451.
Who is,
placed in the
middle of the
Assembly.
Dioscorus
falsely charg-
ed by the Le-
gates, with
having as-
sembled the
Council of
Ephesus.

It is hard to conceive what the Legates meant, by charging it as a Crime upon *Dioscorus*, that he had presumed to assemble a Council without the Consent of the Apostolic See: for it was not by him, but by the Emperor *Theodosius*, that the Council of *Ephesus*, and they could mean no other, was assembled; and to the assembling of that Council *Leo* consented; that is, he obeyed the Summons of the Emperor, inviting him to it, and was present in the Legates, whom he sent to act in his room; and no other Consent had been hitherto required of the Bishops of *Rome*, or any other Bishop. As to what the Legates added, that it had never been thought lawful to assemble a Council without the Consent of the Bishops of *Rome*, that it had never been done, it is so repugnant to Truth, that might the Authenticity of the Acts of the Council be questioned, no Man, who has but dipt into Ecclesiastical History, would believe they could have had the Assurance gravely to advance, in an Assembly of 630 Bishops, such notorious and palpable Falshoods. And yet their Authority is alleged by *Bellarmino*^s, and after him by all the *Roman* Catholic Divines, to prove, that the Power of assembling Oecumenical Councils is vested in the Pope alone, as if their Authority could be of any Weight, or deserve the least Regard, when it evidently contradicts the most unexceptionable Monuments Antiquity can produce.

But to return to the Council, in the first Session *Eusebius* of *Dorylaeum*, appearing against *Dioscorus*, charged him with having approved, in the late Council of *Ephesus*, the Doctrine of One Nature in Christ, with having condemned the Doctrine of Two Natures, deposed *Flavianus* for maintaining it, and forced, by introducing armed Men into the Council, all the Bishops there present to sign the unjust Sentence which he had pronounced. In Answer to the first Part of the Charge, he owned, without betraying the least Fear or Concern, that he had condemned, still did, and ever would condemn the Doctrine of Two Natures in Christ, and all who maintained it; that he held no other Doctrine, but what he had learned of the Fathers, especially of *Athanasius*, *Nazianzen*, and *Cyril*; that he had chosen

Charge
brought
against *Dios-*
corus.

His Firm-
ness and In-
trepidity.

^r Concil. t. 4. p. 93. 96.

^s Bellar. de Concil. et eccl. l. 1. c. 12.

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rather to condemn *Flavianus* than them; and that those who did not like his Doctrine might use him as they pleased, now they were uppermost, and had the Power in their Hands, but in what manner soever they should think fit to use him, he was unalterably determined, his Soul being at stake, to live and die in the Faith which he had hitherto professed. As to his having forced the Bishops to sign the Condemnation of *Flavianus*, he answered, that the Constancy of every Christian, and much more of a Bishop, ought to be Proof against all kind of Violence, and Death itself; that the Charge brought by *Eusebius* lay heavier against them than it did against him, and therefore it was incumbent upon them, as the more guilty, to answer it. In the second Session were received and read several

He is charged with many enormous Crimes.

Memorials, charging *Dioscorus* with many enormous Crimes, with leading a lewd and debauched Life, to the great Scandal of his Flock, and even with attempting to usurp the Sovereignty, and styling himself King of *Egypt*. These Memorials were all addressed, *To Leo the most Holy, Blessed, and Universal Patriarch of the great City of Rome, and to the Holy and Oecumenical Council of Chalcedon*. Some have laid great Strefs on the Title of *Universal Patriarch* given here to *Leo*, not reflecting, that in the Council of *Ephesus* the same Title was given to *Dioscorus*, and consequently, that it was, with respect to both, a mere Compliment, owing to that Flattery which has been in all Ages peculiar to the *Greeks*. At this Session *Dioscorus* was not present, but nevertheless as he had been Three times summoned, the Legates, after a short Recapitulation of the Crimes laid to his Charge, with the Consent of the Council, proceeded to the Sentence, and declared him deposed from the Episcopal Dignity. The Sentence was pronounced in *Leo's* Name, and thus worded; *Leo Archbishop of the great and antient Rome, by us, and the present Synod, with the Authority of St. Peter, on whom the Catholic Church and Orthodox Faith are founded, devests Dioscorus of the Episcopal Dignity, and declares him henceforth incapable of exercising any Sacerdotal or Episcopal Functions*. This Sentence was signed by the whole Council, and immediately transmitted to the Emperor, who not only confirmed it, but soon after confined *Dioscorus* to the City of *Gangra* in *Paphlagonia*, where he died in the Year 454. the Third of his Exile, anathematizing to his last Breath the Doctrine of Two

Dioscorus condemned, and deposed.

He is banished.

! Concil. t. 4. p. 173—181.

▪ Concil. ibid. p. 394.

▪ Concil. ibid. p. 270.

Natures, and all who held it ^x. The remaining Sessions were chiefly employed in restoring to their Sees the Bishops, who had been deposed by the Council of *Ephesus*; in deciding Controversies between neighbouring Bishops in point of Jurisdiction; and above all in settling the Catholic Belief, with respect to the Mystery of the Incarnation, which occasioned warm Disputes. But at last a Symbol or Creed was happily composed, to which they all agreed; and the Substance of it was; That there is but one Christ, perfect God, and perfect Man, in his Divinity consubstantial with God, and consubstantial with us in his Humanity; that in him the Two Natures were united without Change, Division, or Mixture; and subsisted not in Two Persons, but in One, agreeably to the Symbol of *Nice* ^y. This the Fathers of the Council would not allow to be called a *Symbol* or *Creed*, but only a *Decree*, the composing of any new Symbols or Creeds having been strictly forbidden by the First Council of *Ephesus*, which was universally received.

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Christ 451.

*The Decree
or Symbol
composed by
this Council.*

If we compare the Doctrine, contained in this Symbol or Decree, with that which was taught by *Eutyches*, we shall find the pretended Heresiarch to have been, at the Bottom, no less orthodox than *Leo* himself. For *Dioscorus*, whom we may suppose to have been well acquainted with his Doctrine, in the very first Session of the present Council, anathematized all, *who admitted in the Incarnation any Change of the divine Nature, any Confusion or Mixture of the Two Natures* ^z; which was confessing the Two Natures to have been united in Christ without Change, Division, or Mixture. In the same Session *Eustathius* of *Berytus*, who maintained the Doctrine of *Eutyches* with no less Warmth than *Dioscorus*, anathematized all, *who, by acknowledging but one Nature, denied Christ to be consubstantial with us according to his Humanity, or, by acknowledging Two, divided Christ* ^a, which was owning Christ to be consubstantial with us in his Humanity, agreeably to the present Decree. That Christ was perfect God and perfect Man, that in him there was but one Person or Hypostasis, was never denied or even questioned by *Eutyches*, or any of his Followers. As to the Expression of *the one incarnate Nature of the Word*, it had been used by *Cyril*; *Flavianus* himself owned, that in one Sense he did not reject it ^b; and F. Pe-

*Eutyches no
less Orthodox
than Leo.*

^x Concil. t. 4. p. 426. Leo ep. 81. Evag. l. 2. c. 3.

^y Concil. ibid. p. 566.

^z Concil. t. 4. p. 173.

^a Ibid. p. 176.

^b Concil. ibid. p. 16.

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Christ 451.

The Two
Parties
quarreled
about Words.

And held the
same Do-
ctrine.

tau plainly shews, that it may be understood in a Catholic, as well as in an heretical Sense^a. And yet when *Eustathius* of *Berytus* was charged before the Council with having used that Expression, they all cried out, without requiring or allowing him to explain it, that he was guilty of Heresy; which so provoked that Prelate that having then in his Hand the Book, in which *Cyril* had used the same Expression, he threw it at them, saying, *Read what Cyril says; it is Cyril you anathematize, and I am proud of being anathematized with him* ^b. From what I have said it is manifest, that the contending Parties agreed in the Substance, and only quarreled, as they had done in the Case of *Nestorius*, about Words and Expressions. *Eutyches*, it is true, maintained, that there was only One Nature in Christ; but he thereby meant no more than that there was but One Christ, as evidently appears from the Inferences which he and his Followers drew from the admitting of Two Natures. But as the Expressions he used might be easily wrested to an heretical Sense (and so might the Expressions of those who opposed him), his Enemies, especially the Orientals, whom he had greatly disoblighed, understood them in that, deduced from them, and would not understand them in any other Sense. As for *Leo*, it was only upon the Information, which *Flavianus*, and those who with him had condemned *Eutyches*, were pleased to give him, that he could judge of his Doctrine: and by them he was so far imposed upon as to believe, that the Sentiments, which they ascribed to him, because deducible, as they thought, from his Doctrine, were really his, and owned by him. This plainly appears from his famous Letter; for he employs the far greater Part of it in combating a Heretic of *Flavianus's* making, and confuting Opinions, which *Eutyches* was no less ready to anathematize than he. When the Point in Dispute was examined in the present Council with more Attention, and less Prejudice; than it had been in those of *Constantinople* and *Ephesus*, it appeared, that the only Difference between the *Eutychians* and their Adversaries was, that the latter maintained Christ to be *in Two Natures*, and of *Two Natures* (*ἐν δύο φύσιν, καὶ ἐκ δύο φύσεων*); whereas the former would not allow him to be *in*, but only *of*, *Two Natures*. And it was this small Difference, in speaking of a Mystery so much above the Comprehension of human Understanding, that set all the Bishops of the

^a Pet. dog. t. 4. l. 1. c. 14.

^b Concil. t. 4. p. 173.

Church at Variance, and inflamed them to the Degree we have seen, against each other, that occasioned the assembling of so many Councils, the deposing and persecuting of so many Bishops, and was likely to have produced no less Disturbances in the State than it did in the Church, as the Princes in those Days interested themselves warmly in the Quarrels of the Ecclesiastics. How many Evils would have been prevented, had *Flavianus* followed the friendly Advice which *Eutyches* gave him? For the latter being interrogated by him in the Council of *Constantinople*, whether he believed in Two Natures after the Incarnation, *I believe*, he replied, *that Christ is perfect God, and perfect Man; but here I stop, and advise you to do so too*. But it was the Misery and Vice of these Times that in all Church Disputes they sought for Contention and Victory, not for Peace, and would never stop till by Deductions and Consequences, often very unfair, they had drawn their Adversaries into some Trap of Words, which might implicate them in the Heresy laid to their Charge. The most Orthodox of the Clergy could not speak or write on the Mysteries of our Faith, without imminent Danger of having their Expressions misunderstood, or wilfully wrested, by their Enemies, into an heretical Sense; which was no sooner done than they were accused, and Councils assembled to judge of their Doctrine, or rather to condemn it, upon their own Interpretations; the Peace of the whole Church, and sometimes of the State, was disturbed by the Flame, that was raised upon these Disputes; and at last the contending Parties were found to have differed only in Words, and about Points which neither was able to explain. Upon the Whole, it may truly be said, that it was in these Times no less dangerous to speak or write upon Matters of Faith, than under the greatest Tyrants, upon Matters of State: for as every thing there, that is said or written, may be called Treason; so every thing here was called Heresy, and punished as such: nor are innocent Men in more Danger there from Informers or *Delatores*, than they were here from every Priest or Monk with whom they conversed, or who read their Books, especially when the Zeal of the latter was sharpened, as in these Times it generally was, by Desire of Revenge for some former Persecution, which they had suffered themselves.

On the 25th of *October*, when the Sixth Session was held, the Emperor *Marcian* came in Person to the Council, and in his Presence the Symbol or Decree, which I have mentioned above, was read, approved, and signed, by all the Members of the Assembly. The

*The Emperor
Marcian
comes in Per-
son to the
Council.*

Pope's

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Christ 451.
The Symbol
or Decree
signed by all.

Pope's Legates signed the first in the Name of *Leo*, whom *Lucen-
tius* styled *Bishop of the whole Church*, and the other Two *Bishop of
the universal Church of Rome* ^c. The other Bishops signed, accord-
ing to the Rank of their Sees, declaring, that they did it freely, and
of their own Accord, because they believed that, and no other, to
be the genuine Doctrine of the Apostles ^d.

The Rise of
the See of
Constanti-
nople.

Matters of Faith being thus settled to the Satisfaction of both
Parties, the Council took next the Discipline of the Church into Con-
sideration; when the famous Canon was enacted, vesting the Bishop
of *Constantinople*, who had long since begun to rival the Bishop of
Rome, with a new Power, or rather confirming to him that, which
in Imitation of the Bishop of *Rome*, he had already assumed. The
Bishop of *Byzantium* was at first but a Suffragan to the Bishop of *He-
raclea* Exarch of the Diocese of *Thrace*, comprehending Six Pro-
vinces; viz. *Thrace, Rhodope, Europa, Hemimontis, Mæsia Se-
cunda*, and *Scythia*. But *Byzantium* being chosen by *Constantine*
for the Place of his Residence, honoured with his Name, and made
the Seat of another Empire, the Bishops of this new Metropolis, think-
ing their See raised with the City, not only withdrew all Subjection
to their Exarch, but taking great State upon them, began to act as
if they had been as much exalted above other Bishops, as their City
was above other Cities. This gave, as we may well imagine, no
small Umbrage to their Brethren; but the great Interest the Bishops
of *Constantinople* had at Court, enabling them to oblige or disoblige
whom they pleased, the other Prelates chose rather to gain their Fa-
vour by yielding to their Ambition, than incur their Displeasure by
opposing it. Hence the Grandeur of the See of *Constantinople*, and
the Splendor the Bishop of that City lived in, began very early to
dazle the Eyes of those, who most panted after Honour and Pro-
motion. *Eusebius* strove, even in *Constantine's* Time, to exchange the
Metropolitan See of *Nicomedia* for that of *Constantinople*, though the
latter had not yet been distinguished by the Canons with any parti-
cular Mark of Dignity: and a few Years after *Eudoxius*, a Prelate
of an unbounded Ambition, was translated to the same See from that
of *Antioch*, which was one of the Three great Patriarchal Sees. In
the Year 383. the Bishops of *Constantinople* were already so far ex-
alted, by the Connivance and tacit Consent of their Collegues, as

^c Concil. t. 4. p. 576. Facund. l. 5. c. 3.

^d Concil. ibid. p. 607.

to take place of all the Bishops in the East. Hence at the Second Oecumenical Council, held in that Year at *Constantinople*, *Gregory* of *Nazianzum*, then Bishop of that City, was allowed to preside, though the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, the First, by the Canons, after that of *Rome*, was present; an Honour which *Gregory*, who was an utter Enemy to all Pride and Ostentation, would never have claimed, nor even accepted, had he not been intitled to it by an established Custom, and the unanimous Consent of his Brethren. From what has been said it is manifest, that the Second Oecumenical Council only confirmed to the Bishop of *Constantinople* an Honour for which he had already the Sanction of an established Custom, when the Fathers of that Assembly decreed, that *the Bishop of New Rome should have the first Place of Honour after the Bishop of Old Rome* ^c. It is observable, that *Timotheus* of *Alexandria*, who was present when this Canon was made, and had, by the Regulations observed till that time, an undoubted Right to the first Place of Honour after the Bishop of *Rome*, never once offered to oppose this new Regulation, nor to dispute with *Nectarius*, chosen in the room of *Gregory*, who resigned while the Council was yet sitting, the Honour of presiding at such an Assembly. And what else could inspire that Prelate with so much Moderation, when his Rank and the Dignity of his See were at Stake, but his knowing, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* enjoyed already, by an established Custom, which it was now in vain to oppose, the Honour conferred on him by that Canon? It is therefore altogether surprising, that *Leo* should have roundly asserted, as he did in one of his Letters ^f, that the above-mentioned Canon never took place. If he really believed it never did, he betrayed an Ignorance of what passed in the East quite unaccountable. For that the Bishops of *Constantinople* peaceably enjoyed the first Rank of Honour in the East, even before that Canon was made, has been sufficiently shewn; and to suppose, that they would have parted with it, after it had been confirmed to them by the Decree of an Oecumenical Council, which gave them the same Right to the Second Place among the Prelates of the Church as the Bishop of *Rome* had to the First, is not only absurd and ridiculous, but evidently repugnant to the known Practice, that obtained in the East. For, not to speak of Metropolitans, but only Patriarchs, who yielded the Precedency to

^c Concil. t. 4. p. 814.

^f Leo, ep. 79.

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Christ 451.

the Bishop of *Constantinople*, in the Year 394. *Nectarius* presided at a Council which was composed of all the most eminent Prelates in the East, there being present, among the rest, the famous *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, *Flavianus* of *Antioch*, *Helladius* of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, and *Paul* of *Heraclea*, all Patriarchs &c. *Theophilus* wanted neither Courage nor Ambition to maintain his Rank, and was not a Man tamely to yield to what he could have disputed. *Sisinnius* of *Constantinople*, a Prelate universally commended for his Moderation, and quite incapable of claiming any kind of Pre-eminence, to which he had not an undoubted Right, presided at a Council held in the Year 426. at which several Patriarchs assisted, and *Theodosius* of *Antioch* among the rest^b. In all the Accounts we have of the Councils held in the East after the Second Oecumenical Council, the Bishop of *Constantinople* is constantly named the firstⁱ. It is true, that in the Second Council of *Ephesus* the Fifth Place was allotted to *Flavianus*; but he was there considered as a Party; and the Pope's Legates complained, in the Council of *Chalcedon*, of the Injustice that had been done him in Defiance of the Canons, meaning, no doubt, the Canon placing him next to the Bishop of *Old Rome*; and that Place was accordingly given to his Successor *Anatolius*, in the Council of *Chalcedon*, though many Patriarchs, and among the rest those of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, were present. *Leo* therefore either advanced what he knew to be false, or was grossly mistaken, and less acquainted with what had passed in the East than one would think he could possibly have been, when he so positively asserted, that the Canon in favour of the Bishop of *Constantinople* had never taken place.

The Bishops
of Constantinople
assume the Patriar-
chal Authority
over the
Diocese of
Thrace.

But, after all, no Power, no Authority or Jurisdiction, was granted by that Canon to the See of *Constantinople*: it was placed only in Rank and Dignity next to the See of *Rome*. However, as Dignity naturally inspires a Desire of Power, and is, at the same time, a most effectual Means of attaining it, the Bishops of *Constantinople* no sooner found themselves thus raised above their Colleagues, than they took upon them by Degrees to exercise a Power answering the Rank, to which they were raised. They began with *Thrace*, and alleging that *Constantinople*, which was the Head of that Diocese, according to the Civil Polity established by *Constantine*, ought to be so too

^g Concil. t. 2. p. 1151. ^b Phot. c. 55. ⁱ Concil. t. 3. p. 1059. Concil. ap. p. 887. et t. 4. p. 116. 234. 735. 738.

according to the Ecclesiastical Polity, which was founded on the Civil, they assumed at once the Title, claimed the Rights, and exercised, within the Limits of that Diocese, all Jurisdiction peculiar to a Patriarch. And thus was the Patriarch degraded almost into the Rank of a Suffragan, and the Suffragan raised to that of a Patriarch. As we read of no Opposition made to so great a Change by the Bishop of *Heraclea*, till this time the Patriarchal See, we may well conclude it to have been effected with the Concurrence, or most probably, by the Command of the Court, where the Bishops of *Constantinople* bore a great Sway. They were not long satisfied with this new Jurisdiction. Their Ambition increasing as their Power increased, they soon began to extend their Authority beyond the Limits of the Diocese of *Thrace*, and invade the neighbouring Dioceses of *Pontus* and *Asia*. The first, who paved the Way for these Encroachments of the See of *Constantinople* in those Parts, was *Chrysostom*, who, being invited by the Bishops of *Asia*, upon the Demise of their Exarch *Antoninus*, to settle the Affairs of that Church, which he had left in a deplorable Condition, assembled a Council at *Ephesus*, and there deposed several Bishops convicted of Simony, appointed others in their room, ordained the new Bishop of *Ephesus*; and, on his Return through the Diocese of *Pontus*, took upon him to depose the Metropolitan of *Bithynia*, in spite of the strong Opposition he met with there both from the People and Clergy, and to appoint him, by his own Authority, a Successor^k. With his Conduct in *Asia* no Fault can be found; for he was invited thither by the *Asiatics* themselves, and acted in Concert with them. But his exercising the like Jurisdiction in the Diocese of *Pontus*, whither he had not been invited, was an open Violation of the Canons, and as such alleged against him in the famous Council *ad Quercum*. However, *Atticus* his immediate Successor, treading in his Footsteps, not only claimed the Power of ordaining Bishops in the Two Dioceses of *Pontus* and *Asia*, but procured a Law from the Emperor vesting in him alone that Power^l. But such a Privilege was only personal, was granted to him, and not to his See^m. Hence, upon his Death, the Bishops of *Asia* and *Pontus* resuming the Exercise of the Right, which the Canons gave them, began to supply the vacant Sees, as they had formerly done, without the Consent, or even the Knowledge, of the Bishop of

Invasions of
Pontus
and Asia.

Chrysostom
the first who
exercised Ju-
risdiction
there.

Which is
vested by Law
in his imme-
diate Successor.

^k Soz. l. 8. c. 6. Pallad. vit. Ch. yf. ^l Socr. l. 9. c. 28. ^m Idem ibid.

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Christ 451.

And main-
tained by the
rest.

Constantinople. But the Successors of *Atticus*, pretending the above-mentioned Prerogative to have been granted to him, as Bishop of the Imperial City, and therefore to his See, and all who should succeed him in it, claimed it as their Right; and, being supported in this, as they were in their other Usurpations, by the Court, exercised, in spite of all Opposition, the same Power and Jurisdiction in the Dioceses of *Pontus* and *Asia*, as they did in *Thrace*. They had learnt, it seems, of the Bishops of *Rome*, the important Lesson, never to part with any Power which they had once acquired, by what Means, and upon what Terms, soever they had acquired it.

Their exten-
sive Power.

And now the Bishop of *Constantinople* had raised himself, in the Course of a few Years, from the low Condition of a Suffragan, to that of a Patriarch, and the greatest Patriarch in Power and Jurisdiction, then upon Earth, having under him not one Diocese only, as the other Patriarchs, but Three, comprising Twenty-seven Provinces, and as many Metropolitans. And it is observable, that in all those Provinces he exercised both the Metropolitan and Patriarchal Jurisdiction, ordaining the common Bishops as well as the Metropolitans: nay, he carried his Usurpations so far, as not only to ordain, but even to name, both the Metropolitans and other Bishops, without consulting either the People or Clergy, pretending thereby to prevent the Disturbances often attending popular Elections, and the raising to the Episcopal Dignity Men incapable of discharging, as they ought, the Duties of that Officeⁿ. Such an extensive, absolute, and uncontrouled Jurisdiction might, one would think, have satisfied the Ambition of those Prelates. But the Desire of Power, like that of Wealth, knows no Bounds, is ever restless, and whetted, rather than

They invade
the Provinces
subject to the
Bishop of
Rome:

allayed, by the Acquisitions it makes. The Bishops of *Constantinople* no sooner found themselves in the quiet Possession of the Power they had usurped, than they began to think of extending it farther by new Usurpations. They thought themselves now a Match for the Bishop of *Rome*; and accordingly made their first Attempt on *East Illyricum*, over which *Rome* had long exercised an usurped Jurisdiction. Thus did the Two great Usurpers first meet, when that of *Constantinople* was shamefully foiled, *Boniface*, who then governed the *Roman* Church, having, by better concerted Measures, utterly defeated those of his Rival. The latter therefore, finding in the Bishop of *Rome*

but without
Success.

ⁿ Concil. t. 4. p. 838. Socr. l. 7. c. 37.

too subtle and powerful an Adversary to contend with, abandoned the Enterprize for the present, and, turning his Efforts against the Patriarch of *Antioch*, less powerful than that of *Rome* or *Alexandria*, made himself in that Patriarchate sufficient Amends for his late Disappointment. For not long after *Flavianus* of *Constantinople* not only received an Appeal from a Council held at *Antioch*, but restored to their former Dignity Two Ecclesiastics, who had been deposed by that Council^o; which a Man of his Modesty and Moderation^p would never have attempted, had not his Predecessors extended their Jurisdiction over that Patriarchate. *Anatolius*, who succeeded *Flavianus*, and was at this time Bishop of *Constantinople*, not only took upon him to ordain *Maximus* of *Antioch*, but to divide the Province of *Phœnicia*, one of the chief Provinces of that Patriarchate, into Two, and even to excommunicate the Metropolitan of *Tyre*, because he would not consent to that Division; and this without giving himself the Trouble, or thinking it necessary, to consult *Maximus*, though he was then at *Constantinople*, or even mention it to him^q.

Year of
Christ 451.

They extend
their Juris-
diction over
the Patriar-
chate of An-
tioch.

Thus did the Bishops of *Constantinople*, out of the Five Dioceses, into which the whole East was divided, subject, in the Course of a few Years, Four to their Sec. But this extensive Jurisdiction was a barefaced Usurpation, repugnant to the Canons, and intirely owing to the Interest they had at Court, and the Deference, that was thereupon paid them by their Brethren. Of this *Anatolius*, the present Bishop, was well apprised; and therefore, desirous of building his Power on a more stable Foundation, he resolved to apply to the Fathers assembled at *Chalcedon*; not doubting but, as his Sec had been declared the Second in Dignity, they would allow him Jurisdiction and Power suitable to his Rank. However, as he was a Prelate of excellent Parts, and great Penetration, he thought it advisable, in the first Place, to sound the Disposition of the Imperial Commissioners, as well as the Bishops, who composed the Council; and these he found all highly incensed against the Pope and his Legates, and ready to concur in any Measures that could more effectually enable the Bishop of *Constantinople* to check the growing Power, and oppose the daily Encroachments, of the Bishop of *Rome*. What chiefly incensed them against the Pope was the unreasonable Concern he be-

Anatolius
applies to the
Council of
Chalcedon
for a Confir-
mation of the
Jurisdiction
enjoyed by his
Sec.

The Imperial
Commission-
ers, as well as
the Bishops, of
the Council,
incensed
against the
Pope; and
why.

^o Concil. t. 4. p. 981.

^p Leo, ep. 97.

^q Concil. t. 4. p. 838.

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trayed, at so critical a Juncture, for the Honour and Dignity of his Sec. For though he thought the Orthodox Faith to be in imminent Danger; though he had often declared, that nothing could save the Church but an Oecumenical Council; yet when he had in the End prevailed upon the Emperors, partly by his Letters, partly by his Sighs and Tears, to assemble one, he not only refused to assist in it in Person, because it was not held in *Italy*, but would not send Legates to supply his room, till it was agreed, that they should preside; and that even the Presbyters, who represented him, should take place of the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and all the Patriarchs of the East. His standing upon such Punctilio's, when the Peace and Unity of the Church were at stake, gave great Offence both to his Friends and his Enemies.

Even his
Friends pro-
voked at the
Conduct of
his Legates.

To this was added the haughty Behaviour of his Legates, who, presuming on the Emperor's Favour, took such State upon them in the Council, as neither the Commissioners nor Bishops could bear. But what most of all shocked them was, that the first Legate, in giving Judgment against *Dioscorus*, and pardoning those who had concurred with him in his violent Measures, ascribed the one and the other chiefly to *Leo*, and only to the Council as acting by his Authority, and in his Name. *Leo deposes, Leo forgives by us, and the present Council, &c.* were the Words of the Sentence, as if the whole Power had been lodged in him, and by him communicated to the Council, no otherwise than it was to his Legates. Such Arrogance and Presumption estranged from the Bishop of *Rome*, even those whom he had personally obliged, and who, on that Score, had been hitherto greatly attached to his Sec. *Anatolius* therefore, thinking this a proper Season to apply for a Confirmation of the Privileges and Jurisdiction, which his Sec enjoyed only by Custom, caused *Aetius*, Archdeacon of *Constantinople*, it not being proper that he himself should appear in an Affair of that Nature, to move it in the Council. As, except the Pope's Legates, and the Bishops of *Illyricum*, the Council intirely consisted of Eastern Bishops; as they were all alike jealous of the growing Power of the Bishops of *Rome*, and wanted, as some of them openly declared, a no less powerful Protector to defend them against his Encroachments; the Motion was approved, and the famous Canon, the 28th of the Council of *Chalcedon*, made and signed by all the Bishops who were present.

* Concil. t. 4. p. 814, 815.

By that Canon was confirmed the Decree of the Second Oecumenical Council, placing the Bishop of *New Rome* next, in Dignity, to the Bishop of *Old Rome*. 2dly, The former was vested with a Patriarchal Jurisdiction over the Three Dioceses of *Pontus, Asia, and Thrace*. 3dly, He was impowered to ordain all Bishops in such Places of those Dioceses as were in the Hands of the Barbarians; which was, in other Parts, the Privilege of the Metropolitans. And lastly were granted to the See of *Constantinople* in general Terms, and without Restriction or Limitation, all the Rights, Prerogatives, and Privileges, that had ever been granted to, or enjoyed by, the See of *Rome*. Thus was the See of *Constantinople* equaled in all things, but Precedency, to the See of *Rome*; and the so much boasted Supremacy of that See reduced to a mere Primacy of Order and Dignity. The Decree met at first with some Opposition from the Bishops of *Asia* and *Pontus*; but it was signed in the End by all but the Bishops of *Illyricum, Thalassius of Casarea, Exarch of Asia, Eusebius of Ancyra*, and perhaps a few more. *Theodoret of Cyrus* in *Syria*, one of the most pious and learned Prelates at that time in the Church, signed among the rest, and likewise *Eusebius of Doryleum*, though he had been received and entertained at *Rome* with great Kindness by *Leo*, when he was driven from his See, and had been restored to it chiefly by his Means and Interest.

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The Bishop of
Constantinople
equalled in
every thing
but Prece-
dency to the
Bishop of
Rome.

As for the Legates; the Motion was no sooner made by *Aetius*, than they quitted their Seats, and declaring, that they had no Directions from the Archbishop of the great City of *Rome* concerning Matters of that Nature, withdrew in great Haste from the Council. And truly *Leo*, suspecting some such Design, had strictly enjoined them, in their secret Instructions, to remember the Dignity of him who sent them; to represent him by a suitable Conduct and Behaviour; and to oppose, to the utmost of their Power, such as, presuming on the Dignity of their Cities, should, on that Score, claim or arrogate to themselves any Rights or Privileges that had not been yet granted them by the Canons^a. It was in Compliance with these Instructions that they withdrew, vainly promising themselves, that their Example would be followed by many others, and the Motion by that means be dropt. But, to their great Mortification, of the many

The Pope's
Legates with-
draw from
the Council.

^a Concil. ib. p. 795. 798.
p. 726.

^b Concil. ib. p. 798, 799. 803.

^c Concil. ib.

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*Their Exam-
ple not follow-
ed by a single
Bishop.*

*They oppose
the Decree,
falsely pre-
tending it was
surreptitious,
or extorted by
Force.*

Bishops who were present, not one offered to stir from his Place : so that they retired alone, and in the utmost Confusion. Being thus withdrawn, they waited with Fear and Impatience to hear what had passed ; and were no sooner informed, than they applied to the Commissioners, earnestly intreating them to order the Fathers of the Council to meet once more ; for that was supposed to be the last Session.

They met accordingly, and the very next Day ; when *Paschasius*, having first begged Leave of the Commissioners to speak, *We are informed*, said he, *that some Regulations were made Yesterday, which we apprehend to be repugnant to the Canons, and inconsistent with the Peace of the Church, which the Emperor has been labouring with so much Zeal and Application to settle ; therefore, as they were made in our Absence, we beg they may be read. In your Absence?* replied *Aetius*, *you absented yourselves, and left the Council, though I intreated and even pressed you to stay.* He then delivered the Canon to be read, with the Names of all the Bishops who had signed it ; which so surprised *Paschasius*, that he could not utter one single Word. But his Collegue *Lucentius*, rising up, said, *The Bishops have been imposed upon ; they have not signed freely ; they have been forced.* But that Reproach the Bishops answered, all crying out, with one Voice, *No kind of Violence has been used ; we all knew what we were doing, and we did it freely ; we did it of our own Accord.* Not satisfied with this Declaration in common, the chief Men among them protested in particular, that no Violence, no Artifice, had been used, but that they had all signed of their own Motion ^u. And yet *Leo*, to prejudice the World against that Canon, maintained to the last, that it had been extorted by Force ; and the Violence, that had been used with the Bishops, who signed it, he often alleges, in his Letters, as a Reason why it should be universally rejected ^w. Did his Legates never inform him of what had passed ? Did he never peruse the Acts of the Council, though often referred to them by *Anatolius* ? Or did he advance, because it best served his Purpose, what he himself knew to be false ?

*Or repugnant
to the Canons
of Nice.*

The unanimous Declaration of the Bishops, that no kind of Force or Artifice had been used, leaving no room for the Legates to except against the Decree on that Score, they pretended in the next Place, that it was repugnant to the Sixth Canon of the Council of

^u Ibid. p. 705. 809.

^w Leo, ep. 79, 80. 87.

Nice. But that Canon being read first by *Paschasius*, and afterwards by *Aetius*; and the Bishops having all delivered it as their Opinion, that nothing had been enacted either by the present, or by the Second Oecumenical Council, that could be thought any-way repugnant to the Canons of *Nice*; the Commissioners asked them, Whether they had willingly and freely signed the Canon in Dispute. Here they all protested anew, and called God to witness, that they had signed it of their own Accord, that no Compulsion had been used. The Commissioners therofore, finding the Legates had nothing further to offer, confirmed, in the Emperor's Name, what the Council had done, the Bishops applauding their Judgment, and all crying out, *This is a just Sentence; we are all of the same Opinion; we will all abide by the Judgment you give*^x. The Legates complained of the Affront, as they styled it, that was offered to the Apostolic See in their Presence; protested against it; and addressing themselves to the Commissioners, desired, that their Protest might be entered in the Acts of the Council, that the Pope of the universal Church, knowing they had opposed such unlawful Proceedings, might judge himself of the Injustice that was done to his See, and take such Measures as he should think fit to redress it. The Commissioners returned them no Answer; but rising up, *What we have pronounced*, said they, *the whole Council has approved*; and thus put an End to that Session y.

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*The Canon
is confirmed
by the Imperial
Commissioners.*

The Bishops met again; but it was only to write to *Marcian* and *Leo*, and acquaint both with the Transactions of the Council. The Emperor, in hearing the Canons read, not only expressed the greatest Satisfaction at the Regard the Fathers had shewn for the See of the Imperial City; but apprehending from the Opposition, which the Pope's Legates had made to the 28th Canon, that the Pope himself might oppose it, and thereby involve the Church in new Troubles, he immediately dispatched *Lucianus* a Bishop of *Thrace*, and the Deacon *Basilus*, to *Rome*, charging them to leave nothing unattempted, that could divert *Leo* from opposing a Decree, that had been made, signed, and confirmed by so many Bishops. At the same time he wrote a very kind and friendly Letter to *Leo*, congratulating him on the good Success of the Council, and intreating him, with the greatest Condescension and Good-nature, to join the rest in what they had done in favour of the See of *Constantinople*, which he looked

*The Emperor,
the Empress,
and Julian of
Cos, write to
Leo, begging
him to confirm
the 28th
Canon.*

^x Concil. ibid. p. 809. 819.

^y Concil. ibid.

r of
451.

upon as done to himself. The Emperor's Letter was accompanied by others from the Empress *Pulcheria*, from *Anatolius*, and from *Julian* of *Cos*, a Prelate in whom *Leo* reposed an intire Confidence, as being most zealously attached to the Orthodox Faith, and his See. These Letters were all calculated to sooth *Leo*, and procure, by that Means, his Approbation of the above-mentioned Decree. *Julian* of *Cos*, in his Letter, alleged several Arguments to convince him, that such a Regulation would, in the End, prove very advantageous even to those Churches, that seemed to have most Reason to complain of it; and concluded with begging it as a Favour, for which he should owe him an eternal Obligation, that he would not oppose the whole Body of the Eastern Bishops in an Affair, that, properly speaking, concerned them alone². He was afraid, as appears from his Letter, that *Leo*, taking Umbrage at the extensive Jurisdiction granted by the Council to the See of *Constantinople*, should be thereby prompted, notwithstanding his Prudence and Discretion, to enter into such Measures as might endanger the Peace of the Church. Hence he was very pressing with him not to condemn what a whole Council had approved, and the most numerous, and best conducted Council the World had yet seen. As for the Bishops, who had assisted at the Council, he well knew they were unalterably determined to maintain their own Decree, whether the Pope approved it or no.

poses it
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with.

ue
n why
posed i.

It was by these Letters that *Leo* first heard of the Determination of the Council; and he no sooner heard it, than, blind to all other Considerations, and only actuated by Jealousy, Envy, and Ambition, he resolved to oppose it with all his Might, and at all Events. He saw his Rival now but one Step behind him; he was apprehensive he might soon get before him; and therefore, looking upon the Increase of his Power as a Diminution of his own, he determined to dispute the former with the same Resolution and Vigour he would the latter. He also saw the Consequences of allowing the Dignity of the City to regulate that of the See, and was desirous to establish a different Notion for the Support of the pretended Dignity and Privileges of his See. That these were the Principles on which he acted, is but too plain; but to persuade the World, that his Opposition was owing to more Christian Motives, he took care to disguise them with a pretended Zeal for the Decrees of *Nice*, for the Practice of Antiquity,

² Concil. ibid. p. 798. Leo, ep. 78, 79, 80, 81.

for the Rights and Privileges of the Patriarchal Sees of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. And that Zeal, which he said it would be highly criminal in him not to exert, on such an Occasion, he alleged in his Answer to *Marcian* and *Pulcheria*, as the only Motive that restrained him from concurring with the rest, in exalting, agreeably to their Inclination, the See of *Constantinople*, *Far be it from me*, said he, in his Letter to *Marcian*, *to envy the See of Constantinople its due Lustre: but as the Decree, lately enacted in favour of that See, is an open Violation of the Canons of Nice; as it is incumbent upon me to watch and see, that the Decrees of that great and venerable Assembly be punctually observed; I should think myself guilty of an unpardonable Crime, should I, upon any Consideration whatever, connive at the least Transgression of those sacred Laws; Laws of eternal Authority, which no Council, however numerous, can ever abrogate or annul.* The same things he urges in his Answer to *Pulcheria*; only taking there more upon him, as he knew her to be greatly attached to his See, he declared, by the Authority of St. *Peter*, the late Decree void and null, as utterly inconsistent with the established Discipline of the Church. In both Letters he ascribes the procuring of such unwarrantable Honours for the See of *Constantinople* to the Pride and Ambition of *Anatolius*; intreats both *Marcian* and *Pulcheria* to divert him, by their Authority, from pursuing such wild Pretensions; and concludes with declaring, that, as for himself, he is unalterably determined to withstand them to his last Breath, thinking himself bound in Duty, as presiding in the Apostolic See, to maintain the antient Customs, and oppose all Innovations, by whomsoever introduced ^a. In his Answer to *Anatolius* he even threatens to cut him off from his Communion, if he does not relinquish his Pretensions ^b, that is, if he does not renounce the Privileges and Honours, that had been quietly enjoyed by his Predecessors for a long Series of Years, and confirmed to his See, by the Decrees of Two Oecumenical Councils. Had the Privileges and Honours enjoyed by the See of *Rome* a better Sanction? Had *Leo* a better Right to the First Place, than *Anatolius* had to the Second? In his Letter to *Julian* of *Cos*, he gently reprimands that Prelate for suffering his Good-nature to be imposed upon, so far as to ask what it was alike criminal to ask and to grant. He expresses the greatest

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The Reasons
he alleges.

^a Leo, ep. 78, 79.

^b Id. ep. 80.

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Friendship and Regard for him, as for one, who had hitherto so well deserved of the Orthodox Faith, and the Apostolic See: but at the same time lets him know, that he prefers the Observance of the Canons to his Friendship; and therefore advises him, as a Friend, not to trouble him for the future with such Requests, but rather strive to divert *Anatolius* from attempting what it was impossible for him ever to accomplish, and what he might soon repent his having ever attempted ^c.

The Bishops
of the Coun-
cil provoked
at Leo's Ob-
stinacy.

The Presumption, and invincible Obstinacy, which *Leo* betrayed on this Occasion, gave great Offence to all the Bishops who had assisted at the Council. They could not brook his Presumption, taxing, as he did in all his Letters, so numerous a Council with a Breach of the Canons of *Nice*, as if he alone had reached the true Meaning of those Canons, or alone had a due Regard for the Discipline established by them in the Church. But the Emperor was so far from repenting, as the Fathers of the Council thought he would do, *Leo's* thus peremptorily refusing to comply with his Request, that on the con-

The Emperor
commends
him, and ob-
liges *Anato-*
lius to ap-
pease him.
Anatolius's
Letter to *Leo*
unworthy of
a Man of his
Rank.

trary he commended him for his inviolable Attachment to the Canons of the Fathers ^d; nay, and obliged *Anatolius*, upon *Leo's* threatening a Second time to cut him off from his Communion, to appease the angry Pope by a Letter, well calculated indeed for that Purpose, but ill becoming a Prelate of *Anatolius's* Dignity and Rank in the Church ^e. For in that Letter forgetting both, he addressed him with such Terms and Expressions, as might be thought degrading in an Address from the meanest Bishop to his Metropolitan or Patriarch. He begins with expressing the greatest Uneasiness and Concern at *Leo's* forbearing to write to him; for *Leo* had declared he never would be reconciled to him, nor have any kind of Intercourse or Communication with him, till he had assured him by his Letters, that he sincerely renounced those Claims and Pretensions, that had rendered him unworthy of his Correspondence. In the next Place, *Anatolius* excuses himself, as if he had been no-ways instrumental in procuring the controverted Decree, and lays the whole Blame on the Ecclesiastics of *Constantinople*, pretending it had been solicited by them alone. He adds, that, as for himself, he was a Stranger to all Ambition, but that of executing what his Holiness should think fit to command; and that, after all, the Validity of what had been done by

^c Idem ep. 81.

^d Facund. l. 5. c. 4. Concil. t. 4. p. 1207.

^e Leo ep. 105.

the Council depended on its being confirmed by his See^f (A). The good Emperor thought himself bound both as a Christian, and as Year of
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Emperor,

^f Leo *ibid*.

(A) This Letter is frequently quoted to prove, 1st, That the Bishop of *Constantinople* acknowledged the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* over him, and his See. 2^{dly}, That the Validity of Decrees, enacted even by Oecumenical Councils, depends on their being confirmed by the See of *Rome*. But as to the first, who can think, that *Anatolius*, saying *he had no other Ambition than that of executing the Commands of his Holiness*, really meant what he said? From the very Terms he made use of, it is manifest he did not; else we might conclude him to have acknowledged the Bishop of *Rome* for his Lord and Master; since no Vassal can address his Sovereign in Terms of greater Submission and Duty. It is not from the Words of Men, especially in Letters and Addresses to Persons in high Stations of Life, but from their Actions, that we are to judge of their Sincerity; and in the present Case it is but too plain, that *Anatolius* had some other Ambition besides that of executing the Commands of his Holiness, nothing being more certain, than that he was the first and chief Promoter of the controverted Decree, though, in his Letter to *Leo*, he thought it advisable to disown it. *Words of Honour or Respect*, that is, Compliments, common among Men, are not to be interpreted, as importing real Dependence and Subjection in the one, or real Power and Authority in the other, said the Greek Emperor in the Council of *Florence*, when some Expressions, used by the Fathers in their Letters or Addresses to the Popes, were alleged to prove, that they had acknowledged the Papal Authority (1). The Pope styles himself, in all his Bulls, *Servus Servorum Dei*, the Servant of the Servants of God; but, at the same time, he requires even his Colleagues to acknowledge him for their Lord, and to swear Fealty to him as such.

As to what *Anatolius* says, in the Second place, to the Pope, that *the Validity of what had been done by the Council, depended on its being confirmed by his See*; it is cer-

tain, that neither he, nor any of the Fathers of the Council, thought so; else they would never have ordered the controverted Canon to be registred, as they certainly did, among the other Canons of the Council, without waiting till it was confirmed by him, notwithstanding the warm and repeated Protests and Remonstrances of his Legates against it. But whatever *Anatolius* may have thought, or said, on the present Occasion, it is well known, that his Predecessors all maintained, and so did all the Bishops in the East, the Decree of the Council of *Constantinople*, allotting the Second Place to the See of that City, to be valid and binding; and that none of his Successors ever questioned the Validity either of that, or of the present Decree, tho' neither was confirmed, but both were strongly opposed, by the See of *Rome*. It is true, the Fathers of *Chalcedon* wrote to *Leo*, intreating him to confirm the Decree they had made; and so they would have written, for the sake of Peace, Unity, and Concord, to any other Bishop of Rank and Character, who had taken upon him to oppose it. But it is observable, that in their Letter, though extremely complaisant and respectful, they very industriously avoided all Terms and Expressions, that might incline *Leo*, or others, to imagine they thought the Validity of their Decree any-ways depended on its being confirmed by him, or his See (2). This Letter was signed by all the Bishops, who were present at that Session, and by *Anatolius* the First of all; which was implicitly acknowledging the Decree to be valid, though opposed by the Pope's Legates, and not yet confirmed by him. At the same time *Anatolius* wrote separately to *Leo*; but it was only to complain of the Opposition, made by his Legates, to what it had pleased an Oecumenical Council to ordain, in Behalf of his See (3). For in that Letter he did not so much as desire *Leo* to confirm what the Council had done. From what has been said, it is manifest, that, with respect to the Validity of the

(1) Con. Flor. Sess. 25.

(2) Concil. t. 4. p. 834—838.

(3) Leo ep. 80.

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What prompted the Emperor to favour the Pope.

Emperor, to maintain the Peace of the Church at any Rate ; and to prevent the Bishops from quarreling about Power, after he had, with so much Trouble, brought them to agree about the Faith. But, on the other hand, he was too well acquainted with the jealous Temper of the Bishop of *Rome*, too sensible of the Umbrage he took at the least Increase of Power in his Rival of *Constantinople*, though he strove to disguise it with the specious Name of Zeal for the Canons, to imagine he ever would yield. In order therefore to divert him from rekindling the War, and involving the Church in new Troubles, which his excommunicating *Anatolius* would unavoidably have done, he obliges the latter, who was his Subject, to submit, and write the Letter I have mentioned. Thus were many of the Prerogatives, which the Bishops of *Rome* have since claimed as their Right, extorted either from Princes, or their own Collegues, chusing rather to gratify them in their Demands, however unreasonable, than to endanger the Peace of the Church, by opposing them as they ought to have done. Hence we may account for what *Baronius* often observes, though his Observation is very far from being universally true ; viz. that the best Princes, as well as Prelates, have been the most complaisant to the Popes ; that Complaisance was owing in them, as it was in *Marqian*, to their Love of Peace and Charity ; and those only were a Match for the Popes, who valued either as little as they.

Decree, *Anatolius* thought as the other Bishops did. He expressed, it is true, very different Sentiments in his Letter to *Leo*. But that Letter he wrote in Obedience to the express Command of the Emperor, requiring him to satisfy the Bishop of *Rome* ; and he was well apprised, that he could by no other Means satisfy the Bishop of *Rome*, but by pretending, contrary to his known and avowed Sentiments, the Decree of the Council to be null, unless it were confirmed by him. *Anatolius* therefore was not so much to blame for thus prostituting, in some degree, the Dignity of his See, and the Independency of Councils, to the Ambition of his Rival, as the Emperor himself. He was indeed a pious and religious Prince, an excellent Soldier, and well acquainted with the Discipline of the Army, in which he had been brought up from his Youth, and had served several Years as a private Man, but an intire Stranger to the Episcopal Rights, and the Discipline of the Church, as appears from his

Conduct, not only on the present, but on several other Occasions. Besides, he had been wrought up by *Pulcheria*, as she had been by *Leo*, who had an intire Ascendant over her, into a mighty Opinion of the Merit of *St. Peter* above that of the other Apostles, of the Privileges, Dignity, and Pre-eminence of his Throne ; and both were made to believe, that they were promoting the Interest of the Christian Religion, and the Glory of *St. Peter*, while, to the utter Subversion of all Order and Discipline, they were only feeding the unchristian Pride, and boundless Ambition, of the pretended Successor of that Apostle.

I might add here, that *Anatolius* perhaps meant no more, than that as, without the Consent of the Emperor, the Decree of the Council could not be valid, the Validity of it would depend on the Pope, since, if he did not confirm it, the Emperor seemed inclined to revoke his Consent, and so annul the Decree.

Leo

Leo expressed the greatest Joy at the Receipt of *Anatolius's* Letter, and; construing the Expressions he used into an intire Submission, as if he relinquished his Pretensions, and owned the Canon of *Chalcedon* to be a Violation of the Canons of *Nice*, he renewed his Correspondence with him, and acquainted him by a very obliging Letter, that he was fully satisfied with his present, and had intirely forgot his past Conduct &c. Some are of Opinion, that *Anatolius* really meant to renounce his Pretensions; others, that he meant no more than to compliment *Leo*, by an apparent Submission, into a better Humour, and by that means satisfy both him and the Emperor ^h. However that be, certain it is, that the Canon was put in Execution; that the Bishops of *Constantinople*, in spite of all the Efforts of *Leo*, and his Successors, continued to exercise a Patriarchal Jurisdiction over the Three Dioces of *Asia*, *Pontus*, and *Thrace*; and that they claim, to this Day, the Precedency of the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. By this Canon was established a kind of Warfare between the Sees of *Rome* and *Constantinople*, the Two first Bishops of the Church, who should have set a better Example to the rest, disputing, in Defiance of the Gospel, and to the great Scandal of the Christian Name and Religion, *who should be the greatest*, till they became irreconcilable Enemies, and renounced for ever all Communication with each other.

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Leo recon-
ciled with
Anatolius.

But the Ca-
non put in
Execution by
the Successors
of Anatolius.

Before we dismiss this Subject, it may not be improper to observe, that out of the 630 Bishops, who composed the present Assembly, not one knew, or had the least Notion of any Honours, Privileges, or Pre-rogatives due to the See of *Rome* by Divine Right, or that were derived to it from its pretended Founder, *St. Peter*. On the contrary, they supposed every Prerogative, peculiar to that See, not only to be of human Institution, but to have been granted merely in Consideration of the City. This evidently appears from the Terms they used in confirming the Decree of the Second Oecumenical Council, placing the See of *Constantinople* next in Dignity to that of *Rome*: *Whereas the See of Old Rome*, said they, *had been not undeservedly distinguished, by the Fathers, with some Privileges*, BECAUSE THAT CITY WAS THE SEAT OF THE EMPIRE; *the Fathers of Constantinople were prompted by the same Motive to distinguish the most Holy See of New Rome with equal Privileges, thinking it fit, that the*

All the Bi-
shops of the
Council
Strangers to
any Privi-
leges due to the
See of Rome
by Divine
Right, or that
were derived
from St. Peter

^a Idem ep. 106, 107. ^b Concil. t. 4. per Quesnel, p. 1207. Liberat. Brev. c. 13.

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All Ecclesiastical Primacies, Superiorities, &c. of human Institution.

City, which they saw honoured with the Empire, and the Senate, and equalled in every Civil Privilege to Old Rome, should be likewise equalled to her in Ecclesiastical Matters ⁱ. Not a Word here of *St. Peter*, of his Chair, of any Privileges, or Honours, derived from him to the See of *Old Rome*, or inherent in it by Divine Right. All the Privileges, then enjoyed by that See, are said to have been granted by the Fathers, and the Dignity of the City is alleged as the only Motive that induced the Fathers to grant them. And indeed we need only dip into the History of the Church, or the Writings of the Fathers, to be fully convinced, that no Privileges were originally enjoyed by one See, but what were common to all; that there were originally no First or Second Sees, but that all were equal, intirely independent of each other; and consequently that all Primacies, Superiorities, Dependencies, are of human Institution, having been first introduced by Custom, and afterwards confirmed by several Councils, as necessary or expedient for the better regulating of Ecclesiastical Matters, and the maintaining of Unity and Concord among the Prelates of the Church. I have shewn elsewhere ^k the Ecclesiastical Polity to have been formed on the Plan of the Civil, and the Sees to have been ranked according to the Cities, without any kind of Regard to their Founders; and therefore shall only observe here, that the Fathers of *Constantinople*, in decreeing to that See the Second Place in Dignity, when the City had attained to that Honour, acted agreeably to the Principles on which the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy was grounded; and that the Fathers of *Chalcedon* acted likewise agreeably to the same Principles, in decreeing to the See, which had been thus exalted, a Jurisdiction suitable to its Dignity. And it is to be observed, that neither of these Decrees was in the least derogatory to the Canons of *Nice*, though it was chiefly on that Consideration they were both, by *Leo*, declared null, and as such rejected by him and his Successors. For in the original and authentic Copies of that Council no Mention at all is made of Rank, or the Precedency of one See with respect to another; so that the Council of *Constantinople* might, without derogating in the least from the Canons of *Nice*, have decreed even the First Place to the See of that City. I said, *in the original and authentic Copies of that Council*; for in the *Latin* Translation of the Sixth Canon, which *Leo's* Legates had the Assu-

ⁱ Concil. t. 4. p. 838.

^k See Vol. I. p. 104, et seq.

ance to produce in the Council of *Chalcedon*, the See of *Rome* was said to have always enjoyed the Primacy¹. But these Words were looked upon by all the Fathers of that Assembly as an Interpolation and Forgery; and therefore have been since left out in the best Translations of those Canons, and even by *Dionysius Exiguus*, in his *Roman Code*. And indeed they are quite foreign to the Purpose of the Canon, to which they were added; a Canon relating only to Authority and Jurisdiction, as we shall see hereafter. I must add, that as nothing was determined by the First Oecumenical Council, that of *Nice*, concerning Rank or Precedency, but only by the Second, that of *Constantinople*, it was to the latter, and to the very Canon, which *Leo* opposed, as his Successors have done, with so much Warmth and Obstinacy, that *Rome* herself owed her Primacy; for nothing that concerned the whole Church, could be determined without the Concurrence of the whole Church, that is, of an Oecumenical Council. And the Council of *Constantinople* was the first, that made any Regulations concerning Rank or Precedency. And it was on the Canon of that very Council, especially after it had been confirmed by the Council of *Chalcedon*, that the Emperors founded their Edicts, declaring the See of *Rome* to be the First, and that of *Constantinople* the Second. *We declare*, says *Justinian* in one of his Laws^m, *the most holy Pope of Old Rome to be the First of all Bishops, agreeably to the Canons; and the most holy Archbishop of Constantinople, called New Rome, to hold the Second Place after the holy Apostolic See of Old Rome*. It is true, that at the time of the Council of *Constantinople* the See of *Rome* was already, by Custom or Prescription, in Possession of the First Place. But it is likewise true, that the See of *Constantinople* was, by Custom or Prescription, in Possession of the Second Place; and had been so ever since the Removal of the Imperial Seat to that City. Thus, after all, *Constantinople* held the Second Place by the same Charter as *Rome* did the First; or let the Popes produce a better, without recurring to the chimerical and exploded Notion of a Divine Right, to which the Fathers both of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon* were utter Strangers, as I have shewn above.

From what has been said it is manifest, that the First Part of the Canon of *Chalcedon*, confirming the Second Place of Honour to the

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Christ 451.

Rome herself
owes her
Primacy to
the Councils
of Constantinople and
Chalcedon.

The 28th
Canon of
Chalcedon
no ways de-
rogatory to
the Canons of
Nice.

¹ Concil. ibid. p. 812.

^m Justin. novel. 131. tit. 14. c. 2.

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Christ 451.

Canons, re-
pugnant to
those of Nice,
allowed by the
Popes to be
valid, when
made in fa-
vour of their
See.

The Decrees
of Nice not
more irre-
versible than
those of any
other Oecu-
menical
Council.

See of *Constantinople*, was no-ways derogatory, as *Leo* pretended, to the Canons of *Nice*. But neither was the Second Part of that Canon, vesting the Bishop of *Constantinople* with a Patriarchal Jurisdiction over the Three Dioceses of *Pontus*, *Asia*, and *Thrace*. For by the 6th Canon of *Nice*, and *Leo* could mean no other, was only confirmed to the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, a Power and Jurisdiction over certain Districts, like to that, which the Bishop of the City of Rome was authorized by Custom (not by Divine Right, not as the Successor and Heir of St. *Peter*) to exercise over the Suburbicarian Provinces. Not a Word there of *Asia*, *Pontus*, or *Thrace*; and it was over these Dioceses alone, that the Council of *Chalcedon* extended the Jurisdiction of the See of *Constantinople*; or rather confirmed, to use the Words of the Council, the Custom, which obtained in the holy Church of *Constantinople*, of ordaining *Metropolitans* in *Asia*, *Pontus*, and *Thrace*. But allowing the Canon of *Chalcedon* to have been derogatory to that of *Nice*, it was not surely more so than the 3d, 4th, and 5th of *Sardica*, allowing Appeals, under certain Restrictions, to the See of *Rome*, were to the 5th of *Nice*, ordaining all Causes to be finally decided by the Bishops of each Province. And yet the Power of receiving Appeals *Leo* claimed, and maintained, perhaps with more Warmth than any of his Predecessors had done, though grounded on a Canon repugnant to the Canons of *Nice*, Canons, with him, of an eternal and inviolable Authority; for so he frequently styles them, when they restrained the Ambition of others; but of none, when they set Bounds to his own. And here, by the way, since *Leo*, in all his Letters, lays so great Stress on the eternal and irreversible Authority of the Canons of *Nice*, why should the Canons of that, rather than those of any other Oecumenical Council, be thought unalterable, irreversible, everlastingly binding? I mean such Canons as relate only to the Ecclesiastical Polity, or the Discipline of the Church. The Faith indeed is unalterable, and so are the Canons containing Definitions of Faith, because what is true at one time, must be true in all times. But, in point of Discipline, Experience teaches us, that what is expedient, and even necessary, at one time, may be quite otherwise at another. Hence several Regulations, wisely made by Oecumenical Councils, in antient Times, have been no less wisely revoked by other Councils, in later Ages. And to suppose Decrees or Ordinances of any Council what-

whatever to be *irrevocable*, and *everlastingly* binding, is supposing the Church, which is represented alike by all Oecumenical Councils lawfully assembled, to have a Power of modelling her Discipline, as she thinks proper, but not of altering, let the Occasion be ever so urgent, the Discipline she has once established; than which nothing can be more absurd.

As to *Leo's* other Plea, *viz.* That *Constantinople* was not an Apostolic See, it is quite nugatory, and scarce worthy of our Notice. For neither was *Alexandria* an Apostolic See, and yet it was preferred to *Antioch*, that most antient and truly Apostolic Church, as *Sozomen* styles it^a, supposed to have been founded, and governed, for seven whole Years, by *St. Peter* himself. *Cæsarea of Palestine* was not an Apostolic See; and yet it was preferred to *Jerusalem*, not only an Apostolic See, but the Seat of our Lord himself, the Mother of all Churches, and of all Churches the most famous for the Mysteries of our Redemption, and the most revered^o (A). Here *Baronius* chimes in with *Leo*, in exclaiming against the Fathers of *Chalcedon*, for supposing the Dignity of the Sees to have any Dependence upon, or Relation to, the Dignity of the Cities; not remembering, it seems, or thinking his Readers did not remember, that he had owned elsewhere^p the See of *Alexandria* to have been

Leo's Plea, that Constantinople was not an Apostolic See, quite nugatory.

Baronius contradicts himself.

^a Soz. l. 3. c. 8. ^o Epiph. syn. Const. Optat. l. 6. p. 169. ^p Bar. ad ann. 39. n. 10.

(A) All Bishops were originally distinguished from Presbyters, by the Name of *Apostles*; the Names *Bishop* and *Presbyter* being, in the early times, common to them with mere Presbyters. The same Persons, says *Theodoret* (1), were antiently styled Bishops and Presbyters, while those, who are now called Bishops, were named *Apostles*. But, in Process of Time, the Name of *Apostle* was appropriated to the first *Apostles*; and then the Name of *Bishop* was given to those who before were called *Apostles*. This he repeats in several other Places of his Writings (2). The same thing is asserted in a Work, which is commonly ascribed to *St. Ambrose*. All Bishops, says that Writer, were at first called *Apostles* (3);

and elsewhere (4), they, who are now called Bishops, were originally called *Apostles*. As all Bishops were styled *Apostles*, so were all Bishops Sees dignified with the Title of *Apostolic Sees*. The Catholic Church, says *St. Austin* (5), is spread and propagated over the whole World, by the *Apostolic Sees*, and by the Succession of Bishops, who sit in them. The Title of *Apostolic* is likewise given by *Sidonius Apollinaris* (6), by *Paulinus* (7), and many others, to the Sees of private Bishops. However, it was afterwards appropriated to such Sees as had been founded by some of the *Apostles*; and lastly claimed by the Popes, as peculiar to their See, because founded, as was supposed, by the Prince of the *Apostles*.

(1) Theodt. Com. in 1 Tim. iii.

(2) Ambros. Com. in Eph. iv.

(3) Ambros. Com. in Eph. iv. de off. Eccles. l. 2. c. 13.

(4) Paulin. ep. 45.

(5) Idem Comm. in Phil. i. 1. et in Phil. ii.

(6) Idem Comm. in Gal. i. 1. Amularius

(7) Aug. ep. 42. ad Fratres Madaurenf.

(8) Sid. l. 6.

The History of the POPES, or Leo.

preferred to that of *Antioch*, for no other Reason, but because the Prefecture of *Egypt*, having *Alexandria* for its Metropolis, was more honourable than the Prefecture of *Syria*, whereof *Antioch* was the Metropolis; and that he had acknowledged, at the same time, *no other Rule to have been observed by the Antients, in instituting the Ecclesiastical Sees, than the Division of Provinces, and the Prerogatives before established by the Romans* 9.

The Fathers of *Chalcedon* were not satisfied with ranking the See of *Constantinople* next in Dignity to that of *Rome*, with equaling it in every other Prerogative and Privilege to the See of *Rome*, and extending its Patriarchal Jurisdiction over Three whole Dioceses: but in order to raise the Bishop of the Imperial City still higher, and honour his See with a new Mark of Distinction, well becoming the Dignity of the City, and the Empire, they thought proper to vest him with a most ample and unlimited Power of receiving Appeals from all other Ecclesiastical Tribunals, at least in the East, and of finally deciding all Controversies and Causes whatever. These are the very Words of the Canon: *If any Bishop shall have a Dispute with the Metropolitan of his Province, he shall appeal to, and be judged by, the Exarch of the Diocese, or by the See of Constantinople* 1 (A). I said, *at least in the East*; for though such a Power was granted, without any Exception, Restriction, or Reservation; yet I cannot think it was the Intention of the Council to extend it beyond the Limits of the Eastern Empire. However that be, we may well challenge the Pope, and all the Advocates for the Papal Power, to produce any thing in favour of his Pretensions, that can be compared with the present Decree; a Decree enacted by the most numerous, and most regular Council that had been held till that time in the Church; that was freely signed by all the Bishops who com-

9 Idem ibid.

1 Concil. t. 4. p. 763.

(A) This Canon was evidently repugnant to the Canons of *Nice*. And yet *Leo*, who, agreeably to his Principles, might have rejected it, on that Score, as null, took no more Notice of it, than if it had been intirely agreeable to those Canons. And indeed he acted therein a very wise Part; since he well knew the Canons of *Sardica*, allowing Appeals to the See of

Rome, to be no less derogatory to the Canons of *Nice*, than that of *Chalcedon*, allowing Appeals to the See of *Constantinople*. And to have pretended the Canons of *Nice* to be *irrevocable, irreversibile, everlastingly binding*, when they curtailed his own Power, as well as that of his Rival, had been carrying the Joke a little too far.

posed it, and was afterwards confirmed by the Imperial Edicts. It was chiefly by this Decree, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* was encouraged, as we shall see hereafter, to assume the Title of *Oecumenical Patriarch*, to style his Church *the Head of all Churches*, and to claim, on the Downfal of the Western Empire, the Primacy itself (B). Year of
Christ 451.

Before we proceed to the other Transactions of the present Pontificate, I must beg Leave to interrupt, for a while, the Thread of the History, and observe, that it is chiefly from the Authority, assumed by the Pope's Legates, in the present Council, and the Acquiescence of the Bishops who composed it, as well as of the Imperial Commissioners, that *Bellarmino**, and after him the other Popish Writers, argue the Superiority of the *Pope* to Oecumenical Councils, that is, to the whole Church. And it is in this pretended Superiority, that the arbitrary, despotic, and uncontrollable *Monarchy* of the Pope, commonly known by the less odious Name of *Supremacy*, is properly said to consist. For by such a Superiority, those who maintain it, that is, all true Papists, mean, 1. That the Authority of the Pope is greater than that of any Council, however numerous, though even composed of all the Bishops of the Catholic Church; insomuch that should such a Council and the Pope disagree, all Men would be bound, on Pain of Damnation, to abandon the former, and adhere to the latter. 2. That no Council can make Laws, that are binding with respect to the Pope, or that the Pope may not abrogate and annul at his Pleasure, let them be ever so expedient, just, or necessary, agreeably to the famous Aphorism of *Innocent III.* equally pregnant

The Authority assumed by the Pope's Legates, in this Council, no Argument of his Supremacy.

* Bell. de Concil. auct. l. 2. c. 17.

(B) One would hardly believe that the above-mentioned Decree could be so interpreted as to favour the Pretensions of the Popes. And yet it was so interpreted by Pope *Nicolas* in one of his Letters (1): *To say the Primate, or Exarch of the Diocese, these are his own Words, is as much as to say the Primate of the Dioceses, or of all the Dioceses; and whom but the Vicar of the prime Apostle could the holy Synod style the Primate of all the Dioceses?* Thence he concludes, that, agreeably to the Canon of *Chalcedon*, Appeals should be first made to the Pope, and only with his Permission,

and the Consent of the Party, to the Bishop of *Constantinople*. He chose, it seems, rather to admit the Decree of so great an Assembly, and explain it away, if by any means he could, than absolutely reject it; and after all, his Explanation, however absurd and ridiculous, is not perhaps more so, than most of the Reasons alleged by *Leo*, to colour the Ambition and Jealousy, by which alone, as it is but too apparent, he was prompted to oppose and reject the unanimous Determination of so respectable and numerous a Council.

(1) Nic. I. ep. 8.

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with Nonsense and Blasphemy, *We, according to the Plenitude of our Power, have a Right to dispense with all Right*^a; that is, in other Words, we have a Right to do Wrong, or a Power to change Wrong into Right. And truly *Bellarmino* is so complaisant to the Popes, as to allow them that Power; for, according to him, *should the Pope injoin Vice, and forbid Virtue, the Church would sin, if she did not believe Virtue to be Evil, and Vice to be good*^b. But that infamous Doctrine was not first broached by *Bellarmino*. It was taught long before his time; for Cardinal *Zabarel*, who flourished near 400 Years ago, writes, that *in his, and in the preceding times, the Popes had been persuaded, by their flattering Divines, that they might do whatever they pleased, even such things, as were in themselves, and with respect to others, unlawful; and so could do more than God himself*^c. 3. In virtue of the above-mentioned Superiority, the Pope, how profligate soever and wicked, can by no Council be judged, or deposed. *Should a Pope be so wicked, says one of the Papal Canons, as to carry with him innumerable Souls to Hell, let no Man presume to find fault with him, or reprove him, because he, who is to judge all Men, is to be judged by none*^d. Such Propositions cannot be heard without Horror: and yet they alone are deemed true *Roman Catholics*, they alone are favoured and caressed by the Popes, who hold, teach, and maintain them. *Bellarmino* employs a whole Book to prove, that the Pope is not the Antichrist^e. I will not take upon me to say, that he is (A), though that has been the Opinion of several Men of very great Learning, But whether he is the Antichrist or no, the Doctrines he teaches are certainly Antichristian, and the Antichrist, come when he will, cannot teach or countenance worse; nay, to be a complete Antichrist, or completely opposite to Christ, who was *meek and lowly in Heart*, who owned, that his *Kingdom was not of this World*, who fled, when the People would have made him King, he must copy from the Pope, suffering his Power to be called, in an Address to him, *infinite, omnipotent, incomprehensible*^f, and claiming to himself *all*

^a Inn. III. Decret. Greg. l. 3. tit. 8. c. 4.

^b Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 5.

^c Zabar. de Schif.

^d *Si Papa suæ*, &c. Grat. dist. 40. c. 6.

^e Bell. de Rom.

Pont. l. 3.

^f Aug. Triumph. de Potest. Eccles. in præf. ad Joan. xxii.

(A) Our King *James I.* used jocularly to say, that he would not swear the Pope was the Antichrist; but if there were a

Hue-and-cry after the Antichrist, the Pope would certainly be taken up.

Power

Power in Heaven, and in Earth, as having been constituted Prince over all Nations, and all Kingdoms, with a Plenitude of Power to root up, and to plant; to destroy, and to save; to raise up and pull down at his Pleasure^a.

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To prove the spiritual Supremacy of the Pope (for of the Temporal we shall have Occasion to speak at Length hereafter), *Bellarmino* recurs in the first Place to Scripture; and having plainly descried the Pope in the *faithful and wise Steward* spoken of in *St. Luke*^b, and in the *good Shepherd*, mentioned by *St. John*^c, he argues thus; as the Steward is above the Household, as the Shepherd is above the Flock, so is the Pope above the Church^d. To the Authority of the Scripture he adds that of Two Councils, *viz.* of *Sinnessa*, under *Marcellinus*, and of *Rome* under *Sylvester*; both declaring that *the First See is to be judged by none* (B). But that no such Councils were ever

Blasphemies
of the Popes,
and their
flattering
Divines,
concerning
their Power.

^a Pius V. in Bull. contra R. Eliz. ibid.

^b Luke xii. 42.

^c John x. 12.

^d Bell.

(B) It was natural for the Popish Writers, in the handling of such a Subject, to recur in the first Place to the Council of *Jerusalem*, and attempt to prove, from the Conduct of their first Pope *St. Peter*, who did not think it below him to assist at it in Person, his Superiority to that, and the Superiority of his pretended Successors to all future Councils. And yet of that Council most of them take no more notice than if it had never been held: an incontestable Proof, that they could discover nothing in the Behaviour of *St. Peter* towards the other Apostles, or in the Behaviour of the other Apostles towards *St. Peter*, that could in the least countenance the Doctrine, which they were striving to establish, or rather that did not absolutely discountenance it. And, truly, what Mark of Distinction did *St. Peter* require; what Mark of Distinction did the others yield to him in that Assembly? In the first Place, it was not summoned or convened by him; but some pretending, that it was *needful to circumcise the Gentiles, the Apostles and Elders came together*, by common Agreement, to consider of this Matter (1). 2dly, *St. Peter* did not preside, but rather *St. James*, to whom, says *Chrysostom*, as *Bishop of Jerusalem*, the

Government was committed (2). 3dly, *When there had been much disputing*, so that every one delivered his Opinion with great Freedom, *St. Peter* rose up, and delivered his, backing it with Reasons (3), and not exacting a blind Faith to what he said, though undoubtedly grounded on a particular Revelation. After him spoke *Paul* and *Barnabas*; and, when they had done, *St. James* first confirmed, with Reasons drawn from the Scripture, what they had said, and then with Apostolic Gravity formed the Definition, and pronounced the Decree; *I therefore judge* (*ὁ δὲ κύριος κρινῶ*), that is, says *Chrysostom*, *I authoritatively say, that we trouble not them, who, from among the Gentiles, are turned to God, &c.* (4); so that *St. Peter* made an Harangue, as an antient Author observes (5); but *St. James* enacted the Law. Such is the Account we have of this Council in Holy Writ; and I shall add nothing to it, but only observe, that if, on this important Occasion, greater Respect was shewn to one Apostle than to another, if greater Authority was exerted by one Apostle than by another, the greater Respect was shewn to *St. James*; and by *St. James* was exerted the greater Authority. And yet I do not find, that his Successors

(1) Acts xvi. 5, 6.
13—19.

(2) Chrys. Hom. 59.
(5) Hefych. apud Phot. cod. 275.

(3) Ver. 7—11.

(4) Ver.

of 451. ever held, I have shewn elsewhere ^e; and as to his Proof from Scripture, it is too ridiculous and trifling to deserve a grave Answer; and therefore I shall only say, that to discover the Pope in the *wise Steward*, or in the *good Shepherd*, one must be no less sharp-sighted than *Innocent III.* was, who found him out, with all his Attributes, in the First Chapter of *Genesis* ^f. And indeed he is as plainly there, as in any other Place of the *Old* or *New Testament*. But what *Bellarmino*, and the other *Roman Catholic* Writers, chiefly urge, in favour of the Papal Supremacy, is the Behaviour and Conduct of the Pope's Legates in the Council of *Chalcedon*.

ughly our Pope's is at ouncil. It must be owned, that they acted there, as if the Person they represented were above the Council, and perhaps with the Air of as much Authority, as the Legates of any Pope have done since that time. In the first Opening of the Council they addressed the Commissioners, who represented the Person of the Emperor, and were all Men of the first Rank, in the Dialect of the highest Authority. *We have*, said they, *an Order from the most blessed and Apostolic Pope of the City of Rome, &c. by which he has been pleased to command, &c.* Did the Pope's Legates, at the Council of *Trent*, speak in a more lofty Strain? In the Charge they brought against *Dioscorus*, they imputed it to him as a Crime, that he had presumed to assemble a Council without the Consent of the Apostolic See; which, they said, had never been thought lawful, and had never been done. In the Sentence, which they pronounced against that Prelate, they named the *Archbishop of the great and antient City of Rome* in the First Place, themselves in the Second, and the Council after both; nay, they ascribed the deposing of the Second Bishop of the Catholic Church chiefly to *Leo*, and only to the Council, as acting

^e See Vol. I. p. 81. et 113, 114. ^f Inn. III. in Decret. Greg. I. 33. 6.

ever attempted to build a Supremacy on such a Foundation, though infinitely more capable of bearing it, than any that have been yet laid by those, who pretend to have succeeded *St. Peter*. But *St. Peter*, say some, apprised of his Rank, spoke the first. He had shewn himself better apprised of his Rank, had he spoken the last, pronounced the Decree, and enacted the Law. Besides, he did not speak the first of all; for

there had been much disputing, before he offered to speak. His speaking before the other Apostles is no better Proof of his being any-ways superior to them, than that, which has been alleged by some to prove, that *St. John* was, in some respects, superior to him; viz. because he out-ran him, and got first to the Sepulchre (1); which, in the Opinion of some Visionaries, and even of *St. Jerom*, contained infinite Mysteries.

(1) John xx. 4.

under him, and by his Authority : Leo *deposes by us, and the present Council*, &c. were the Words of the Sentence, as if the whole Power had been lodged in him, and by him communicated to the Council, no otherwise than it was to his Legates. The like Style they used in restoring the Bishops, who had been deposed or suspended for joining *Dioscorus* in the Violences committed at *Ephesus*: *The Apostolic See*, said the Legates, *forgives them*, and Leo, *the most holy Archbishop of Rome, receives them to his Communion, because they have acknowledged their Fault, and submitted to him, and the holy Oecumenical Council*. Upon the Whole, say the Popish Writers, at this grand Assembly the Legates acted, as if the Authority of the Person, whom they represented, were superior to that of the Council ; as if the Council only acted by an Authority borrowed of him, or at least subordinate to his.

On the other hand, the Bishops who composed the Council, never once offered to controul or dispute the Authority they assumed; nay, on the contrary, in the Letter which they wrote to *Leo*, at the breaking up of the Council, they styled themselves the Members, and him the Head, adding, that it became the Head to approve and confirm what the Members had done, as the Members had, with great Readiness, seconded their Head in every good Resolution he had thought proper to suggest & These Expressions from a Council of 600 Bishops, and, what deserves particular Notice, almost all Eastern Bishops, have given the Champions of the Papal Power Occasion to triumph, as if the Controversy were plainly decided in their Favour, and no room were left, even for the most obdurate Heretics, to dispute the Supremacy, or the Superiority of the Pope to Oecumenical Councils, that is, to the collective Body, as they express it, of the universal Church. It belongs to the Head, says *Bellarmino* ^b, to govern the other Members at Pleasure; it would be in them the highest Presumption, should they pretend to govern the Head instead of being governed by it, and downright Frenzy, should they attempt to cut it off, how grievously soever distempered. A most impious Doctrine! calculated to subject the whole Church, which Christ, in his Goodness, has been pleased to make free, to the arbitrary Will of one Man, and thereby reduce her to a State of the most deplorable Thralldom, without any possible means of redeeming herself from

^a Concil. t. 4. p. 838.

^b Bell. de Concil. auſt. l. 2. c. 17.

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it, should her Governor even turn Tyrant, and attempt to destroy her; for the only Remedy allowed in that Case is, Patience and Prayers, till it pleases God to put an End to his Tyranny, either by converting him, or by putting an End to his Life ⁱ.

No such
Power as-
sumed by the
Legates of
other Popes.

But that no such Doctrine can be deduced from the Conduct of the Legates, the Acquiescence of the Bishops and Imperial Commissioners, or any Expressions used by the Council, may be easily shewn. And first, as to the assuming Conduct and Behaviour of the Legates, if it was owing, as the Papal Writers would make us believe, to their being apprised of a Superiority to all Oecumenical Councils vested in the Person, whom they represented, why did not the Legates, sent by the Predecessors of *Leo* to the other Oecumenical Councils, exert the like Authority? Were they, or were they not, apprised of a Superiority to all Oecumenical Councils vested in the Person, whom they represented? If they were not, we may well conclude the Popes, who sent them, to have been Strangers to it themselves; and consequently the boasted Supremacy to be, in the End, but a free Gift of their flattering Divines. If they were, why did they not act accordingly? Why did they not produce Orders and Commands from *the most blessed and Apostolic Pope of Rome*? Why did they not claim at least the Honour of presiding, where they had the Power of commanding? In short, why did the Popes so carefully conceal, for the Space of 450 Years, a Truth, which it was of the utmost Importance for the whole Christian World to know? I say *carefully conceal*, for if we examine the Conduct of the Legates, who assisted at the other Oecumenical Councils, we shall find nothing either in their Speeches or Actions, that looks, as if they thought the Person, whom they represented, superior to those Councils. Hence *Bellarmino*, and the other Popish Writers, from the imaginary Councils of *Simueffa* and *Rome*, immediately pass to that of *Chalcedon*. We must therefore either allow the Legates of *Leo* to have been the first, who were apprised of the Papal Supremacy, or ascribe their taking so much upon them to some other Cause. And indeed the Cause is obvious. The Emperor, as I have observed above, had made *Leo* absolute Master of, and consequently superior to the Council; and it was in virtue of that adventitious and borrowed Superiority, that the Legates assumed such Airs of Authority. From their Conduct therefore we can only conclude, that the Emperor, who impowered them to act as they did,

What en-
couraged
them to take
so much upon
them.

ⁱ Bell. *ibid.* c. 19.

was superior to the Council. And truly we shall find the Imperial Commissioners, when we come to examine their Conduct, acting as if the Supremacy were lodged, not in the Pope, who was represented by the Legates, but in the Emperor, whom they represented. I might add here, that the assuming or exercising a Power does not argue a Right to it in the Person, by whom it is assumed or exercised, ambitious Men being but too apt, as daily Experience teaches us, to exceed the Bounds, which the Laws prescribe. Now the Argument for the Supremacy, founded on the Conduct and Behaviour of the Legates in the present Council, supposes neither the Popes, nor their Legates, to have ever exercised or assumed a Power, to which they had not an undoubted Right. For from the Conduct of the Legates, acting as if the Person, whom they represented, were above the Council, the Advocates for the Papal Supremacy conclude the Person, whom they represented, actually to have been above the Council, than which nothing can be more absurd. In the Second Council of *Ephesus*, an Oecumenical Council, as lawfully assembled as that of *Chalcedon*, *Dioscorus* acted as if he had been above the Council; nay, as if every Bishop there present, the Pope's Legates not excepted, had been obliged to act, vote, and even think, as he directed. And yet from his thus acting no one will conclude him to have had a Right thus to act. The exercising of a Power may, but too often, be alleged as an Instance of Pride, Arrogance, and Ambition in the Person, by whom it is exercised, but can never, by itself, be brought as a Proof of any Right whatever to that Power.

The exercising of a Power no Argument of a Right to that Power.

But the Bishops, who composed the Council, as well as the Imperial Commissioners, say the Popish Divines, acquiesced in the Authority assumed by the Legates. And to what else can their Acquiescence be ascribed, but to their being as well apprised of the Supremacy of the Pope as the Legates themselves? In what other manner can we account for it? In the same manner as we have accounted for the Conduct of the Legates; *viz.* from their having been made by the Emperor absolute Masters of the Council; which restrained both the Bishops and Commissioners from offering to oppose them. Besides, with respect to the Bishops, it was not the Interest either of those, who had opposed *Dioscorus* in the late Council of *Ephesus*, or of such as had sided with him, to dispute at this Juncture whatever Authority the Legates were pleased to assume. As to the former, they looked upon *Leo* as their great Champion, as the com-

The Acquiescence of the Bishops to what owing.

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Christ 451

mon Protector of themselves and their Cause, as one, who was fighting their Battles, and who alone was capable, by reason of his Rank, and the great Interest he had at both Courts, of fighting them with Success. On the other hand, those who had sided with *Dioscorus* (and with him had sided the most eminent Prelates in the East, *viz.* *Juvenalis* of *Jerusalem*, *Thalassius* of *Cæsarea*, *Eustathius* of *Berytus*, and *Basilus* of *Seleucia*) were all, in a manner, at the Mercy of *Leo*: and so was *Maximus* of *Antioch*, who had been ordained, in defiance of the Canons, while his Predecessor was still alive. As for *Anatolius*, who held the first Place after the Legates, he had a Turn of his own to serve, as we shall see hereafter, and therefore, to gain the Good-will of the Pope, was of all the most complaisant to his Legates. But though the Bishops did not, for the Reasons I have alleged, dispute the Authority assumed by the Legates (and it is in that Sense alone that they can be said to have acquiesced in it), yet they acted as if they did not acknowledge it. For though the Legates

The Bishops act as if they did not acknowledge the Pope's Authority.

brought in, on all Occasions, *the most holy and most blessed Archbishop of Rome*, and even placed him before the Council, the Bishops never once mentioned him. The Summons sent to *Dioscorus* was from *the Council assembled in the City of Chalcedon*; not from *Leo and the Council*. The Legates, in voting for the Deposition of that Prelate, added to his other Crimes, his having *presumed to excommunicate Leo, the most holy and most blessed Archbishop of the great City of Rome* ^k. But of that Crime not one of the other Bishops took the least notice; some of them, and among these were *Anatolius* and *Maximus*, condemning him because he had not obeyed the Summons sent him by the Council; others, because he had deposed *Flavianus*, and received *Eutyches* to his Communion, and many for no other Reason, but because he was condemned by the rest ^l. And here I cannot help observing, by the way, the Ignorance or Disingenuity of Pope *Nicolas I.* roundly asserting *Dioscorus* to have been deposed by the Council of *Chalcedon*, not so much for Heresy, as for his unheard of Presumption in daring to give Judgment against the high Pontiff ^m. This Blunder *Bellarmino* adopts, as if he had never perused the Acts of the Council; and, adding to it another of his own, *viz.* that *Dioscorus* excommunicated *Leo* in the Second Council of *Ephesus*, argues thus in favour of the Papal

The Ignorance or Disingenuity of Pope Nicolas and Bellarmine.

^k Concil. t. 4. p. 426.
ep. ad Mich. imper.

^l Concil. ibid. p. 427—448.

^m Nicol. I.

Supremacy: the Second Bishop of the Church was condemned for presuming to judge the Pope, even in an Oecumenical Council; *ergo* the Pope cannot be lawfully judged by an Oecumenical Council, and is consequently above it^a. It is chiefly on this Foundation that *Bellarmino* builds the Supremacy; which is building on the Sand; since *Dioscorus* was not condemned by the Council, for judging the Pope; nor did he judge and excommunicate the Pope in the Second Oecumenical Council of *Ephesus*; but at *Nice*, in his Way to *Constantinople*, the Year after the Council of *Ephesus*, and in a Council of Ten Bishops only, all *Egyptians*, who attended him on his Journey^o.

But to leave *Bellarmino*, and return to the Fathers of the Council; in the Note, which they wrote to *Dioscorus*, acquainting him with the Judgment they had passed upon him, they took no notice of the *Archbishop of the great City of Rome*, or of any Crime committed against his Holiness; for it was conceived in the following Terms: *The Fathers of the Council act as if they were Strangers to the Pope's Supremacy.*

" We let you know, that because you despised the sacred Canons, " disobeyed this holy and Oecumenical Council, and being charged " with many Crimes, refused to appear before this great and holy " Synod to justify yourself, though Three times summoned, you have " been deposed, by this holy and Oecumenical Council, from your " Episcopacy, and suspended from all Ecclesiastical Functions the " Thirteenth Day of the present Month of *October* p." *Eusebius* of *Dorylaeum* had been received by *Leo* to his Communion, as a Bishop, after he had been deposed by the Council of *Ephesus*; and yet he presented a Petition to the Fathers of the Council, begging them to restore him to his Dignity^q. Had he thought the Pope above the Council, he would only have let them know that *Leo* had restored him, and required them to acknowledge him accordingly as a lawful Bishop. *Theodoret* of *Cyrus* was suspected, very unjustly, of *Nestorianism*, and on that Suspicion had been deposed by the Council of *Ephesus*. *Leo* declared his Faith to be orthodox, and admitted him to his Communion as a lawful Bishop. However, he was only allowed to sit in the present Council as one, whose Case was depending, and Cause undecided, till his Faith was examined anew, and he acquitted by the Judgment of the Synod^r; a plain Proof, that the Bi-

^a Bell. de Concil. auct. l. 2. c. 17.
 cil. ibid. p. 451.

^q Concil. ibid. p. 382.

^o Concil. ibid. p. 398.

^r Concil. t. 4. p. 101.

^p Con-

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rising up, put an End to that Session, saying, that before it was signed, it must be shewn to the Emperor^a; which was modestly declaring, that they would not suffer it to pass till it was approved by the Emperor. From what I have said it is manifest, that the Imperial Commissioners acted in this, and so they did in all other Councils, as if the supreme Authority were lodged in the Emperor; that the Authority they exerted was not disputed, but openly acknowledged, and readily submitted to, at least in Matters not immediately relating to the Faith, by all the Bishops, even by the Legates themselves, and consequently that the Papal Supremacy was, at that time, as little known to the Legates, as it was to the other Bishops, and the rest of the World. The Authority of the Commissioners indeed was disputed in Matters of Faith; and in Matters of Faith neither the Emperors, nor their Commissioners ought to have interposed: but nevertheless they did interpose; and, abusing their Authority, or Supremacy, as we may call it, obliged the Bishops, as the Popes have done in latter Councils, to define and establish such Doctrines as were found to suit their own Interest the best: insomuch that were the many perplexing and intricate Creeds, now held by the Church of *Rome*, carefully garbled; were the Articles only of the Christian Religion retained, and those of the Imperial and Papal rejected, Christianity would, by that means, be restored, even in that Church, to its original and primitive Purity.

The Acquiescence of the Commissioners on some Occasions not to be easily accounted for.

But if the supreme Authority was lodged in the Emperor, say those who stand up in Defence of the Papal Supremacy, what could restrain the Imperial Commissioners from checking the Legates, when they produced Commands from *the most holy Archbishop of Rome*, and letting them know, that the Emperor alone had a Right to command? Why did they not interpose their Authority in Vindication of the Rights of their Master, when the Legates frankly advanced, that no Council could be lawfully assembled without the Consent of the Apostolic See? which had been an open Invasion of those Rights, if the supreme Authority had been vested in the Emperor. To what the same Behaviour of the Commissioners on these Occasions may be ascribed, is not easy to determine; but that it was not owing to their acknowledging the Papal Supremacy, is manifest from what I have said; and to what else it might have been owing, is foreign to our present

^a Concil. ibid. p. 322. 567. Liberat. c. 13.

Purpose to inquire. Perhaps the Commands, which the Legates produced from *Leo*, were understood both by the Imperial Commissioners, and the Members of the Council, as only regarding the Legates themselves; so that in what Terms soever they expressed themselves, they were thought to mean no more, than that they were commanded by *Leo* to withdraw from the Council, if *Dioscorus* was suffered to sit in it as a Judge. It is certain, at least, that *Leo* himself meant no more; for his Instructions to the Legates, with respect to this Point, were thus worded; *You must not suffer Dioscorus to appear in the Council, under any other Character but that of a Person accused: if he presumes to sit in it as a Judge, you must cause him to be driven out, or quit the Council yourselves*^b. *Leo* therefore did not command, nor pretend to command the Council; and, so long as he did not, it matters little whether his Legates did or no. As to the Silence of the Commissioners, when the Legates roundly asserted, that it had never been thought lawful to assemble a Council without the Consent of the Apostolic See; that it had never been done; it is indeed very surprising; and I will not take upon me to account for it, but only observe, that we cannot suppose it to have been owing to their not questioning the Truth of what was advanced by the Legates, as the *Roman Catholic* Writers pretend, without arrainging all the chief Officers of the Empire of the grossest Ignorance, an Ignorance far more unaccountable than their Silence itself. For nothing is better attested in History, nothing more certainly known, than that several Councils had been held before that time, without either the Consent or the Knowledge of the Apostolic See: and whoever peruses the Acts of the present Council will find some of the Commissioners to have been better acquainted not only with the History, but the Canons of the Church, than most of the Bishops.

But the Name of *Leo*, says *Bellarmino*^c, is placed before that of *Leo's Name* the Council, in the many Petitions and Memorials presented to that great Assembly. And so is the Name of the first or chief Member of a *placed before that of the Council, no* Society before the Name of the Society itself. And are we to conclude *Proof of his being above the Council.* from thence the first or chief Member of a Society to be above the whole Society? *Leo* was the first and chief Member of that Assembly, or Council, as presiding at it, under the Imperial Commissioners; and it was on that Consideration alone that his Name was placed, in some

^b Concil. t. 4. p. 93.^c Bellar. de Concil. auct. l. 2. c. 17.

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Petitions and Memorials, before that of the Council. Had he been above the Council, that is, had his Authority been greater than the Authority of the whole Council (for that the *Roman Catholic Writers* mean by his being above the Council) the Bishops had been but his Counsellors, and consequently there had been no Occasion to name the Council at all. It must be observed, that most of the Memorials and Petitions, presented to the Council, were addressed either to the Emperor, or to the Commissioners; and such only to *Leo* and the Council, as contained Complaints against *Dioscorus*, the Commissioners having, by the Emperor's Orders, absented themselves from the Session, in which the Cause of that Prelate was heard, and he condemned ^d. It was therefore to *Leo*, only in their Absence, and as supplying their room, that the above-mentioned Petitions were addressed. As for the Titles of *the most Holy, the most Blessed, and Universal Patriarch*, the Two first were common to all Bishops, especially to the Metropolitans; and the latter began, about this time, to be given to the Three great Patriarchs, probably in regard of the great Extent of their Jurisdiction. Pope *Gregory the Great* writes, in one of his Letters^e, that the Title of *Oecumenical Bishop* was offered to *Leo* by the present Council. But he was certainly mistaken, and seems not to have distinguished what was done in the Council, from what was done by the Council. In the Council indeed, when the Commissioners were absent, the Petitions against *Dioscorus* were presented to the Legates of *Leo*, with this Address, *To the Oecumenical Archbishop of the Holy City of Rome*; but the Council itself gave him no such Title.

The Expressions used by the Council, no Proof of their owning the Pope's Supremacy.

As to the Expressions of the Council, styling themselves, in their Letter to *Leo*, the Members, and him their Head; he was, no doubt, their Head, and they were the Members, in the same Sense as the Person, who presides at any Society or Assembly, is said to be the Head, or at the Head, of such a Society or Assembly; and the rest are styled the Members. The Bishops, in calling him their Head, and themselves the Members, spoke only with respect to the present Council, as is manifest from the Context. But *Bellarmino* supposes them to have acknowledged him for the Head of the whole Church; and it is upon that false Supposition that he grounds his Doctrine; a Doctrine which we shall hereafter see condemned, in express Terms,

^d Concil. t. 4. p. 387. Evag. l. 2. c. 18.

^e Greg. l. 4. ep. 32.

by Two Occumenical Councils; viz. those of *Constance* and *Basil*, ^{Year of Christ 451.} though both held in the Times when the Papal Power had attained to its full Height; *it being better*, as had been defined before by the Council of *Tours*, *that such a Head, when infected, should be cut off, than that it should be suffered to communicate the Infection to the other Members* 8. But, not to depart from the present Council, the

Fathers, who composed it, notwithstanding their styling themselves the Members, and *Leo* the Head; notwithstanding the extraordinary Deference they seemed to pay both to him and his Legates; shewed very plainly, when other Matters were settled to their Satisfaction, that such an uncommon Deference and Regard did not proceed from their looking upon *Leo*, as in any respect superior to themselves; but rather that they looked upon themselves as superior to him. For, resuming at last, and exerting the Spirit that became them, they passed a Decree, as I have related above, highly displeasing to the Legates, and which they well knew would be no less displeasing to *Leo* himself, without suffering themselves to be diverted from it either by the warm Opposition it met with from them, or the more violent Opposition they foresaw it would meet with from him. And it is observable, that *Leo*, in combating that Decree, did not find Fault with it, or pretend it to be null, because it was made against his sovereign Will, which he would not have failed to do, had he been apprised of his Supremacy; but alleged such Reasons against it, as might have been used by any other factious and arrogant Bishop, who had been prompted by some particular Motive, or Humour of his own, to stand out against the rest of his Brethren, and thwart, so far as in him lay, their Determinations. But if *Leo*, say they, had not been well apprised of his Supremacy, he had never opposed a Decree which had been passed and signed by all the Fathers of the Council, to a Man. The Argument evidently recoils against them; for if, from his standing out against the whole Council, we may conclude him to have been well apprised of his Supremacy, we may well conclude the whole Council, from their standing out against him, to have been utterly unapprised of it: so that all our Adversaries can gain by this way of arguing, is, that *Leo*, and *Leo* alone, was apprised of his Supremacy; that he was indeed above the Council, in his own Opinion; but that, in the Opinion of every-body else, the Council was

The Fathers of the Council act as if they thought themselves superior to the Pope.

¹ Concil. Const. Sess. 4. et Basil. Sess. 33. 38.

⁸ Concil. Turon. Sess. 13.

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Christ 451.

Leo himself
implicitly
owns the Au-
thority of an
Oecumenical
Council to be
greater than
his.

above him. But, after all, *Leo*, however conceited of his own Dignity, and the Authority of his See, was nevertheless so far from carrying his Ambition to such an extravagant Height, as to conceive himself to be above all Councils, that is, to be the sole, absolute, and incontrollable Monarch of the Church, that he often acknowledges, as I have observed above, the Canons of *Nice* to be of an eternal and inviolable Authority with respect to all, to be with respect to all equally binding. And was not this acknowledging the Authority of one, and consequently of every other Oecumenical Council, lawfully assembled, to be greater than his own? I need not say, that, by owning the Authority of a Council to be greater than his, he owned the Council to be above him. And now that I have made it undeniably appear, by examining more narrowly into the Conduct of those who were any-ways concerned in the present Council (which it was not the Business of the Popish Writers to do), that the Papal Supremacy was, at this time, utterly unknown, not only to the rest of the World, but to the Pope himself, notwithstanding the Authority assumed by his Legates, I shall resume the Thread of the History, not doubting but the Importance of the Subject will sufficiently atone for the Length of the Digression.

Italy ravaged
by the Hunns,
under Attila.

Year of
Christ 452.

The following Year 452. *Leo* had Occasion to employ his Talents more usefully, and with better Success. *Attila* the famous King of the *Hunns*, commonly styled *Flagellum Dei*, or the *Scourge of God*, being driven out of *Gaul*, broke unexpectedly into *Italy*; and, having made himself Master of several Cities, and among the rest, of *Aquileia*, *Pavia*, and *Milan* itself, at that time the usual Seat of the Emperors of the West, bent his March strait to *Rome*, hoping to enrich himself with the Spoils of that wealthy Metropolis. As the City was not in a Condition to stand a Siege; as the Emperor *Valentinian* III. not daring to face so formidable an Enemy in the Field, had shut himself up in *Ravenna*, and the *Roman* General *Aetius*, who but the Year before had obliged the *Hunns* to abandon *Gaul*, betrayed now no less Fear than the rest; the *Romans* expected daily to see *Attila*, and his numberless Army, at their Gates. In this deplorable Situation of Affairs, the only Means that occurred to the Emperor and his Council, of saving *Rome*, and delivering the *Roman* People from Slaughter and Bondage, was to enter into a Treaty with the Conqueror, and by the best Peace they could obtain put an End to so destructive a War. Accordingly it was determined, that a solemn
Embassy

Leo.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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Embassy should be sent to *Attila*, with such Proposals as might be acceptable both to him and his Army. On this Occasion the *Romans*, remembering how successful the Eloquence of their Bishop, and his Address in Negotiations, had formerly proved, prevailed upon him to put himself at the Head of the present Embassy. With him were joined *Albienus*, and *Trigecius*, both Men of the First Rank, of long Experience in Negotiations, and known Abilities. The Three Embassadors immediately set out, with a grand and numerous Retinue, for the Enemy's Camp on the Banks of the *Minzo*, in the Neighbourhood of *Mantua*; and were received, on their Arrival, by the King of the *Hunns*, with the greatest Demonstrations of Kindness and Joy^s. The Reception they met with is commonly ascribed, by the Ecclesiastical Writers, to the Fame of *Leo's* extraordinary Sanctity, which had reached the Camp before them. However that be, the Terms they proposed were readily agreed to by *Attila*; and a Treaty of Peace was soon concluded between him and *Valentinian*; in virtue of which he immediately commanded his Troops to forbear all Hostilities; and soon after leaving *Italy*, repassed the *Alps*, and even retired beyond the *Danube*^t.

Year of
Christ 452.
*Leo sent with
Two others,
to treat with
him.*

*A Treaty
concluded.*

The Success of this Negotiation is commonly ascribed to a Miracle; for it is said, that, while *Leo* was haranguing *Attila*, One or Two Men, of a Majesty more than human, supposed to have been St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, appeared standing by him, threatening the Barbarian with drawn Swords pointed at his Breast, if he did not grant all that *Leo* required of him. This Account has been adopted by the Church of *Rome*, and allowed a Place in the *Roman* Breviary, a Book of great Authority, as having been declared by the Bulls of several Popes, to contain nothing but what is vouched by the best Historians. However, as no mention is made, nor so much as a distant Hint given of this miraculous Apparition, either by *Leo* himself, his Secretary *Prosper*, or any other contemporary Writer, in the Accounts they have transmitted to us of the present Embassy, and the Circumstances attending it, some among the *Roman* Catholics themselves, though zealous Sticklers for other Miracles, have taken the Liberty to question this; and *Francis de Harley*, Archbishop of *Paris*, even caused it to be struck out of all the Breviaries that were used within the Limits of his Jurisdiction. But it is still retained in the

*The Success of
this Negotia-
tion ascribed,
but not owing,
to a Miracle.*

^s Jornand. rer. Goth. c. 42—49.

^t Idem ibid. et Prosp. chron. ad ann. 452.

Year of
Christ 453.

Juvenalis,
Bishop of
Jerusalem,
makes his
Escape, and
Theodosius
ordained in
his room.
Another Bi-
shop, and se-
veral others,
massacred in
Jerusalem.

And in the
other Cities of
Palæstine.

massacred, their Houses were plundered, and set on Fire; and none were spared, who had the Courage to own Two Natures in Christ, that is, who adored, with *Nestorius*, *Two Christs*, *Two Sons*, and *Two Persons*; for thus was the Doctrine of Two Natures interpreted by *Theodosius*, and the Monks his Divines. They spared no Pains to gain over *Juvenalis*, Bishop of the Place; but as he could not be prevailed upon to anathematize the Decree, which he had signed a little before at *Chalcedon*, they deposed him, and caused their Leader *Theodosius* to be ordained in his room; who was no sooner installed, than he gave private Orders to some of his Followers to dispatch *Juvenalis*, being sensible that, so long as he lived, he would be ever attempting to recover his See. But that Prelate having made his Escape, the Assassins, not finding him, fell upon *Severianus* Bishop of *Scythopolis*, and, upon his refusing to acknowledge but one Nature in Christ, they massacred him, and all who were with him. And he is now honoured as a Martyr by the Church of *Rome*. Many others underwent the same Fate, and among the rest the Deacon *Athanasius*, a Man famed for his Sanctity. He ventured one Day to reproach the new Bishop with his Cruelty; which so provoked him, that he immediately caused the Deacon to be put to Death, and his Body to be dragged, in a kind of Triumph, through the chief Streets of the City, and then to be thrown to the Dogs. The Monks were charged by the Emperor *Marcian* with this uncommon Piece of Barbarity. From *Jerusalem* *Theodosius* sent large Detachments of his Monks and Assassins into the other Cities of *Palæstine*, with an unlimited Commission to extirpate, murder, and destroy all, especially the Bishops, who should refuse to anathematize the Doctrine of Two Natures, and the Council of *Chalcedon*. This Commission was executed with a Cruelty hardly to be matched in History. In some Cities the Bishops were the first who joined them; and where they offered to withstand them, they were inhumanly murdered, with the greater Part of their Clergy; and those who had murdered them, were appointed in their room. The Laity, it seems, met with no better Quarter than the Clergy. For *Marcian* reproaches the Monks with having insulted, and used with great Cruelty, even some Women, no less conspicuous for their Birth than their Piety. These are the Troubles of *Palæstine*, so often men-

† Evag. l. 2. c. 5. Theoph. chronograph. p. 92. Leo, ep. 97. 110. Concil. t. 4. p. 851. 858. 878, 879.

tioned in the Letters of *Leo*, who, to do him Justice, left nothing unattempted to bring the riotous Monks to a Sense of their Duty, and put an End to the Disturbances, which they had raised in those Parts. With this View he wrote a great many Letters, and among the rest a very long one to the Monks themselves, wherein he strives to prove the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, condemned at *Chalcedon*, to be a no less dangerous Heresy, than that of *Nestorius* condemned at *Ephesus*². This Letter made no small Impression on some of the Monks, who, thereupon, abandoning *Theodosius*, returned to their Monasteries. But it was by the Imperial Authority, or rather Troops, that the Disturbances were in the End intirely composed. For *Marcian*, being informed of the Intrusion of *Theodosius*, and the Excesses committed by him, and his Monks, dispatched an Order to Count *Dorotheus*, Governor of *Palæstine*, commanding him to assemble, without Delay, the Troops quartered in that, and the neighbouring Provinces, to put himself at their Head, and to treat as Enemies both to the Church and Empire, all whom he found bearing Arms. This Order was no sooner known, than *Theodosius*, to avoid falling into the Hands of *Dorotheus*, who was ordered to seize him, and send him well guarded to *Constantinople*, privately withdrew from *Jerusalem*; and, having, with the Assistance of his Friends, got safe out of *Palæstine*, took Sanctuary among his Brethren on Mount *Sinai*. Upon the Flight of their Leader, the Monks soon dispersed; *Juvenalis* returned to his See; and by his Means the Province was restored, in a very short time, to its former Tranquillity³.

Year of
Christ 453.

Leo writes
to the Monks.

The Disturbances
quieted
by the Empe-
ror.

Leo was, for some time, diverted from attending to the Affairs of the East by the Death of *Valentinian*, murdered on the 17th of *March* 455. and the many Calamities, which that Event produced in the West. For *Maximus*, by whom *Valentinian* was murdered, not only caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor in his room; but, that he might have some Title to the Imperial Crown, obliged *Eudoxia*, the deceased Emperor's Widow, to marry him, while his Hands were yet reeking with the Blood of her former Husband and Sovereign. As she had loved *Valentinian* with the greatest Tenderness, the finding herself obliged to live with his Murderer, provoked her to such a Degree, that she resolved, at all Events, to revenge his Death, and at the same time to redeem herself from a Situation, to her, of all others,

Genferic,
King of the
Vandals, so-
lited by the
Empress Eu-
dokia to in-
vade Italy.
Year of
Christ 455.

² Leo, ep. 86.

³ Concil. t. 4. p. 879. Evagr. l. 2. c. 5.

Year of
Christ 455.

Genferic
makes himself
Master of
Rome.

Leo meets
him.

And is well
received.

But cannot
restrain him
from plunder-
ing the City,
and even the
Churches.

the most grievous and painful. With this View she resolved to apply to the famous *Genferic*, King of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, who she well knew would be glad of any Pretence, and would neglect no Opportunity of invading *Italy*, and distressing the Empire. To him therefore she dispatched a Messenger, in whom she could confide, conjuring him to come and rescue her out of the Arms of a Tyrant, who had embrued his Hands in the Blood of her Husband, and his Friend: for *Valentinian* had concluded a Peace with *Genferic* Two Years before, and yielded to him great Part of *Africa*. As the Empress assured him, that he would meet with no Opposition, and, at the same time, promised to assist him to the utmost of her Power, he put to Sea without Loss of Time, and steered his Course strait to *Rome*. The sudden and unexpected Appearance of so numerous a Fleet struck the dastardly *Romans* with such Terror and Dismay, that, instead of putting themselves in a Posture of Defence, they threw open their Gates as soon as the King of the *Vandals* appeared before them, and surrendered at Discretion². In this Extremity *Leo* did not abandon his Flock; but with great Intrepidity went out to meet the Enemy, as they approached the City. But as the *Romans* had nothing to offer, that could, in any degree, countervail the Pillage of so wealthy a City; and *Genferic* had nothing to fear; he was not, though a Christian, so much affected with the Eloquence of *Leo*, or awed by the Majesty of his Appearance, as the King of the *Hunns* is said to have been, though a Heathen. But neither did his Mediation prove quite ineffectual; for the King of the *Vandals*, notwithstanding his Attachment to the Doctrine of *Arius*, received the first of the Catholic Bishops with all the Respect that was due to his Rank and Character; nay, and was so far affected with his Prayers and Tears, as to grant to them what he thought it would be of little Advantage for him to refuse. He would not indeed be restrained, though *Leo* alleged all the Motives that could be alleged to restrain him, from pillaging the City, the public as well as the private Houses, and even the Churches; or from carrying the Inhabitants into Captivity; but promised, and observed his Promise with great Fidelity, that the City should not be set on Fire; that no Blood should be shed where no Opposition was met with; and that none should be tortured, to confess, I suppose, what Wealth they were possessed of,

² Evag. l. 2. c. 7. Procop. Bell. Vand. l. 2. c. 4. Jorn. rer. Goth. c. 45. Theop. p. 93.

and where it lay concealed^a. The *Vandals* entered *Rome* on the 15th of *June* 455. and continued there till the 29th of the same Month; during which time there was no House, no Church, no public Building, which they did not ransack, and strip of all their Wealth, and valuable Monuments. When nothing was left which they thought worth carrying off, they put the immense Treasure they had amassed on board their Ships, and, reimbarking, put to Sea, with a Booty sufficient to enrich all *Africa*, and with as many Captives as they could stow on board their Fleet. Among these were the Empress *Eudoxia*, her Two Daughters *Eudocia* and *Placidia*, *Gaudentius* the Son of the *Roman* General *Actius*, and several other Persons of great Distinction. As for the Usurper *Maximus*, he attempted to save himself by Flight as soon as the Enemy's Fleet appeared off the Coast; but the Populace, highly incensed against him for thus shamefully abandoning those whom it was his Duty to protect, fell upon him, as he was flying with some of his Court, put him to Death, and threw his Body into the *Tyber*, after it had been ignominiously dragged through the chief Streets of the City, and lain for some time exposed to the Insults of the enraged Multitude^b. *Genferic*, whom the Ecclesiastical Writers paint as an inhuman Tyrant, and a mere Barbarian, perhaps to be thus revenged on him for the Sack of *Rome*, treated his Royal Captives with the greatest Respect, and entertained them in a manner suitable to their high Rank, till the Year 462. when he sent back *Eudoxia* with her Daughter *Placidia* to the Emperor *Leo*, the Successor of *Marcian*, but kept *Eudocia*, and married her to *Hunmeric* his eldest Son^c (A). These

Year of
Christ 455.

He returns to
Africa with
an immense
Booty.

The Emperor
Maximus
murdered.

^a Prosp. chron. p. 55. ^b Procop. Bell. Vand. l. 2. c. 4. Jornand. rer. Goth. c. 45.
^c Theoph. p. 93. Procop. ibid.

(A) *Baronius*, upon the Authority of *Anastasius* and Pope *Adrian* I. supposes *Leo* to have prevailed upon *Genferic* to spare the Churches of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and the *Lateran* (1). For, in the Edition of *Anastasius*, which the Annalist perused, it is said, that the *Vandals* did not carry off with them Six Vessels of Silver, each weighing One hundred Pounds, which *Constantine* had presented to these Churches. But as it is said in the same Place of that Edition, that *Leo*, having caused those Vessels to be melted down, renewed, with the Silver, the

sacred Vessels of all the Churches of *Rome* (2); for which Purpose surely Six hundred Pounds Weight of Silver could, by no means, be sufficient, we may well conclude the Text in that Edition to have been corrupted. In the *Lowre* Edition of *Anastasius*, *Leo* is said to have given new Vessels to the Churches, in the room of those that were melted down, no doubt by the *Vandals*, and among the rest Six, each weighing 100 Pounds, in lieu of those that had been given by *Constantine* (3): so that, according to the *Lowre* Edition, those Vessels

(1) Bar. ad ann. 455. n. 13.

(2) Bar. ibid.
P 2

(3) Anast. p. 27.

Year of
Christ 455.

These Troubles, and the Mischiefs they occasioned, seem to have ingrossed *Leo's* Care and Attention, so as to leave him no Leisure to write. For, from the 13th of *March* of the present Year, we have not a single Letter of his till the 9th of *June*, or, as some will have it, till the 11th of *June* 457. when the Disturbances that happened in *Egypt*, obliged him to resume his Correspondence with the East, and interpose anew, and very seasonably, in the Affairs of those Churches.

Year of
Christ 457.

Marcian
die.

For the Emperor *Marcian* dying in the Beginning of that Year, his Death was no sooner known in *Egypt*, than the *Eutychians*, who were very numerous there, especially in *Alexandria*, thinking themselves now free from all Restraint, began to renew their Efforts against the Council of *Chalcedon*, which the deceased Emperor had made it the chief Business of his Reign to defend and establish. They were stirred up, and headed, by one *Timotheus*, surnamed, from the Fierceness of his Nature, *Ælurus*, that is, *the Cat* ^d, a Name famous in the Annals of the Church. He was originally a Monk; but, being raised by *Dioscorus* to the Priesthood, he adhered to that Prelate, after he was condemned and deposed by the Council of *Chalcedon*. *Proterus*, who was chosen Bishop of *Alexandria* in the room of *Dioscorus*, did all that lay in his Power to make him quit the Party he had embraced; but, finding him unalterably attached to the Doctrine as well as the Person of the condemned Bishop, he assembled a Council at *Alexandria* in 452. and there condemned him, and with him some Bishops and Monks, who, in Defiance of the Council of *Chalcedon*, continued still to acknowledge *Dioscorus* for lawful Bishop. The Bishops, thus condemned, were, by *Marcian*, driven from their Sees, and sent into Exile ^e. *Ælurus* perhaps was banished at the same

New Disturbances raised by the Eutychians, with Timotheus Ælurus at their Head.

^d Evag. l. 2. c. 8. Concil. p. 898.

^e Evag. l. 2. c. 8. Concil. p. 893—899.

fell into the Hands of the *Vandals*, who consequently must have plundered the above-mentioned Churches. As for Pope *Adrian*, he only says, as quoted by *Baronius*, that in his time there still was a Statue of Gold, which the Emperor *Valentinian* had given to the Church of St. *Peter* (4): and so there might, though the Church had been pillaged; since it is not to be doubted but that many valuable Effects were removed before the Enemy entered the City, and concealed till they withdrew. But what-

ever *Anastasius* or *Adrian* may have written, the contemporary Writers are all silent on this Head. And who can believe, that if *Leo* had prevailed upon the King of the *Vandals* to spare those Three Churches, the richest in *Rome*, *Prosper* would have passed over in Silence such a remarkable Instance of the Force of his Eloquence? *Prosper*, who extolled it so much, and with so little Reason, on occasion of the Success that attended his Negotiations on the Banks of the *Minzo*.

(4) Bar. *ibid*.

time, at least he was no more heard of till the present Year 457. when he appeared again in *Egypt*, and, with his Appearance, put an End to the Tranquillity which that Province had enjoyed for some Years. As both *Dioscorus*, and the Emperor, who supported the Election of *Proterus*, were now dead; as the *Alexandrians* were, for the most part, greatly dissatisfied with their Bishop, and of all People the most fond of Riots and Tumults, as the Historians observe on this, and on many other Occasions; *Ælurus* did not despair of being able to improve their present Disposition into an open Revolt from their lawful Pastor; and to raise himself to the Patriarchal Throne in his room. But this he well knew could not be easily accomplished without the Help and Concurrence of the Monks, the common Incendiaries of every Sedition. In order therefore to gain them, and secure them to his Interest, he used, in the darkest Nights, to go round their Cells, cloathed in Black, that he might not be seen, or distinguished; to call them by their Names; and, when they answered, to tell them, with a counterfeit Voice, that he was an Angel, sent from God, to command them, in his Name, to avoid the Communion of *Proterus* the *Nestorian*, and place the pious and orthodox *Timotheus* in his room^f. The Monks entertained not the least Suspicion of Deceit or Imposture (for Credulity now prevailed in the highest Degree, especially among them, as appears from their Legends; and Miracles were forged and believed by Wholesale); but began to look upon *Ælurus* as appointed, by God himself, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and upon themselves as the Instruments chosen by God to bring about what he had appointed. They therefore all declared, with an enthusiastic Zeal, for this Darling of Heaven; and, repairing, by his Direction, to *Alexandria*, raised a dreadful Tumult there; in the Height of which *Ælurus*, attended by his Monks, and a Band of Desperadoes, whom he had supplied with Arms, broke open the Doors of the great Church, and caused himself to be ordained by Two Bishops, who had both been formerly deposed. When the Ceremony was over, he took Possession of the Episcopal Throne, and was proclaimed, with the repeated Huzza's of the Monks, and the Rabble, the sole lawful Bishop of *Alexandria*, and the Metropolitan of all *Egypt* &c.

Ælurus
aspires to the
Bishoprick of
Alexandria.

His Stratagem to gain
the Monks.

By their
means is or-
dained Bi-
shop of *Alex-
andria*.

^f Theodor. p. 552. Evagr. ibid. Niceph. Call. l. 15. c. 16.
p. 893. Evagr. Niceph. Theodor. ubi supra, Liberat. c. 15.

^g Concil. t. 4.

Proterus,

Year of
Christ 457.

Proterus, the
lawful Bi-
shop, mur-
dered.

Proterus, alarmed at so bold an Attempt, and not doubting but the next would be upon his Life, during which the Episcopacy of the Usurper would be very precarious, thought himself obliged to consult his own Safety; and therefore, as he was unwilling to oppose Force to Force, he left the Episcopal Palace, and, flying to the Church of *Quirinus*, took Sanctuary in the adjoining Baptistry (A); a Place, says the Council ^b, which the Barbarians revered, and the Pagans themselves, tho' they knew not why. But the Sacredness of the Place was no Protection against the Ambition of *Aëturus*, or the Rage of his Followers; and the most innocent Blood was spilt, to use the Expression of the Council, where the most guilty ought to have been spared (B).

The

^b Concil. ibid. p. 894.

(A) Baptisteries were antiently Buildings distinct from the Church, consisting of a Porch, where the Catechumens renounced *Satan*, and made their Confession of Faith; and an inner Room, where the Ceremony of Baptism was performed. The Baptisteries were very capacious, because the stated Seasons for Baptism recurring but seldom, great Multitudes were usually baptized at the same time. We sometimes read even of Councils meeting and sitting in Baptisteries (1). Some modern Writers have confounded the *Baptistry* and the *Font*, which, however, were antiently very different things; the Baptistry being the whole Building, and the Font only the Fountain or Pool, into which Persons were immersed at the Time of their Baptism. For Baptism by Immersion was undoubtedly the Apostolical Practice, and was never dispensed with by the Church, except in case of Sickness, or when a sufficient Quantity of Water for Immersion could not be procured. In both these Cases, Baptism by Aspersion or Sprinkling was allowed, but in no other. In the primitive Times there were no Baptisteries; and yet Baptism was administered even then, as appears from *Justin Martyr* (2), and *Tertullian* (3), in a Place distinct from the Church; probably in any Place, where there was Water; for, in those Days, it mattered little, as we

learn from *Tertullian* (4), whether a Man was baptized in the Sea, or in a Lake, in a River, or in a Fountain, in the *Jordan*, or in the *Tiber*. And here we may observe, by the way, that, from these Words, it is manifest, that the many Superstitions, and idle Ceremonies, now practised by the Church of *Rome*, in solemnly exorcising and blessing the Baptismal Water, were utterly unknown in those early Times, though they are held by that Church, upon the Authority of one of those who have often misled her (5), to be of Apostolic Institution. In the Sixth Century Baptisteries were still distinct Buildings from the Churches. But in that Age Baptism began, in some Places, to be administered in the Porch of the Church, and not long after it was, almost every-where, performed in the Church itself (6). I know but of one antient Baptistry still standing, that near *St. John Lateran* at *Rome*, which has been kept up to maintain and propagate the famous Fable, That *Constantine* was baptized there by Pope *Sylvester*.

(B) With *Proterus* were murdered, in the same Place, Six of his Ecclesiastics, who had attended him in his Flight. Their Bodies the Assassins left there; but that of *Proterus* they conveyed, in a kind of Triumph, to a Place called *Tetrastylus*, where they hung it up on a Gibbet; and, after

(1) Vide Du Fresne Comm. in Paul. Silentiar. et Concil. Chalced. act. 1. (2) Justin. apol. 2. (3) Tertull. de Bapt. de Coron. mil. c. 3. (4) Tertull. de Bapt. c. 4. (5) Basil. l. de Spir. Sanct. c. 27. (6) Vide Durant. de ritib. Eccles. l. 1. c. 19. n. 4.

Leo.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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The lawful Bishop being thus removed, *Ælurus*, without Loss of Time, assembled a Council; and, together with the Bishops who composed it (Four or Five in Number, who had been all degraded by *Proterus*, and banished by *Marcian*), anathematized the Council of *Chalcedon*, and all who had received it; especially, and by Name, *Leo*, *Anatolius*, and *Basilus*, who had lately succeeded *Maximus* in the See of *Antioch*. In virtue of this Sentence, pronounced by him, and his mock Council, he excommunicated, deposed, and, by his own Authority, drove from their Sees, all the Bishops of the Patriarchate of *Alexandria*, who refused to sign the above-mentioned Anathema, and abjure the Faith of *Chalcedon*, the impious Tenet, as he styled it, of Two Natures in Christ. In the room of those whom he thus drove out, he took care to place such of his own Party, as had distinguished themselves above the rest, by their Attachment to his Interest, and their Zeal for his Doctrine¹. Not only the Bishops, but the other Ecclesiastics, and even the Laymen, who had the Courage to stand up in Defence of the Faith of *Chalcedon*, were every-where persecuted, as declared Heretics, and obliged either to communicate with *Ælurus*, or save themselves from the Rage of his Partisans, by quitting their Churches and Country^k.

These Disturbances afforded a large Field to the Zeal of *Leo*; and indeed it required all his Zeal, Interest, and Authority, to redress the Evils, which they had already occasioned, and to prevent the far greater Evils, which it was justly apprehended they might occasion. For though the Crimes committed by *Ælurus* were notorious; yet he was not only screened by the Friends he had at Court, from the Punishment they deserved, but even maintained in Possession of the See, to which he had opened himself a Way by such enormous Excesses. The Emperor *Leo*, the Successor of *Marcian*, had, from the very Beginning of his Reign, openly declared in favour of the Council of *Chalcedon*; and by an Ordinance, addressed to the Metropolitans throughout his Dominions, confirmed all the Laws made

Year of
Christ 457.

Ælurus ex-communicates Leo, and all who held the Doctrine of Chalcedon.

Several Bishops driven from their Sees.

Ælurus supported by his Friends at Court.

¹ Concil. t. 4. p. 899. Leont. aët. 5. p. 512. Phot. c. 230. p. 905.

^k Concil. ibid.

it had been some time exposed there to the View and Insults of the inhuman and barbarous Rabble, they dragged it, torn, mangled, and disfigured as it was, through the

chief Streets of *Alexandria*, and then burnt it, and dispersed the Ashes, to deprive their Bishop of those Honours that were not denied to the greatest Criminals (1).

(1) Concil. p. 899. Evagr. l. 2. c. 8. Liberat. c. 15.

by .

Year of
Christ 457.

by his Predecessors, especially by *Marcian*, for the Defence and Support of the orthodox Faith ¹. However, as some of the most powerful Men of the Empire, and, among the rest, the famous Patrician *Aspar*, to whom the Emperor owed his Crown, his Son *Ardaburius*, and *Basiliscus*, Brother to the Empress *Verina*, had espoused the *Eutychian* Cause, and supported it with all their Interest, the Emperor, to gratify them, began to hearken to the Bishops of that Party, remonstrating against the Council of *Chalcedon*, and pressing him to convene another; to the Decisions of which they solemnly engaged to submit, and finally acquiesce ^m; nay, *Facundus* assures us, that he was absolutely determined to assemble another Oecumenical Council, in order to have examined anew the Mystery of the Incarnation ⁿ.

The Eutychians demand a new Council.

Leo opposes the assembling of one.

The convening a Council for that Purpose was, no doubt, highly injurious to the Authority of the Church, since it was calling in question what she had so solemnly defined. *Leo* therefore, who looked upon it in that Light, was no sooner acquainted with the Design of the Emperor, than he exerted all his Credit, Interest, and Authority, to divert him from it. With this View he wrote Letters upon Letters to the Emperor, to *Aspar*, and the other Men in Power, to *Anatolius*, and all the other Patriarchs, Metropolitans, and Bishops of any Note in the East ^o. In his Letters to the Emperor, he represented, in the strongest Terms, the Danger of re-examining what had been already examined, and finally decided, by so numerous a Council. In those to the Bishops he advised, exhorted, and encouraged them to join, all as one Man, in Defence of the Council of *Chalcedon*, as the only Means of defeating effectually the wicked Attempts of the *Eutychians*; since it could not be imagined, that either the Emperor or his Ministers would ever think of convening a Council, in order to examine a Doctrine that was unanimously received by all the Bishops of the Catholic Church ^p. His Letters seem to have made no great Impression on the Emperor, or his Ministers. But the Bishops, no less apprehensive of the Danger than *Leo* himself, since the Authority of the Church was at stake, all joined, with great Readiness, in a Cause that was common to all; and their Union rendering a new Examination both needless and dangerous, the Emperor laid aside all Thoughts of assembling a new Council.

And diverts the Emperor from it.

¹ Concil. t. 4. 892—895. Leo ep. 115. 122.
l. 12. c. 2.
119. 121.

^o See Leo's Letters from 115. to 134.

^m Leo ep. 116. 129.

ⁿ Facund.

^p Leo ep. 118,

However,

Leo.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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However, to gratify, in some Degree, the *Eutychians*, who were very powerful at Court, instead of assembling the Bishops in one Place, he wrote a circular Letter to all the Metropolitans throughout his Dominions, injoining them to assemble the Bishops and Ecclesiastics of their respective Provinces, to examine together with them the Symbol or Decree of *Chalcedon*, and to acquaint him with their Sentiments concerning that Decree, as well as the Intrusion of *Elurus*, which was very differently represented to him by the different Parties. This Letter the Emperor sent not only to the Bishops, but to such of the Anchorets as were most renowned for the Sanctity and Austerity of their Lives, and, among the rest, to the famous *Symeon Stylites*, and *Baradatus*, who were universally reputed the Two greatest Saints of the present Age, the former living, for the Benefit of Mankind, on the Top of a Pillar, and the latter in a Cage (A).

Year of
Christ 457.

Who orders
the Decree of
Chalcedon
to be examin-
ed by the Bi-
shops of each
Province, in
a provincial
Synod.

For

1. Concil. t. 4. p. 108. Facund. l. 12. c. 3. Marcell. chron.

(A) *Symeon* is said, by the contemporary Writers, to have passed the last 36 Years of his Life on the Top of a Pillar, placed on the Summit of a high Mountain, in the Territory of *Antioch*, without ever coming down, unless it was to change his Pillar, which he did, according to those Writers, Five times, either causing the same Pillar to be raised, or new ones to be built, each higher than the other, that he might thus remove farther from the Earth, and more and more approach Heaven. His First Pillar was 9 Feet high; the Second 18; the Third 32; the Fourth 48; and the last, on which he died, 60. He chose this kind of Life in the Year 423. and passed 4 Years on the First Pillar, 3 on the Second, 10 on the Third, 4 on the Fourth, and 15 on the last. They were all but 3 Feet broad; so that he could never lie down; nor was he ever seen to sit; but constantly stood, exposed, like a Statue, to the Heat of the Summer, and the Cold of the Winter, both excessive in that Climate, to the Rain, Snow, Winds, and all the Inclemencies of the Air and the Seasons. He spent his whole Time, till the Hour of *Nine*, that is, till Three in the Afternoon, in Prayer and Meditation; and then preached from his Pillar to the Crouds, that flocked daily from all Parts to see and hear him, composed their Differences, resolved their Doubts, and answered all the Questions

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they asked him. At the setting of the Sun he dismissed the Multitude, gave them his Blessing, and again betook himself to Prayer; during which, he was observed to bend his Body several times in a Minute, and to bow so low as almost to touch his Feet with his Forehead. Some, out of Curiosity, took upon them to count how often he thus bowed in a Day; and *Theodoret*, the famous Bishop of *Cyrrus*, assures us, that one, who came with him to see so great a Prodigy, having attempted to do it, counted 1244 such Bows, and then, finding he had undertaken too difficult a Task, gave over counting. Other things no less surprising are related of this wondrous Man. For he is said to have taken no kind of Food, but on *Sundays*, observing a rigorous Fast the other Six Days of the Week; to have wholly abstained, at least once a Year, and sometimes twice, and oftener, from all Food, for Forty Days together; to have stood the whole last Year of his Life on one Foot, having lost the Use of the other by an Ulcer; and, lastly, to have died in that Posture, and continued in it till his Body was, with great Solemnity, taken down from the Pillar. During his Life-time People flocked from all Parts of the known World to see so new, so surprising a Spectacle; insomuch that *Theodoret*, who wrote while he was still living, nay, 20 Years before his Death, could appeal for the Truth

Q

of

Year of
Christ 457.

For now Superstition began to prevail, and Men were fainter for Actions that favoured more of Madness than Sanctity.

In

of what he wrote concerning him, not only to the Subjects of both Empires, but to all the Inhabitants of the Earth. Numberless Multitudes, says that Writer, are seen daily arriving, by different Roads, at the holy Mountain, like so many Rivers running into the Sea; from the East the *Ismaelites*, the *Persians*, the *Armenians*, the *Iberians*, the *Ethiopians*, and other more distant Nations; from the West, the *Italians*, the *Gauls*, the *Spaniards*, the *Britons*, and People, utterly unknown to us, who border on them. These all know what I write to be true; and to them I appeal (1). Thus *Theodoret*. But, after all, I should be glad to know how he, how those, to whom he appeals, knew, or could know, that *Symeon* never came down from his Pillar; that he observed such long and rigorous Fasts. *Theodoret* did not live constantly at the Foot of the Pillar, to watch him; but only came from time to time to pay him a Visit, and at Sun-set was dismissed with the rest: so that we may question the Truth of such wondrous things, without arraigning the Veracity of so famous a Writer, since it is not upon his own Knowledge, but the Testimony of others, that he relates them; probably of the Anchorets, who inhabited the neighbouring Desert, a most simple, credulous, and ignorant Race. By these many things, still more surprising, were reported of their Fellow-Anchoret, and, through the prevailing Superstition of that credulous Age, universally believed, tho' exceeding all Belief. Amongst other things, they gave out, that he never took any kind of Food. But that *Theodoret* did not believe, though he does not question his having yearly observed a rigorous Fast for Forty Days together; as if it were more extraordinary, incredible, or miraculous for a Man to fast Forty Years than Forty Days. *Theodoret* wrote in 440. that is, Twenty Years before the Death of *Symeon*, and when he had lived but Sixteen Years on his Pillar. So that the surprising things that are said to have happened in the Twenty last Years of his Life, and at his Death,

are attested only by one of his Disciples, named *Antony*, who wrote a very minute Account of his Life, of his Death, and of the Miracles he is supposed to have wrought both in his Life-time, and after his Death. Of this Work a very antient Manuscript Copy, in the original *Greek*, is lodged in the Library of the Duke of *Bavaria*, which has been translated into *Latin* by *Bollandus* (2). But it is filled with such absurd and improbable Stories, with such amazing Events, and absolutely impossible, as must stagger Credulity itself. In one Place, for Instance, the Saint is said to have helped some Persons, by a Miracle, to do what they were struck dumb by another Miracle for having done; but by a Third restored to the Use of their Tongues (3). In no other Legend is there such a Profusion of useless Miracles as in this; and yet it is held in the greatest Esteem by the Church of *Rome*, and has been copied, with some notable Improvements, by all the Historians, who, since *Antony's* Time, have related the Actions of *Symeon*, especially by *Theodorus* the Reader, and *Evagrius*.

It would be cruel to rob the Church of *Rome* of one of her greatest Saints, with such a Croud of Miracles in his Train; and therefore I will not take upon me to say, that *Symeon* was prompted, by the Desire of Fame and popular Applause, to embrace such an extraordinary and painful State of Life; but only observe that another was; viz. *Nicander*, surnamed likewise *Stylites*, from his living, as *Symeon* did, on the Top of a Pillar (4). He was, for some time, no less honoured and revered than *Symeon*, People crouding from all Parts to see him. But having, for want of Craft, and due Circumspection, betrayed a Desire of Praise, and besides some Fondness for Women, a Rock on which many great Saints have split, he was abandoned even by those who had most admired him. When he found himself thus discovered and forsaken, he came down, took his Leave of the Pillar, and condescended to live as other Men did. *Symeon* was more

(1) *Theodoret*. vit. Patr. c. 26.
p. 266.

(4) Nil. ep. 114, 115.

(2) Bolland. 5 Jan.

(3) Bolland. ibid.

In Compliance with the Emperor's Order, the Metropolitans assembled the Suffragans, and other Ecclesiastics of their respective Pro-

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Christ 458.

vinces; *Several provincial Synods held.*

cautious, especially with respect to Women. For he is said, from the Time of his Conversion to the Day of his Death, to have avoided even the Sight of a Woman (5); nay, of his own Mother. For we are told, by his Disciple *Antony*, that his Mother, who had not heard of him for the Space of 27 Years, being come to see him while he stood on his Second Pillar, which was inclosed by a high Wall, he would not see her, nor be seen by her till after her Death. For the good Woman is said to have died of Grief, the Third Day after her Arrival, finding, that neither by her Prayers nor Tears she could prevail upon her Son to admit her within the Inclosure. When *Symeon* heard she was dead, he caused her Body to be brought in; and, having said a short Prayer over it, restored her to Life. But her Life was short; for she only opened her Eyes, saw her Son, smiled, and then, shutting her Eyes again, died the Second time, and was buried at the Foot of the Pillar (6). *Evagrius* writes, That no Woman was allowed to set Foot in the Church, which was built after his Death, in the Place where his Pillar had stood. These, and many other such idle Tales, are gravely related by the Ecclesiastic Writers of those Times; and it is upon the Authority of such Writers that the Church of *Rome* pretends the Power of working Miracles, which she makes one of the Signs of the true Church, to have been entailed upon her, and by her exercised in all Ages, from the Times of the Apostles to the present. But the very last I have mentioned may be alleged as an Instance, to convince every sensible Man, that even the best attested of her Miracles ought to be looked upon as arrant Fables. For that *Symeon* raised his Mother from the Dead is gravely related by a contemporary Writer, who solemnly declares, that he was an Eye-witness of the Miracle he relates; nay, that it was wrought not only in his Sight and Presence, but in the Sight and Presence of many others: he wrote soon after the Death of *Symeon*, and consequently when

many were still living, who might have disproved what he wrote: but he was so far from being under any Apprehension on that Score, that he appeals to them as Eye-witnesses of what he wrote. We may add, that all the Writers, who have described the wondrous Actions of *Symeon* since his Time, have copied him, and without betraying the least Suspicion of his being deceived, or of his designing to deceive others, have related the same Miracle, and with the same Circumstances, as they found it related by him. Were the Church of *Rome* to make an Inventory of all her Miracles, she would find none among them better attested than this, and very few so well. And yet if we appeal to our Reason, and examine this, so well attested Miracle, with the least Degree of Attention, we shall find it attended with such Circumstances as no Evidence whatever can render credible. For who can believe, that a great Saint, such as *Symeon* is said and supposed to have been, would have suffered his Mother to die of Grief, when he might have saved her Life, only by allowing her the Satisfaction of seeing him? To believe this, we must suppose filial Duty, Respect, and Obedience, to be capital Sins; and Cruelty and Ill-nature, in Children to their Parents, to be cardinal Virtues. Besides, what can be conceived more absurd, more repugnant to Reason and good Sense, than that *Symeon* should suffer his Mother to die of Grief rather than to see him, and the very next Minute raise her from the Dead, that she might see him? That had been working the greatest of Miracles merely out of Wantonness, and to attain an End that might have been attained without any Miracle at all. And to suppose that God would suffer the Power of working Miracles to be thus, I may say, idly sported with, would be evidently detracting from his infinite Wisdom.

It is not merely to confute such an idle Tale that I have dwelt so long on this Subject, but to shew, by so remarkable an Instance, that, universally speaking, there is

(5) Greg. Turon. de glor. Confess. c. 26. Bolland. Mart. t. 2. p. 9. (6) Bolland.
5. Jan. p. 266. 270. Vit. Patr. l. 1. p. 172.

Year of
Christ 458.

The Decree
of Chalcedon
received by all
but the Bishops
of Pamphy-
lia.

Their An-
swer to the
Emperor.

vinces; and, having, together with them, examined both the Decree of *Chalcedon*, and the different Relations of the Intrusion of *Ælurus*, which the Emperor had caused to be transmitted to them, all agreed, but the Bishops of *Pamphylia*, in receiving the Decision of the Council, which, in their Answer to the Emperor, they declared themselves ready to defend at the Expence of their Lives; and in condemning *Ælurus*, as altogether unworthy, not only of the Episcopal Dignity, but even of the Name of a Christian, if truly guilty of the Crimes that were laid to his Charge^r. The Anchorets agreed with the Bishops in receiving the Council, and condemning *Ælurus*: *Baradatus* added in his Letter, that since the Heretics would not answer to the Voice of their Pastors, the Emperor should make them hear the Roaring of the Lion^s; which shews of what Spirit he was. As for the Bishops of *Pamphylia*, which was then divided into Two Provinces, they differed from the rest. - *Epiphanius*, Metropolitan of *Perga*, and his Council, consisting of 15 Bishops, received the Decree of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*, not as Definitions of Faith, but only as Instructions, explaining the Doctrine of the Fathers; and begged, that neither might be otherwise received by their Collegues, till the Doctrine of the Council, concerning the Two Natures in Christ, was explained in more clear and intelligible Terms, since they had not Subtilty nor Penetration enough to distinguish between Christ's being *in Two Natures*, which the Council had taken so much Pains to establish; and his being *of Two Natures*, which they

^r Concil. ibid. p. 1081. Evagr. l. 2. c. 10. Facund. l. 12. c. 3. ^s Concil. p. 976.

no depending on the Testimony, or Protestations, however solemn, even of those who pretend to have been Eye-witnesses of the Miracles they relate and attest, unless where the End for which those Miracles are said to be wrought, appears to be worthy of God, and when there is no just Suspicion of Interest or Prejudice to bias the Relater, which distinguishes the Miracles attested in the Gospel from almost all others, after the Apostolic Age. There have been in all Ages, since the Times of the Apostles, and even in their Time, Impostors in point of Miracles as well as Doctrine; nay, it might be shewn, by many Instances, that some, in other respects,

pious and godly Men, have not scrupled, nay, I may say, have thought it meritorious, on certain Occasions, to forge Miracles themselves, or adopt and foster those which they knew to have been forged by others.

All we know of *Baradatus*, the other Anchoret, to whom the Emperor sent his circular Letter, is, that he shut himself up in a wooden Cage, and lived there several Years, without ever being able to stand upright; but was in the End obliged to quit his painful Dwelling, by the Bishop of *Antioch*, in whose Diocese he lived (7), and who, it seems, did not approve of that whimsical manner of Life.

(7) Theodoret. vit. Patr. c. 27.

had condemned : so that the Council had, so far as it appeared to them, condemned and defined, received and rejected the same Doctrine, only expressed by different Terms. And this, in effect, was the Case, as I have shewn above. They added, that as they seemed all to agree with respect to the Doctrine, it mattered little by what Terms they expressed it ; whether they acknowledged *Two Natures united without Confusion*, or *One incarnate Nature* ; but the latter they thought the more proper of the Two ^t. They agreed however with the rest, in condemning *Ælurus*. The Letter of *Amphilochus of Sida*, the other Metropolitan of *Pamphylia*, has not reached our Times ; but all agree, that he condemned *Ælurus* for the Violence he had used, but absolutely rejected the Decree of *Chalcedon* ^u (A).

Year of
Christ 458.

To none of the Western Bishops was the circular Letter sent, but to *Leo* ; and him the Emperor even invited to *Constantinople* ^w. In Answer to this he wrote two Letters, begging the Emperor, in the First, to excuse him from undertaking a Journey, which the Agreement of the Bishops had made unnecessary ^x ; and in the Second, explaining, and confirming with the Testimony of the Fathers, the Doctrine of Two Natures ^y. This Letter became very famous ^z ; and is often quoted by the Writers of that, and the succeeding Ages.

The Emperor
invites Leo
to Constantinople.
His Answer
to the Emperor's Letter.

But *Ælurus*, though condemned by *Leo*, and all the other Bishops of the Church, both as a Heretic, and Homicide, was, it seems, still in Favour at Court. For the Emperor had no sooner perused *Leo's* Letter, than he sent it to him, dispatching, for that Purpose, *Diomedes* the Silentary into *Egypt*. *Ælurus* laid hold of that Opportunity to write to the Emperor ; and in his Letter censured, with great Smartness and Liberty, both *Leo's* Letter, and the Council of *Chalcedon* ; and at the same time begged, that he would allow a Dispute, or Conference, to be held in his Presence, between the Disciples of *Eutyches* or *Dioscorus*, and any whom *Leo*, since he had put himself at the Head of that Party, should name or appoint. The Emperor did not dislike the Proposal ; and accordingly wrote to *Leo*

The Emperor
sends Leo's
Letter, establishing the
Two Natures, to
Ælurus.

^t Concil. p. 935, 936.

^u Phot. c. 230. Evagr. l. 2. c. 10.

^w Leo, ep. 125.

Evagr. l. 2. c. 9.

^x Leo, ep. 125.

^y Leo, ep. 134.

^z Phot. c. 228.

(A) These Letters were all collected, by the Emperor's Order, into one Body, known by the Name of *Encyclica*, or the circular Letters. They were, at the Desire of *Cassiodore*, translated into Latin, by *Epiphanius* ; and that Translation alone has

reached us ; though not intire, the whole Collection containing now but 37 Letters. Two very antient Manuscript Copies of it are lodged in the Libraries of the Chapter of *Beauvais*, and of *St. Germain de Prez*.

Year of
Christ 458.

Leo against
entering into
Disputes
with the Eu-
tychians.

The Reasons
he alleged.

Dispatches
Legates into
the East.

to acquaint him with it, and desire him to send into the East such Persons, as he should think best qualified to enter the Lists with the *Eutychians*, and convince them of their Errors^a. Such a Proposal, we may be sure, was not relished by *Leo*. And indeed Disputes of that Nature are better calculated to exasperate than to convince, the Disputants on both Sides being, on such Occasions, strongly prepossessed in favour of the Cause, which they undertake, and firmly determined not to yield. *Leo* therefore absolutely refused to comply with the Proposal, alleging, what he had urged in all his Letters, that it was both dangerous and unnecessary to examine anew, or to question, what had been already examined and defined by an Occumenical Council. He added, that as for himself, he could not consent to the proposed Dispute, without incurring the Penalties inflicted by the Law of the late Emperor *Marcian*, forbidding all Disputes about Religion, on Pain of Deposition for the Ecclesiastics, and Banishment for the Laity^b. For in those Days the Popes thought themselves bound, as well as the meanest of the Ecclesiastics, or People, to obey the Imperial Laws, and liable to the same Penalties, if they disobeyed them. But this in *Leo* was a mere Pretence; for by *Marcian's* Law were only forbidden Disputes *in public Places, and in the hearing of the Populace, lest our Mysteries should be discovered to the Jews and Pagans*^c; of which there was no Danger in the present Case. However, *Leo* promised to send Legates into the East, since the Emperor desired it; but at the same time protested, that it was by no means his Design, they should enter into Disputes with Persons, who had been already condemned, or about Points, that had been already decided; and that he sent them only to instruct the Faithful, to persuade them to avoid, as declared Heretics, all who did not receive the Council of *Chalcedon*, to press the Expulsion of *Ælurus*, and procure the Restoration of the Bishops, whom he had driven from their Sees^d. This Letter is dated the 22d of *March* of the present Year 458. and, the following *August*, *Leo* dispatched into the East, agreeably to his Promise, *Domitianus* and *Geminianus*, both Bishops, but of what Sees is not well known. By them he wrote anew to the Emperor, repeating what he said in his former Letter, and besides setting forth the Heinousness and Enormity of

^a Evagr. l. 2. c. 10. *Leo*, ep. 132.
Cod. Just. lib. 1. tit. 1. lege 3.

^b *Leo*, ep. 132.

^c Concil. t. 4. p. 839.
^d *Leo*, ep. 132.

Ælurus's Crimes, lest the Emperor should be prevailed upon to overlook them, which the great Interest he had with the chief Ministers, especially with *Aspar*, gave the World good Reason to apprehend. As for the Reception the Legates met with, and their Transactions at the Court of *Constantinople*, I find no Account of them in the Antients, and none of the Moderns are to be relied on. All we know for certain is, that they were still at *Constantinople* in 460. that *Ælurus* was not driven from the See he had usurped till that Year; and that his being driven from it then, was not owing either to the Pope, or his Legates, as we shall see hereafter. I cannot help observing here, that *Leo*, to divert an orthodox, and, I may say, a religious Prince, for such was the present Emperor *Leo Thracius*, from causing to be examined anew, or disputed, what had been already examined and decided by an Occumenical Council, lawfully assembled, never once pleaded the Infallibility of such Councils; but only that a new Examination was unnecessary, was dangerous, was forbidden by an Imperial Law. A plain Proof, that Occumenical Councils were not yet thought infallible, at least, that their Infallibility was not then what it is now, an Article of Faith; else *Leo* had certainly alleged it as a fundamental Reason, why a new Examination should not be allowed; and indeed, in the present Case, there had been no Occasion to allege any other.

Year of
Christ 458.

Occumenical
Councils not
deemed in-
fallible.

Leo did not suffer his Care and Attention to be so ingrossed by the Affairs of the East, as not to mind, at the same time, those of the West. For in this very Year he wrote a long Letter to *Nicetas* of *Aquileia* concerning some Points of the Ecclesiastical Discipline, which it was of the utmost Importance to examine and establish. The *Hunns* having, in their Retreat out of *Italy*, carried with them great Numbers of Captives, some Women, believing their Husbands dead, or persuaded that they should never see them again, had married other Men. But many of the Captives unexpectedly returned, re-demanded their Wives, and upon their refusing, which some of them did, to quit their second Husbands, had recourse to *Nicetas*, the chief Bishop in those Parts. Some of the Captives had been forced, by the Barbarians, to eat of Meats immolated to Idols; and some to receive Baptism at the Hands of Heretics. With all these *Nicetas* was at a Loss how to proceed; and therefore, distrusting his own Judgment,

*Nicetas of
Aquileia con-
sults Leo
concerning
some Points
of Discipline.*

Year of
Christ 458.

Leo's An-
swer.

Errors in
his Letter
concerning
Marriage,
and the eat-
ing of immo-
lated Meats.

His Doctrine
concerning
Baptism,
now Heresy
in the Church
of Rome.

he charged *Adeodatus*, a Subdeacon of the *Roman* Church, who was returning from *Aquileia* to *Rome*, to lay his Difficulties before *Leo*, that he might direct him how to act in the above-mentioned Cases.

This gave Occasion to a circular Letter, addressed to all the Metro-
politans, at least, in the West, *that what he had prescribed to one might be known to all, and by all observed*. In that Letter he clears those Women from all Guilt, who, believing their Husbands were dead, had married other Men; but adds, that they are bound to return to their first Husbands, provided their first Husbands required them to return; and that they ought to be cut off from the Communion of the Faithful, if they did not return when re-demanded ^f.

This Condition, *if required to return by their first Husbands, if re-demanded*, he never omits, as if it were not to be questioned but they might continue with their Second, if their First Husbands did not re-demand them. As for those who had eaten of immolated Meats, or Meats offered to Idols, he will have them to atone for their Crime by a public Penance, not even excusing from the Crime, or exempting from the Penance, such as had used that for want of all other Food, that is, when they must either have used it, or perished with Hunger. *Leo* was, it seems, of *St. Austin's* Opinion, who thought it could be lawful, on no Occasion whatever, to eat of such Meats. But *St. Paul* was, very plainly, of a different Opinion; it being, according to his Doctrine, no Sin in a Christian to eat of Meats offered to Idols, provided he does not think it a Sin, nor gives thereby Offence to weak Brethren ^g. *Leo* subjects likewise to a public Penance all, who, having been baptized, suffered themselves, out of Fear, or even out of Ignorance, to be rebaptized by a Heretic Minister. But as for those, who were but once baptized, though they had received their Baptism at the Hands of a Heretic, he only requires them to be confirmed by the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the Imposition of Hands; *that they may thereby receive the Virtue and Sanctification of Baptism, having received nothing of*

that Sacrament before, besides the bare Form ^h. The Doctrine diametrically opposite to this is now an Article of Faith in the Church of *Rome*; and *Leo's* Doctrine rank Heresy; though laid down by him in instructing the Church, or, as it is called, speaking *ex cathedra*. For, according to the present Doctrine of that Church, Baptism,

^f *Leo* ep. 129. ^g See ep. ad Rom. xiv. et 1 Corinth. viii.

^h *Leo* ubi supra.

whether it be administred by a Catholic or a Heretic, has the same Virtue, cancels original Sin, confers Grace, sanctifies; and consequently, if the Church does not err, *Leo* did in defining the contrary; viz. that of *Baptism nothing is received at the Hands of a Heretic, besides the bare Form*. I might add, that the bare Form, or external Ceremony of Baptism, is not the Sacrament of Baptism, a Sacrament being, as is allowed by all, who allow of any Sacraments, *a visible Sign of invisible Grace*; and hence it follows, that Baptism, when administred by a Heretic, is not a Sacrament according to *Leo's* Doctrine, but a bare external, and to all Purposes useless Ceremony, leaving the Persons to whom it is administred, in the same Condition it found them.

Year of
Christ 458.

The same Year 458. the Emperor *Majorianus*, who reigned in the West, enacted the famous Law, at the Suggestion of *Leo*, as is said in the Pontificals, forbidding Virgins under the Age of 40 to be consecrated, or to take the Veil of Virginity; on Pain to their Parents, of forfeiting the Third Part of their Estates, if they suffered them to be consecrated before that Age; and of Proscription to the Ecclesiastics, who should be any-ways accessory to their Consecration i. By the 16th Canon of the Council of *Chalcedon* held in 451. Virgins, who had once taken the Veil of Virginity, or, as it is now expressed, had made their Profession, were forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, ever to marry k. By the 15th Canon of the same Council Deaconesses (B) were likewise forbidden to marry after their

No Virgins
to be conse-
crated under
the Age of
Forty.

Con-

i Cod. Theod. nov. 8.

k Concil. t. 4. p. 763.

(B) The Order of Deaconesses was of Apostolical Institution; for *St. Paul* calls *Phæbe* Deaconess (*Διακονῶσα*) of the Church of *Cenchrea* (1). They were to be Widows, who had borne Children, who had been but once married, and were advanced in Years. But these Rules were all frequently dispensed with. Some Imperial Laws required all Deaconesses to be Sixty Years of Age; others required them to be at least Fifty; but the Council of *Chalcedon* was satisfied with the Age of Forty; and even the Canon of that Council was not always strictly observed. As to their Office, they were, I. To assist at the Baptism of Women, and on that Occa-

sion, as all were baptized by Immersion, to undress and dress them, and to anoint them with the holy Oil, in Compliance with the Custom that then obtained in the Eastern Churches. II. To instruct the Women Catechumens, before they were baptized. III. To visit and attend Women, when sick, or in Distress. IV. To minister to the Confessors in Prison, which they could do with less Danger than the other Ministers of the Church. And, lastly, To regulate the Behaviour of Women in the Church; whence in some Canons they are styled Governesses. They were ordained, or rather consecrated, by the Imposition of Hands; for their Ordination gave them

(1) Ad Rom. xvi. 1.

Year of
Christ 458.

Consecration, and anathematized together with their Husbands, if they did¹. With respect to the latter it was ordained, that none should be consecrated under the Age of 40, let the Occasion be ever so urgent; but for the Consecration of the former no Age was fixed. *Majorianus* therefore, thinking it incumbent upon him to prevent young Women from entering rashly, as many did, into a State so repugnant to Nature, which they could not afterwards change, though they might repent, for the rest of their Lives, their having ever embraced it, by an Edict, dated the 26th of *October* of the present Year, extended to all Virgins the Law, which the Fathers of *Chalcedon* had made and designed for the Deaconesses alone. And how many Scandals and Abuses had been prevented by so wise an Ordinance, had it continued in Vigour, the World but too well knows.

Virgins now
allowed to
take the Veil
of Virginity
at the Age of
Sixteen.

Young Women are now allowed to take the Veil of Virginity at the Age of 16; that is, they are allowed to dispose of themselves for Life, when they are not yet thought capable of disposing of any thing else; to vow perpetual Virginity, when they scarce understand what they vow, at least, when they can have but a very faint Idea of the Difficulties of keeping it through their whole Lives. These Considerations, confirmed and enforced by the bad Success that attended many of the unexperienced Novices, in the Warfare they had so rashly undertaken, strongly inclined a conscientious Pope^m in our Days to declare void and null all Vows of perpetual Chastity that should be made, for the future, by Virgins under the Age of 25, that Age having been fixed by the *African* Canons. The good Pope supposed no Virgin to be a Stranger, at that Age, to this kind of War, but all to be as well acquainted, as ever they could be, both with the Enemy's Strength, and their own. Those alone therefore, who had attained to that Age, he thought properly qualified to engage in such a War, since they alone could know, by Experience, whether or no they could withstand the Enemy to the last, and faithfully perform, what they so solemnly promised, in ranging themselves under the

Benedict
XIII. at-
tempted to
correct that
Abuse.

¹ Concil. *ibid*.

^m Benedict XIII. chosen in 1724.

no Power to perform any Functions of the Sacerdotal Office. This Order, though agreed on all hands to have been of Apostolical Institution, has been long since suppressed in the *Latin*, as well as in the *Greek*, Church. For, after the Tenth or Eleventh

Century, the Word *Diaconissa* is made use of only to signify a Deacon's Wife, as the Words *Presbytera* and *Episcopa* are to signify the Wife of a Presbyter, and the Wife of a Bishop.

Banner of Chastity. Those alone too he thought worthy of the Punishments indifferently inflicted, by the undiscerning Canons, on all, ^{Year of Christ 458.} who had the Misfortune to be in the End overcome. But his Design, though intirely agreeable to Humanity, Justice, and good Sense, ^{But his good Design over-ruled.} was over-ruled; and the Opposition it met with from the *Sacred College*, as it is called, and the Divines of his Council, was so strong, and so universal, that he thought it advisable to lay it aside, seeing it required the whole *Plenitude of his Power*, which he was unwilling to exert, to put it in Execution. The Reasons they alleged to support their Opposition, were better calculated for the Meridian of *Italy*, than for that of a more temperate Climate. Their chief Reason, and that on which they laid the main Stress, was, that very few, if any at all, would chuse, at the prescribed Age, when their Passions were strongest, to put themselves out of a Condition of ever gratifying them, even in a lawful and innocent manner. Thus the Monasteries would be all deserted, and, at the same time, many poor, but noble Families, incumbered with a greater Number of Daughters, than they could either marry, or maintain, suitably to their Rank. Upon the Whole, the Pope was obliged to content himself with charging the Bishops, as they would answer it at the last Day, not to allow any Virgins, under the above-mentioned Age, to take the Veil of Virginity, whom they had not found, upon the strictest Examination, made by themselves, or by Persons, in whom they could confide, *sufficiently* apprised of the Difficulties and Hardships attending the State, which they proposed to embrace.

The above-mentioned Law, forbidding the Veil of Virginity to be given to Virgins under the Age of 40, is said, in the Pontificals, to ^{The Law forbidding Virgins to be consecrated under the Age of 40, not owing to} have been procured by *Leo*; nay, *Anastasius* pretends an Ordinance to have been first issued by him, forbidding Virgins to be consecrated, who had not been tried for the Space of 40, or, as we read in the *Leo*.

Louvre Edition of that Author, of 60 Years^m. But *Leo* declares, in one of his Lettersⁿ, even those Virgins, who had only resolved to embrace the State of Virginity, which some did, when they were yet very young, and thereupon had assumed the Habit peculiar in those Days to such as had taken that Resolution, bound in Conscience to live Virgins, and guilty of Prevarication, if they ever married; which is utterly inconsistent with his requiring a 40 or a 60 Years Trial.

^m Vide Bolland. Apr. t. i. p. 33.

ⁿ *Leo*, ep. 2.

Year of
Christ 459.

Leo sup-
presses the
Custom of
publicly con-
fessing pri-
vate Sins.

The following Year 459. *Leo*, by a Letter dated the 6th of *March*, and addressed to the Bishops of *Campania*, *Samnium*, and *Picenum*, suppressed a Custom that prevailed among them, with respect to the Confession of penitent Sinners, whom they obliged to write down all their Sins, and then caused them to be read in the Hearing of the whole Congregation. This Custom *Leo* condemns as repugnant to the Apostolic Rule, and tending to deter Sinners from using the Remedies which Penance afforded, since either Shame might withhold them from publicly owning their Sins, or the Fear of being accused by their Enemies, or punished, upon their own Confession, by the Civil Magistrate, and the Ministers of Justice. *Leo* therefore commands so pernicious a Practice to be forthwith abolished, as not only dangerous, but likewise unnecessary; that Confession being fully sufficient, which is made first to God, and then to a Priest, who will intercede for the Sinner, and pray with him for the Remission of his Sins°. From *Leo's* own Words it is manifest, that he does not condemn and abrogate here public Confession in general; but only a public Confession of hidden Sins, that is, of Sins, which, unless from the Sinner's own Confession, it was not publicly known he had ever committed. As for the Practice of publicly confessing public Sins, that Part of the primitive Discipline was kept up long after *Leo's* Time, and absolutely required, at least, in the West.

Penance how
practised in
the primitive
Church.

As Confession, I mean auricular Confession, or Confession made to a Priest, which *Leo* recommends in the Letter I have mentioned, has been defined by the Church of *Rome* to be of divine Institution, to be a Condition indispensably required for the Remission of Sins committed after Baptism, and an essential Part of *Penance*, which in latter times has been declared a Sacrament, it will not be foreign to my Purpose, to give here an historical Account of *Penance*, as it was practised in the primitive Ages, of the various Changes it has undergone, and the Improvements it has received from the time it was first introduced into the Church, till it was raised by the Councils of *Florence* and *Trent*, to the Rank of a Sacrament, and all were anathematized, who did not acknowledge the new Dignity, with which it was by their Authority vested. It is well known, that, in the primitive times, such Delinquents as fell into public and grievous Sins after Baptism, were, upon legal Conviction, expelled the Con-

° *Leo*, ep. 138.

Leo.

BISHOPS of Rome.

125.

gregation, and never re-admitted till they had atoned for their Crime by a public Penance. This Expulsion is styled, in the Writings of the Fathers, *a driving away from the Church* ^o, *a casting out from the Communion of the Church* ^p, *a driving from Communion* ^q, *a Separation from the Church* ^r, *an ejecting out of the Church* ^s, *a killing with the spiritual Sword* ^t. Men in that Condition were looked upon as accursed by God, as Limbs of *Satan*; and therefore were

Year of
Christ 459.

*In those times
all public and
notorious
Sinners ex-
pelled the
Congrega-
tion.*

by all voided, even in civil Commerce, and common Conversation, agreeably to the Advice of the Two Apostles St. *Paul* ^u, and St. *John* ^w. If the Delinquent continued obstinate in his Sin, he was abandoned by the Church, and looked upon, in every respect, as a Heathen and a Publican. But if, touched with Remorse, he sued for a Reconciliation, and gave visible Marks of a sincere Repentance, and hearty Abhorrence of his Crime, he was admitted to Penance; but not till he had, for a whole Year, solicited that Favour in a most penitent and humble manner, appearing at the Church Door in Sackcloth and Ashes, prostrating himself at the Feet of the Faithful, as they went in, begging their Prayers, and striving, with his Groans and Tears, to *move to Compassion the merciful Church of the merciful Christ* ^x.

When the Year was expired, he was admitted to Penance, that is, he was allowed to perform that Penance, which the Church required of every public and notorious Offender, before she would re-admit him to the Participation of the sacred Mysteries. While the Penitent, as he was now called, continued in that State, he was to wear no Ornaments of Dress, but to appear at the Meetings of the Faithful in Sackcloth and Ashes, standing among the Catechumens in the lower Part of the Church. He was to abstain from bathing, feasting, and all other innocent Diversions; from pleading, trading, and serving in War; from marrying, if single; and from the Use of Matrimony, if married; for which Reason no married Persons were admitted to Penance without the Consent of the innocent Party. In some Churches, namely, in those that had *no Parabolani*, whose Office it was to attend the Sick, and bury the Dead, that Employment was put upon the Penitents, as a proper Exercise for Men in their Situa-

*Not re-ad-
mitted till
they had
atoned for
their Crime-
by a public
Penance.*

*The Rigour
and Severity
of that Pen-
ance.*

^o Apud Euseb. l. 7. c. 7.
de Monogam.

^p Tertull. de Præscrip. advers. Hæret.

^r Cyp. ep. 38.

^s Idem ep. 40.

^q Idem

^t Idem ep. 62.

^u 1 Corinth. v. 11. Rom. xvi. 17. ² Theff. iii. 14.

^w 2 John 10, 11.

^x Euseb.

l. 5. c. 28. Tertull. de pœnit. c. 9. et de pudicit. c. 13. Epist. 31. apud Cypr. Socr. l. 3. c. 13.

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tion. The public Fasts of the Church they were to observe with the greatest Strictness, appearing, chiefly on those Days, with a coarse Habit, with a dejected Countenance, and a penitential Mien, to atone, as St. *Cyprian* expresses it, with their Fasting and Sorrow, *for having formerly tasted the Devil's Meat*. Lastly, Penitents were excluded for ever from the Clerical Order; and such of the Clergy as had done public Penance, were never restored to their former Dignity ¹. How long the Penitent continued in that State cannot well be determined; some were held in it a Year only, some Two Years, some 10, some 20, some 30, according to the Nature and Quality of the Offence, the Grief and Sorrow of the Offender, and the Will and Pleasure of the Bishop, or rather, in the earliest times, of the whole Congregation (A).

A public
Confession re-
quired of the
Penitent,
when he was
re-admitted.

But how long and rigorous soever the Penance was, the Penitent was to endure it humbly, patiently, and thankfully, till he had completed *the legal and full time of Satisfaction*, as St. *Cyprian* styles it ²; which being ended, he came into the Church *covered with Sackcloth and Ashes, throwing himself at the Feet of the Clergy and Laity, and, with Tears in his Eyes, begging their Pardon and Forgiveness* ³. At this time, for the greater De-

¹ Vide Pacian. Paræn. ad pœnit. Tertull. de pœnit. c. 9. Cyp. de laps. Hier. in Joel. c. 2. Ambros. de pœnit. l. 2. c. 10. Concil. Carth. 4. can. 81. Syric. ep. 1. Concil. Arel. 2. can. 22. ² Cyp. ep. 59. ³ Apud Euseb. l. 5. c. 28.

(A) By the Council of *Nice*, such as voluntarily apostatized from the Faith, were to undergo a Twelve Years Penance (1). St. *Basil* appoints 30 Years Penance for wilful Murder, and Adultery; 10 for a wilful Miscarriage; 7 for Fornication; 3 for a Third Marriage, and One or Two for a Second (2). For most of the Fathers were greatly inclined to, and some of them not a little tainted with the Heresy of the *Montanists*, acknowledging one Marriage, as they did one God (3); though our Saviour, as St. *Austin* well observes (4), found no Fault with the Woman, who had been married Seven times. By the Canons of *Gregory of Nyssa*, voluntary Murder was punished with 27 Years Penance; Adultery with 18; Fornication with 9; and

the robbing of Graves with 9 (5). When the Offence was remarkably great and scandalous, the Offender was to continue among the Penitents so long as he lived, being allowed to partake of the sacred Mysteries only at the Hour of his Death; nay, St. *Cyprian* assures us, that many of his Predecessors had absolutely refused to admit Adulterers to Communion at their very last Hour, suffering them to go out of the World without any manner of Reconciliation, and remitting them for Pardon to God alone (6). This Severity however, as favouring of *Novatianism*, was afterwards corrected, and the greatest Sinners were allowed Communion at the Point of Death, if they desired it.

(1) Concil. Nic. c. 11.
Monogam. c. 1.
ep. can. ad Letoium.

(2) Basil. ep. ad Amphil.
(4) Aug. de bono viduitat. c. 12.
(6) Cypr. ep. 55. ad Antoniam.

(3) Tertull. de
(5) Greg. Nyss.

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monstration of his Sorrow and Concern, he was to make a public Confession of his Sin, that is, he was to own himself, before the whole Congregation, guilty of the Sin for which he had been expelled, and worthy of the Punishment, which he had undergone ^b. Such a Confession was looked upon as the Source and Spring of all true Repentance ^c; and, on that account, is recommended in the Writings of the Fathers, as an indispensable Preliminary to Absolution. As soon as Confession was over, the Penitent kneeled down before the Bishop and the Clergy, who, laying their Hands on his Head, blessing him, and, at the same time, saying the Lord's Prayer, restored him, by that Ceremony, to the full Communion of the Faithful, received him to the Peace of the Church, and declared him Partaker again of all the Privileges, which, for a while, he had forfeited by his Crime ^d. This was what the Fathers and Councils meant by the famous Expressions, of *remitting Sins, absolving Sinners, loosing their Bonds, granting them Pardon, &c.* which are all but so many different ways of expressing one and the same thing; *viz.* the repealing the Sentence of Excommunication, with which the Sinner was bound, and restoring him to the outward Communion of the Church, from which he had been excluded for his Sins, and the Scandal he had given.

How absolved.

Such was the Penance of the Antients.. But it must be observed, that though it was so strongly recommended by the Fathers, though it was never dispensed with, at least in the primitive Times, with respect to public and notorious Offenders; yet it was not thought absolutely necessary to Salvation, nor was it to absolve Sinners from their Sins, but only from the Excommunication, which they had incurred by their Sins, that the Church required it. The latter is evident from the Practice of St. *Cyprian*, who allowed a Presbyter to absolve the Penitent in the Absence of a Bishop, and a Deacon in the Absence of a Presbyter ^e; and to a Deacon no Divine of the Church of *Rome* will allow the Power of remitting Sins; though he may, by an extraordinary Commission, be empowered to absolve the Sinner from the Excommunication, which he has incurred by his Sin.. That Penance was not thought absolutely necessary to Salvation, may be easily demonstrated; for in some Churches Persons guilty of ido-

Public Penance not thought necessary to Salvation.

^b Tertull. de poenit. Euseb. l. 6. c. 34. Carnol. apud Euseb. l. 6. c. 43. Cyp. ep. 11. et de lapsis. ^c Tertull. ubi supra. ^d Cyp. ep. 10, 11, 12. Optat. l. 2. Hier. contra Lucif. c. 2. ^e Cyp. ep. 13.

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None admit-
ted twice to
public Pe-
nance, or
twice ab-
solved.

latry, Murder, or Adultery, were excluded for ever from Penance, and the Peace of the Church^f; and generally speaking, if a Sinner, after having once performed public Penance, either relapsed into the same, or committed any other public and grievous Sin, he was not admitted to a second Penance, or a second Confession, in order to be absolved again; but exhorted to repent in private, to make private Confession of that and his other Sins to God, that he might obtain of him that Pardon and Mercy which the Church, in her Wisdom, thought fit to deny^g. Hence it is manifest, that, in those Days, Salvation was thought to be attainable without Confession, either public or private, made to Man, or any kind of sacerdotal Absolution. I say, *without Confession, either public or private, made to Man*; for to suppose, with Cardinal Perron, those, who for the Enormity of their Sins, or their Relapses, were excluded from public Penance, to have been allowed the Benefit of private Penance, of private Confession, and Absolution, is supposing the Church to have been most indulgent and merciful to those who least deserved her Indulgence and Mercy. And it is on this Consideration, that the Jesuit *Petavius* explodes the Notion of the Cardinal as a mere Dream, only brought in to serve an Hypothesis, without any Foundation in ancient History, or a single Instance in the Practice of the primitive Times^h.

The Office of the Penitentiary, when first instituted, and on what Occasion.

I have observed above, that public Penance, including public Satisfaction and Confession, was enjoined by the Church only for public and enormous Sins, such as reflected particular Disgrace on the Christian Name and Profession. However, many, for their greater Satisfaction, and Ease of their Minds, chose to undergo public Penance, and openly to confess even private Sins, when grievous. But as these voluntary Penitents out of the Abundance of their Zeal, and want of Discretion, often brought such Sins upon the public Stage as had better been kept secret, seeing they either hurt the Penitents themselves, or gave Scandal to the Church; to avoid the one and the other Inconvenience, it was thought proper to appoint in each Church a Presbyter, under the Name of the *Penitentiary Presbyter*, to whom all, who desired to be admitted to public Penance for private Sins, should first confess those Sins; and afterwards either

^f Cyp. ep. 52. ^g Hær. Pastor. l. 2. mandat. 4. Clem. Alexandrin. Strom. 2. c. 13. Tertull. de poen. c. 7. et 9. Orig. hom. 15. in Levit. Concil. Elib. can. 3. 7. 47. Aug. ep. 54. ad Macedon. &c. ^h Petav. not. in Epiphan. p. 238.

confess them in public, if he thought proper; or if he did not, atone for them by a private Penance, which he, by his Office, was empowered to injoin. This new Office is said to have been instituted in the Time of the *Decian* Persecution, which broke out in the Year 250. probably because the Number of those, who apostatized then from the Faith, and afterwards returning to themselves, desired to be reconciled to the Church, was too great for the Bishops to attend them, together with the voluntary Penitents, and at the same time discharge, as they ought, the other Duties of their pastoral Office. We are indebted to *Socrates* for this Account of the first Institution of the Penitentiary Priestⁱ; an Office that is still kept up, but very differently managed, in all *Roman* Catholic Cathedrals. *Sozomen*, who has copied *Socrates*, adds, that the Presbyter, appointed to discharge that Office, was to be a prudent Man, lest he should suffer Sins to be publicly confessed, that ought to have been kept secret; and a secret Man, lest he himself should be tempted, on any Occasion, to disclose and divulge the Crimes that had been privately revealed to him^k.

The Institution of the Penitentiary Priest was universally received, and maintained in the Church till the Year 390. when that Office was suppressed, and the Practice of private Confession utterly abolished, first at *Constantinople*, by *Nectarius* Bishop of that City, and afterwards all over the East, on the following Occasion: A Woman of Distinction having confessed her secret Sins to the Penitentiary Priest, he enjoined her, by way of Satisfaction, to fast and pray, that she might thereby shew forth Works worthy of Repentance. In Compliance with this Injunction the contrite Penitent remained in the Church, attending her Prayers, after the rest were all dismissed. Her remaining thus alone offered a favourable Opportunity to one of the Deacons of making an Attempt upon her Virtue: he made it; she yielded; and the Crime was committed in the Church itself, without any Regard to the Sacredness of the Place. With this new Sin the Woman returned to her Confessor; and he, very injudiciously, either obliged or suffered her to confess it before the whole Congregation. The People heard it with Indignation, and began, for the Misbehaviour of one, as it but too often happens, to revile, in a most outrageous manner, the whole Body of the Clergy. The City

ⁱ Socrat. l. 5. c. 19.^k Soz. l. 7. c. 16.

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Private Con-
fession abo-
lished in the
East.

was all in an Uproar; and *Nectarius*, to appease the Tumult, not only deposed the Deacon, and removed the Penitentiary; but, the more effectually to prevent, for the future, the Scandal that might arise from the divulging of private Sins, utterly abolished that Office, *leaving every Man free*, these are the very Words of the Historian, *to partake of the holy Mysteries, according to the Direction of his own Conscience*¹; which Words plainly imply an utter Abolition of private, or, as it is now styled, *auricular Confession*. *Sozomen* adds, that the Example of *Nectarius* was followed by almost all the Bishops of the East; but that the Office of the Penitentiary Priest was still kept up in the West, to prepare Men for the public Penance of the Church, which he thence takes occasion to describe at Length, as it was then practised at *Rome*, and in the other Western Churches^m. It is to be observed, that *Socrates*, of whom I have chiefly copied the present Account, was by Profession a Civilian, lived at this very time in *Constantinople*, and had what he relates from the Mouth of *Eudemon*, the Presbyter, who first advised *Nectarius* to abolish the Office of the Penitentiary Priest, and utterly abrogate private Confessionⁿ.

Not thought
then to be of
divine Insti-
tution.

From this Account, vouch'd not by *Socrates* alone, but likewise^o by *Sozomen*, who flourished at the same time, it is manifest, that auricular Confession was not thought then, as it is now, to be of divine Institution, or absolutely necessary to Salvation. For if such an Opinion had obtained, who can imagine, that *Nectarius*, a most orthodox Prelate, would have ever attempted to abolish it; that the other Eastern Bishops would, almost all to a Man, have so readily followed his Example, as they certainly did? In Answer to this, *Baronius* questions the Truth of the Fact, striving to prove, by a long, senseless, and impertinent Descant, that *Socrates*, who relates it, was tainted with the Heresy of *Novatian*, not acknowledging in the Church the Power of forgiving Sins; and thence concluding the Suppression of the above-mentioned Office, as related by him, to be a mere Invention of his^o. But that *Socrates*, who lived at this very time in *Constantinople*, would have so confidently asserted, and asserted of his own Knowledge, such a notorious Fact as happening there, had no such Fact happened, is what *Baronius* himself, I will take upon me to say, did not believe, notwithstanding the Pains he takes to make

Cavils of
Baronius.

¹ Soer. l. 5. c. 19.
ad ann. 56. n. 27, 28, &c.

^m Soz. l. vii. c. 16.

ⁿ Soer. ibid.

^o Bar,

Leo.

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others believe it. As for the Charge of *Novatianism*, on which he grounds his peremptorily rejecting the Authority of *Socrates*; that Writer, it must be owned, seems to have entertained a good Opinion of all who were of that Persuasion: he often commends them, and even honours *Novatian*, the Founder of that Sect, with the Title of Martyr. But yet he ranks them among the Sects that were separated from the Church; and, on the present Occasion, he did not at all approve of the Advice, which *Eudemon* gave to *Nectarius*, for when he was acquainted with it, by *Eudemon* himself, he told him, that he much doubted whether his Counsel was for the Advantage of the Church, since it would be attended with the Neglect of mutual Reproof, and the Transgression of that Rule of the Apostle, *Have no Fellowship with the unfruitful Works of Darkeness, but rather reprove them*⁹. Hence it is manifest, that he approved of private Confession for the sake of mutual Reproof, one of the chief Ends for which it was instituted, as we shall see hereafter; and consequently that he cannot be supposed to have forged the Account he gives of the Abrogation of that Practice, with a Design to countenance, in the *Novatians*, the opposite Practice and Doctrine.

Bellarmino owns the Office of the Penitentiary Priest to have been suppressed by *Nectarius*, and, after his Example, by almost all the Bishops of the East. But as to what *Socrates* adds, that every Man was left free to partake of the holy Mysteries, that is, of the Eucharist, according to the Direction of his own Conscience, he pretends the Historian thereby to have meant no more, than that Men were thenceforth freed from the Obligation of appearing, when conscious to themselves of any Sin, before the public Tribunal of the Church, that is, from the Obligation of confessing it in public. But nothing is more certain, than that the Obligation of undergoing public Penance, of which public Confession was an essential Part, for public Sins, subsisted in the Church several Ages after the Time of *Nectarius*; and as to private Sins, neither was there in his Time, nor had there ever been, any Law obliging Men to confess them in public. Such an Abuse indeed had crept into some Provinces of *Italy*, as I have observed above; but it was immediately condemned and suppressed by *Leo*, as utterly repugnant to the Apostolic Rule. *Thomas Waldensis*, more ingenuous than either *Baronius* or *Bellarmino*, can-

And of Bel-
larmine.

⁷ Socr. l. 6. c. 20. 23.

⁹ Idem, l. 5. c. 19.

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didly owns the Practice of private Confession to have been condemned and abrogated by *Nectarius*; but adds, that in abolishing it he was guilty of a great and unpardonable Error^r. But, if that had been thought an Error, would not some of his Collegues in the East have opposed him in such an Attempt? Would they almost all have so readily followed his Example? Pope *Nicolas* could not be unacquainted with what *Nectarius* had done; and yet he styles him, in one of his Letters, *the Expugner of Heretics, the Defender of the Church*; and such Commendations we may suppose the Bishop of *Rome* would never have bestowed on the Bishop of *Constantinople*, had he been guilty of a *great and unpardonable Error*.

Private Con-
fession early
practised, but
not thought
necessary.

Private Confession, or Confession made in private to Man, began, it must be owned, in the earliest Times, to be practised in the Church^t. But that it was not thought necessary to Salvation, even by the Fathers, who have most recommended it, and who are chiefly quoted by the *Roman Catholic* Divines to prove its Necessity, has been, I may say, demonstrated by several Protestant Writers, especially by the learned *Dailé*, in his elaborate Work on *Auricular Confession*^u. I shall therefore only observe here, 1. That the Example of the first Christians, of whom it is said, that *many came, and confessed, and declared their Deeds*^w, on which great Stress is laid by the Advocates for private Confession, may be well alleged to prove such a Confession to be a virtuous and commendable Action; and that indeed it proves, allowing the Passage I have quoted to be understood of the Confession of Sins, which some have questioned^x. But as their Example has not the Force of a Law, it is absurd to conclude, from their confessing their Sins on a certain Occasion, that every Christian is bound to confess to Man whatever he has done amiss, or else to be everlastingly guilty of Sin. The first Christians *had all things common*; and *sold their Possessions and Goods, and parted them to all Men, as every Man had need*^y. And yet their Example, with respect to such Actions, in themselves far more commendable than the bare Confession of Sins made to a Man, is by none looked upon, or has ever been interpreted as a Law, binding all, who profess the same Religion, to have every thing common,

Only matter
of Advice.

^r Thom. Wald. t. 2. c. 141.

^s Nic. ep. ad Phot. in VIII. Synod. act. 4.

^t Iren. l. 1. c. 9. Tertull. de poenit. Orig. hom. 2. et hom. 3. in Levit. hom. 2. in Psal. 37. Cyp. l. 3. ep. 8. et Serm. 5. de laps.

^u Dailé de confess. auric.

^w Acts xix. 18.

^x Luth. in sua versione, et Brentius in

comment. ad hunc locum.

^y Act. ii. 44, 45.

to sell their Possessions and Goods, though the first Christians are *all* said to have done so, and not all, but *many that believed, came and confessed*. 2. All Promises of Forgiveness upon Confession are understood, in the Church of *Rome*, upon Confession made to a Priest. And yet this Condition is no-where expressed. And is it probable, or rather is it not highly improbable, that the Scripture should ever mean, and never express, that one Condition, without which all the rest is utterly of no Effect? St. *James* advises us to *confess our Faults*; Not to be not to a Priest, rather than to a Layman, but, in general Terms, *one to another*², that is, to any righteous Man; for he immediately adds, *And pray for one another, that ye may be healed. The effectual fervent Prayer of a righteous Man availeth much.* And no one will say, that a Layman may not be a righteous Man, as well as a Priest. It was not till many Ages after, that, by these Words, *one to another*, St. *James* was made to mean Priests only. For he was not yet thus understood, at least generally speaking, in the Eleventh Century; as is manifest from the famous *Lanfranc* of *Canterbury*, who, in a Treatise, which he composed on the *Secrecy of Confession*, writes, That *the Confession of public Sins should be made to a Priest, by whose Ministry the Church binds and looses, what she publicly knows; but that private Sins may be confessed to any Ecclesiastic, nay, and to a Layman, since it is recorded of some of the holy Fathers, that they were Directors of Souls, though not in Orders*^a (A).

3. In the Twelfth Century, Confession made to God alone was still thought sufficient to Salvation: witness *Geffery* Abbot of *Vendome*, *Peter Lombard*, and *Gratian*, who all assure us, that, in their Time, in the Twelfth Century, many held Confession to God alone to be sufficient; and would not allow of any Necessity or Obligation of confessing to a Priest^b; nay, *Gratian*, after quoting the Authors on each Side of the Question, leaves the Reader at Liberty to take which he pleases, *seeing either bad wise and religious Men to autho-*

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made to a
Priest more
than to any
other good
Man.

In the 12th
Century,
Confession
made to God
alone thought
sufficient.

² James v. 16.

^a Tract. de Confess. inter opera Lanfr. edita Paris. anno 1648.

^b Goffrid. l. 5. ep. 16. Lombard. distinct. l. 4. sect. 7. Gratian. de poenit. dist. 2. c. 89.

(A) I am sensible, that F. *Dachery* is not willing to allow *Lanfranc* to have been the Author of that Piece. But he has not been able, in the Opinion of the best Cri-

tics, to prove that he was not; and all agree it to have been written in or near his Time, that is, late in the Eleventh Century.

rise and defend it^c (B). But, in the following Century, the present Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the Necessity of auricular Confession, was at last finally established in the Council of *Late-ran*, held under Pope *Innocent* III. in 1215^d. and thenceforth it was deemed Heresy to teach, that Confession made to God alone was sufficient, or Confession made to a Priest was not necessary to Salvation (C).

^c Gratian. *ibid*.

^d Concil. Lateran. 3. c. 21.

4. The

(B) There is another Passage in *Gratian* to the same Purpose, which is to be found in the *Venice* Edition of that Writer, published by Authority in 1501. but has been left out in all the later Editions. As it exhibits the different Opinions of the Divines of those Days, concerning the Institution of auricular, or, as it is there styled, oral Confession, it may not be improper to insert it here, as a Specimen of their Reasoning, and their Skill in Divinity. The Words of *Gratian* are: *We must now inquire when oral Confession was first instituted. Some are of Opinion, that it was instituted in Paradise, immediately after the Fall; the Lord saying unto ADAM, WHERE ART THOU? For he spoke thus, that ADAM might confess, and his Confession might serve as a Pattern for the Confession of others. But as, in interrogating Adam, he had not, it seems, sufficiently apprised him, that he was to make his Confession, he applied, in the next place, to the Fratricide Cain, saying, WHERE IS ABEL THY BROTHER?* These very able Divines seem not to have understood what they were about; for their Design was to shew, when Confession, made to a Man, was first instituted; and the Confession, required in the Passages they quote, was a Confession made to God alone. Others think, continues *Gratian*, that Confession was first instituted under the Law of *MOSES*, when *JOSHUA* commanded *Achan* to confess his Crime, and all *ISRAEL* stoned him with Stones. But neither was the Confession required by *Jeshua*, a private Confession, or a Confession made in private to a Priest. It was a public Confession; a Confession made to God, in the Hearing of *Jeshua*, and the whole People of *Israel*: and *Joshua* said

unto *Achan*, *My Son, give, I pray thee, Glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make Confession unto him, &c* (1). Others think, adds *Gratian*, that it is not in the Old, but in the New Testament, that we must look for the Institution of Confession. These will have it to have been instituted by *St. James*, saying, CONFESS YOUR FAULTS ONE TO ANOTHER. But they had better have ascribed its Original to some Tradition of the Universal Church, than have attempted to prove it from the Old or New Testament. The Traditions of the Church are binding; and therefore we are bound to confess our Sins; but the Greeks are not, whom that Tradition has not reached, no more than the Tradition concerning the Use of unleavened Bread in the Eucharist. Hence it follows, that *St. James* neither instituted nor commanded, but only advised, Confession; for had he commanded it, his Command had been binding even with respect to the Greeks, notwithstanding the contrary Practice that prevails among them (2). From this Passage it appears, that, in the Twelfth Century, auricular Confession was not yet commonly thought to be of divine Institution; that some Divines indeed strove to prove, that it was, but went so awkwardly about it, that the contrary Opinion prevailed as the more probable of the Two. But what the Divines could not make out with Arguments, the Council of *Trent* established afterwards with Anathemas, declaring all those anathematized who should teach or hold, that sacramental, or auricular, Confession was not of divine Institution (3).

(C) And yet, long after that Council, some Writers of great Note could not help owning Confession, as then practised by the Church of *Rome*, to have been un-

(1) *Josh. vii. 19.*

(2) *Grat. de poen. dist. 5. c. 1.*

(3) *Sess. 14. can. 6.*

4. The only Reason alleged by St. *James*, why we shou'd confess our Sins one to another, that is, to any righteous Man, as St. *Austin* explains this Passage ^e, is, that we may mutually assist each other with our Prayers. The Fathers, however, countenanced and recommended private Confession upon other Motives; *viz.* for the sake of Direction, Instruction, spiritual Comfort, mutual Reproof, and private Admonition; and as the Bishops and Priests were, generally speaking, supposed to be the best qualified for such Offices, they exhorted Men to recur chiefly to them, each to his own Bishop or Pastor: and it is upon these Passages out of the Fathers, the Priest being never mentioned in Scripture, that the Church of *Rome* founds her Doctrine concerning auricular Confession made to a Priest. Lastly, *Leo*, after declaring, in his Letter to the Bishops of *Campania*, that Confession made in private to a Priest was sufficient, when the Sins were private, adds, that the Priest will pray with the Sinner for the Remission of Sins ^f; which is no more than what any pious Christian might have done, and all it was then thought a Priest could do. For had *Leo* believed the Power of pardoning and forgiving Sins to be vested in the Priesthood, it is not to be doubted but he would have urged it on the present Occasion.

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On what
founded the
Doctrine of
the Church
of Rome,
concerning
the Obliga-
tion of con-
fessing to a
Priest.

The Priest,
in the Op-
inion of *Leo*,
could only
pray for the
Sinner.

But it was not till many Ages after *Leo's* Time that such an Opinion began to obtain, no other Form of Absolution but the *supplicatory*, or *Absolution by Prayer*, having been used in the Church till the Latter-end of the 12th, or the Beginning of the 13th Century ^g. But it being then, and not till then, luckily discovered, that the Prayer of the Priest not only *availed* more, and was more *effec-*

The suppli-
catory Form
of Absolution
used in the
Church till
the 13th Cen-
tury.

^e Aug. tract. 58. in Joan.
Challenge, p. 88. Cardinal Bona rer. Liturg. in append. p. 763. Morin. de pœnit. l. 8. c. 8, 9, &c.

^f See above, p. 124.

^g Usher. Answer to the

known to the Antients. Among the rest *Beatus Rhenanus*, in his Preface to *Tertullian's* Book on Penance, which he published in 1521. expresses himself thus: *We need not wonder that no mention is made by Tertullian, of the secret Confession (clancularia), made by those who receive the Eucharist; since that Confession was utterly unknown in his Time. That Author was, in the Opinion of Du Pin, well versed in human Learning, well acquainted with the*

antient Theology, ever continued attached to the Catholic Church, and ended his Days in her Bosom (1). But, not many Years after, the Council of *Trent* let the World know, what neither *Rhenanus*, nor any other, however well versed in the antient Theology, had been able to discover; *viz.* That secret Confession, as it was then, so it had been always, and from the very Beginning, practised by the Church (2).

(1) Du Pin. nouv. Bibl. t. 14. p. 176.

(2) Sess. 14. can. 6.

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tual towards *healing* the Sinner, and obtaining the Remission of his Sins, than the Prayer of any other *righteous Man*, which St. *James* seems not to have known; but moreover that he was vested with a full and unlimited Power of remitting Sins, and retaining them at Pleasure; upon such an important Discovery, the ancient Form of Absolution was changed, or rather improved; and to the Supplicatory, *Christ absolve thee*, was added the Authoritative, *I absolve thee*. *Thomas Aquinas*, surnamed the *Angelic Doctor*, who flourished about the Middle of the 13th Century, points out the Time of this remarkable Change; for he tells us, that the authoritative Form of Absolution was found fault with by a learned Man, his Contemporary, asserting, That Thirty Years were scarce passed, since the supplicatory Form only, *Almighty God give thee Remission and Forgiveness*, was used by all ^b. The authoritative Form was first established in *England* in 1268. when, by a Council held that Year at *London*, under Cardinal *Ottoboni*, the Pope's Legate, all Confessors were enjoined to use it ⁱ. The present Form of Absolution in the Church of *Rome* runs thus:

The autho-
ritative
when intro-
duced into
England.

The present
Form of Ab-
solution used
in the Church
of Rome.

Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve thee, and I, by his Authority, absolve thee, in the first Place, from every Bond of Excommunication, Suspension, and Interdict, as far as I have Power, and thou standest in need: in the next Place, I absolve thee from thy Sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. This Form is partly supplicatory, partly authoritative; but all agree, that it is only in virtue of the latter, that Sins are forgiven. And hence it follows, by an obvious, but undeniable Consequence, that the so much boasted Power of forgiving Sins lay dormant in the Church for the Space of 1200 Years; the Form of Absolution, in virtue of which alone Sins are forgiven, having never been used during that Period of Time.

Penance not
a Sacra-
ment till the
15th Cen-
tury.

Penance, including Confession and Absolution, is now a Sacrament in the Church of *Rome*, and one of the Seven. But that Doctrine too is of a late Date, and was first taught, in the 12th Century, by *Peter Lombard*, commonly styled, *the Master of the Sentences* ^k. His Opinion was adopted by all the Schoolmen, who came after him; and, at length, declared an Article of Faith by the Council of *Flo-*

^b Aquin. opus. 22. de forma absol. c. 5.
^k Lomb. l. 4. Sentent. distinct. 14.

ⁱ Coll. hist. eccl. Vol. I. p. 474.

Leo.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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rence, in the 15th, and afterwards by that of *Trent*, in the 16th Century (A).

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And thus far of private Confession, from the earliest Times, when it was only Matter of Advice, and free Choice, and was thought equally good, whether made to a Priest, or a Layman, to its being first restrained to the Priesthood, then declared necessary to Salvation, and, lastly, raised to the Rank of a Sacrament.

And now to return to *Leo*; in the Year 460. he received, at last, the joyful Tidings of the Expulsion and Exile of *Timotheus* *Ælurus*, the Usurper of the See of *Alexandria*. For this public Benefit, as he styles it, the Church was chiefly indebted to *Gennadius* the new Bishop of *Constantinople*, who, in spite of the strong Opposition he met with from *Aspar*, and the other Friends of *Ælurus*, at Court, procured in the End, an Order from the Emperor, commanding him to be driven from *Alexandria*, and confined to *Gangra* in *Paphlagonia*; which was done accordingly. But the Emperor, being informed that he held schismatical Meetings in the Place of his Exile, ordered him to be removed from thence into the *Taurica Chersonesus*, now *Crim Tartary*, where he was strictly guarded till the Year 476. when we shall see this extraordinary Man seizing, by Force, the See of *Alexandria* a Second time, and again, by Force, driven from it. In his room was unanimously chosen, by the People and Clergy of *Alexandria*, *Timotheus*, surnamed *Salophacialus*, that is, the *White*, a Man universally beloved, and no less esteemed for the Purity of his Faith, than the Probity of his Manners. To him many

Timotheus
Ælurus
driven from
the See of
Alexandria.
Year of
Christ 460.

Timotheus
Salophacialus
chosen in his
room.

* Theoph. p. 96.

* Theoph. ibid. · Evagr. p. 305. Leo, ep. 139.

(A) It is true, that *Victor*, Bishop of *Cartenna* in *Mauritania*, who lived in the 5th Century, in a small Treatise, which he wrote on Penance, styled it a *Sacrament* (1), as *Bellarmino* has taken care to observe (2). But nothing is better known, than that the Word *Sacrament* was a general Name with the Antients, for every sacred Ceremony, Rite, or Mystery. Thus the Washing in Water, and the Imposition of Hands in Baptism, were styled, by the Council of *Carthage* under *Cyprian*, Two Sacraments

(3); nay, *Pacianus*, Bishop of *Barcelona*, distinguished Three Sacraments in Baptism (4). *St. Austin* calls Exorcism a Sacrament (5); and the same Name is bestowed both by that Father (6), and the Third Council of *Carthage* (7), on the Salt that was antiently given to the *Catechumens* before Baptism. In the same Sense Penance, as practised in *Victor's* Time, was, no doubt, a Sacrament; that is, a sacred and religious Ceremony.

(1) *Vict. de pœnit. c. 20.*
Carth. apud Cyp. et Cyp. ep. 72. ad Steph.
t. 3. p. 77.
(7) *Concil. Carth. 3. c. 5.*

(2) *Bell. de pœnit. l. 1. c. 10.*

(3) *Concil.*

(4) *Pacian. ferm. de Bapt. Bibl. patr.*

(6) *Idem de peccat. merit. l. 2. c. 26.*

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T

submitted,

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Christ 460.
Tranquillity
restored to
the Church.

submitted, who till then had steadily adhered first to *Dioscorus*, and afterwards to *Elurus*, being gained over by his mild, affable, and engaging Behaviour^t. Thus after so long, and so violent a Storm, was the so much wished for Calm restored, for a while, to that, and all other Churches.

Leo dies.
Year of
Christ 461.

But *Leo* did not long enjoy the Tranquillity, which he had been so long labouring to procure, and which, to do him Justice, was chiefly owing to his unwearied Zeal, and constant Application, though *Gennadius* had the Glory of completing the Work. *Salophacialus* was chosen about the Middle of *July* 460. and *Leo* died on the 10th of *November* 461. having governed the *Roman* Church 21 Years, one Month, and 13 Days^u. He was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*, or rather in the Porch of that Church, where no Popes had yet been buried, but such as had died, or were supposed to have died Martyrs^w. His Body was translated from the Porch into the Church about the latter End of the Seventh Century; and when the Altar placed over it was pulled down in 1607. the Skeleton was found intire, and removed into the new Church, where it is still kept, and publicly worshiped, chiefly on the 11th of *April*^x. The City of *Perigueux* too pretends to have his whole Body; and the City of *Wirtzburg* and *Sens* considerable Parts of it^y; for in all these Places great Honour is paid to his Reliques, whether real or supposititious, it matters little.

His Character.

Leo was, without all doubt, a Man of extraordinary Parts, far superior to all, who had governed that Church before him, and scarce equalled by any, who governed it after him. He is extolled by the Antients chiefly for his unwearied Zeal in defending the Catholic Faith, and unshaken Steadiness in combating the opposite Errors, that either sprung up, or were revived, in his time. And truly their Encomiums on that Score are not ill bestowed; though on some Occasions he had better have tempered his Zeal, and acted with more Moderation. But then his Ambition knew no Bounds; and to gratify it, he stuck at nothing; made no Distinction between Right and Wrong, between Truth and Falshood^z; as if he had adopted

^t Liberat. p. 107, 108. ^u Vide Bolland. 11. April. ap. n. 5. p. 15.
^l 2. c. 8. ^x Bolland. ubi supra, et Pont. p. 65. Aring. p. 160.
11. Apr. p. 20. ^z See above, p. 13.

^w Aring.
^y Bolland.

the famous Maxim of *Julius Cæsar* (A), or thought the most criminal Actions ceased to be criminal, and became meritorious, when any-ways subservient to the Increase of his Power, or the Exaltation of his See. For that was the Object he had chiefly in View; that the Point in which all his Cares, all his Thoughts and Endeavours, finally centred; that he scarce ever forgot in his Letters; and but too often remembered in his Sermons, many of which are filled with useful Apophthegms on *the Dignity and Pre-eminence of the Apostolic See*, on *the Merit of St. Peter*, on *the Respect that is due from Persons, even in the highest Stations of Life, to the Chair of the First Apostle, and Prince of the Apostles*. So much was he attached to that Object, that after he had procured, with infinite Labour and Pains, the assembling of an Oecumenical Council, as the only means of ascertaining the Catholic Faith, and saving the Church, at that time in the utmost Danger, from the prevailing Party of *Eutyches* and *Dioscorus* in the East, he was ready, notwithstanding his extraordinary Zeal, to undo all he had been doing, and to render that very Council ineffectual, had not his Legates been allowed to preside²; an undeniable Proof, that he had more at heart the Advancement of his See, that is, of his own Power and Authority, than either the Purity of the Faith or the Welfare of the Church. His whole Conduct upon that Occasion, so very different from that of our Saviour, who was *meek and lowly in Heart*, who rebuked his Disciples for quarreling *which should be the greatest*, and gave his Followers so many Precepts against a Spirit of Pride and Domination, has justly been urged, by many Writers, against his pretended Sanctity, and the extraordinary Honours that are paid to him as a Saint, by the Church of *Rome*. I shall therefore only observe here, that he has, and ever will have, the Demerit of establishing an everlasting Warfare between the East and the West, between *Constantinople* and *Rome*; the Bishops of *Constantinople*, and their Brethren in the East, thinking themselves bound to stand to a Decree, which had been so unanimously enacted by their Predecessors, in an Oecumenical Council; and none of the later Bishops of *Rome*, how peace-

² See above, p. 69, 70.

(B) *Nam, si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas* (1).

(1) Suet. in Jul. c. 30.

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ably soever inclin'd, daring to receive as valid a Determination, which one of the greatest of their Predecessors had, with so much Warmth, maintained to be null. Of this Dispute we shall see the dreadful Effects in the Sequel of the present History; and they ought all to be charged to *Leo's* Account. For his Authority drew in all the Western Bishops to take the same Part, and extended its Influence over their Successors, as well as his own. But as his Ambition, in the Pursuit of its own Ends and Designs, tended also to raise and promote the Greatness of his See, that very Crime became the Cause of his Sanctification, being more meritorious to *Rome* than all his Virtues. Indeed he was a principal Founder of her exorbitant Power. He brought with him to the Pontificate, not only greater Abilities, but more Experience and Practice in State-Affairs, than any of his Predecessors; and used these Advantages, through a long Course of Years, to advance the Dignity and Prerogatives of his See, with great Skill and Address, as well as intrepid Assurance and Courage. A modern Protestant Writer y says, he had every Virtue, that was compatible with an unbounded Ambition. This I will not deny; but shall only observe, that such an Ambition, in a Christian Bishop, is a Vice, for which no Virtue can well atone.

His Writings.

As for the Writings of *Leo*, they are admired, and very justly, by all Men of Judgment and Taste, for the Strength and Energy of the Expression, the Justness of Thought, and the Purity of Style, in which he is thought to have far excelled all who wrote, at least in the *Latin* Tongue, before him (A). His Writings, or rather the Doctrines, which he takes care to inculcate in his Writings, concerning the Dignity and Prerogatives of *St. Peter's Throne*, have procured him, from his Successors, a Place among the Doctors of the Church; and he is accordingly honoured with that Title. He is now commonly distinguished with the Surname of *the Great*, which indeed better belongs to him than that of Holy; but the Antients were Strangers to that Title, and probably thought it unbecoming a Bishop (B).

H I L A-

† Jurieu, apud Bail. in Leon.

(A) A modern Critic (the Abbé *Anthelmi*) will have *St. Prosper*, *Leo's* Secretary, to have been the Author of all the Writings, both Letters and Sermons, ascribed to that Pope. But the Dissertation which he wrote on that Subject, and published in 1689. has

been fully answered by Two other learned Critics, *F. Quesnel*, and *M. Du Pin*.

(B) We are told, that a very beautiful Woman being admitted, among others, to kiss *Leo's* Hand, on *Easter-day*, according to the Custom that then obtained, he was surprised

LEO THRACIUS,
SEVERUS,

HILARIUS.

ANTHEMIUS.

Forty-fifth BISHOP of Rome.

LEO being dead, *Hilarius*, or, as he is sometimes called, *Hilarus*, ^{Year of} was chosen in his room, and ordained on the 19th of *Novem-* ^{Christ 461.} *ber* 461. after a Vacancy of Nine Days. He is said, in the Pontificals, ^{Hilarius} to have been a Native of *Sardinia*, and the Son of one *Crispus* c. At ^{chosen.} the

c Vide Bar. ad ann. 449. n. 99.

surprised with a sudden Attack from an Enemy, whom he believed to have been long since intirely subdued; and felt, that he was still a Man. But it cost his Hand dear; for the Ceremony was no sooner over than he cut it off, thinking he thereby fulfilled the Command given in St. *Matthew* (1). However, as by being thus maimed he became incapable of discharging some of the Duties of his pastoral Office, he soon repented what he had done; and, desirous of having his Hand again, he applied to an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, said to be one of the many that were painted by St. *Luke*, the very Image which, on that account, is honoured to this Day in the Church of *Santa Maria Maggiore* at *Rome*, with an extraordinary Worship. The Virgin heard his Prayers, restored him his Hand, and, by a no less Miracle, extinguished in him the Fire of Concupiscence, to the very last Spark. But his immediate Successors, knowing themselves to be, at least, as frail as he, and not caring to expose their Frailty to the like Danger, changed the antient Custom, and gave no longer their Hand, but their Foot, to be kissed: and thus to the Frailty of *Leo* the Custom, which still obtains, of kissing the Pope's Foot, is said to owe its first Origin (2). The Fact here related is gravely attested by St. *Antoninus*, and many others, and was represented in a very antient Picture, on the Wall of the old Church of St. *Peter*. But *Clement VIII.* chosen in the Latter-end of the 16th Century, taking Offence at the Representation (for the Devil was there painted in the Shape

of a lecherous Satyr, presenting to the Pope, with a leering Look, and a contemptuous Smile, a beautiful Woman), caused it to be erased; and, at the same time, charged *Baronius* to disprove the Fact, which he thought no ways redounded to the Credit of his great Predecessor. This Task *Baronius*, who always wrote as he was bid, readily undertook; and the Dissertation he published on the Occasion is worthy of particular Notice. For he there strives to convince the World, that Tradition had confounded Pope *Leo* with the Iconoclast Emperor *Leo*, who had caused the Right-hand of St. *John Damascene* to be cut off, which, he very gravely tells us, was restored to him by a miraculous Image of the Virgin *Mary*, adding, *And hence did these old Womens Stories* (garrularum fabulæ vetularum), *concerning Leo, take their Rise*; as if the miraculous Cure favoured more of an old Woman's Story in the one Case, than it does in the other. And, after all, if what is said of *Leo* was the *Invention and Dreams of old Women, without the least Appearance of Truth*, why did the Popes suffer such Dreams to be represented in so holy a Place as the *Vatican*? Why did none of the Predecessors of *Clement* undeceive the World, by ordering such fabulous Representations to be erased? The Reason is obvious; they believed them, as well as the credulous Vulgar; and were, like them, imposed upon, by old Womens Stories and Tales, or else they were not ashamed to impose upon others what they had too much Sense to credit themselves.

(1) Matth. xviii. 8. (2) Vide Theoph. Raynaud. Hoplotheç. scct. 2. serie 3. c. 10. et 20. et Sabellic. l. 5. Andr. Eborenf. tit. de Castit. & Majol. l. 1. de irregularitate.

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the time of his Election he was Archdeacon of the *Roman Church*; and had assisted, while he was but a Deacon, at the Council of *Ephesus* under *Dioscorus*, with the Character of *Leo's Legate a latere*. But of his Conduct at that dangerous Juncture, and his precipitous Flight from *Ephesus*, I have spoken already.

He writes to
Leontius of
Arles.

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Christ 462.

The First Letter he wrote after his Ordination was to *Leontius*, Exarch of *Arles*, and his particular Friend, to acquaint him with his Promotion, and desire him to impart the joyful Tidings to all the Bishops within the Limits of his Jurisdiction, that both he and they might *exult* with him, and join their Prayers with his, for the Peace, Unity, and Welfare of the Church ^d. He is the First Pope, perhaps the First Bishop, who wrote in that Style, and openly owned the Joy which he felt, in seeing himself raised to the Episcopal Dignity. He does not forget, even in his First Letter, though a Letter only of Compliment, the great Object which they constantly had all in their View, *the Primacy of St. Peter, and the Dignity of his See*: for he tells *Leontius*, that he does not doubt, but every one knows, where-ever Tradition is preserved uncorrupted and pure, what Respect and Deference is paid, *in the Spirit of God*, to *St. Peter* and his See ^e. This Letter is dated the 25th of *January* 462. Soon after he wrote a Second Letter to *Leontius*, in Answer to one, which that Prelate had written to him, as soon as his Promotion was known in *Gaul*, and sent to *Rome* by a Person of Distinction, named *Pappolus*; not doubting, but by such early Marks of Respect and Esteem he should prejudice the Pope in his Favour, and engage him on his Side, against his Rival in Power, the Bishop of *Vienne*. For when no room was left for Bishops to quarrel about the Faith, they were sure to quarrel about Power, the neighbouring Bishops especially contending with as much Warmth and Animosity against each other, about the Limits and Extent of their Spiritual, as neighbouring Princes usually do about

The Papal
Grandeur
owing to the
Ambition of
the Bishops.

^d Concil. t. 4. p. 1034.

^e Concil. ibid.

As for the Custom of kissing the Bishops Hands, that Mark of Respect was paid them very early, even by the Emperors themselves; *Kings and Princes*, says *St. Ambrose*, do not disdain to bend and bow their Necks to the Knees of the Bishops, and kiss their Hands (3). But the Custom of

kissing the Pope's Foot was not introduced till many Ages after *Leo's* Time, no Mark of Respect being then shewn to the Bishop of *Rome*, no Title given him, but what was common with him to all other Bishops, at least to the Patriarchs.

(3) Ambr. de dignit. sacerdot. c. 2.

the Limits and Extent of their Temporal Dominion. Hence as the Bishops of the Imperial City bore, on account of their Rank, a great Sway in Ecclesiastical Matters at the Courts of Princes, both Parties, in their unhappy Disputes, had recourse to them, striving which should, by the most servile Submission, earn their Protection and Favour. Thus did the other Prelates, especially in the West, for the sake of some small Addition of Power, of some inconsiderable Advantage over a neighbouring Colleague, betray the just Rights of the whole Order, to strengthen that Power, which it was their common Interest and Duty to curb and controul.

The Bishop of *Arles*, in his Letter to *Hilarius*, after congratulating him on his Promotion in Terms, that would have better become a Courtier than a Bishop, exhorted him to pursue the great Work which *Leo* had begun, and not to abandon the Enterprize, till he had overturned the Walls of *Jericho* from the Foundation, meaning perhaps, the supposed Heresy of *Eutyches*; to favour the See of *Arles*, as his Predecessors had all done; and to restrain, by his Authority, the unwarrantable Efforts of envious Men, whose Harred to that See increased daily, and became daily more dangerous. The envious Men were the Bishops of *Vienne*, who disputed with the Bishop of *Arles*, the Metropolitan Power and Jurisdiction over some neighbouring Cities. At this time St. *Mamertus* was Bishop of *Vienne*; and *Leontius* too is commended as a great Saint. But the Saints were, of all Men, the most covetous of Power, the most encroaching, and the most abusive, when their Encroachments met with the least Opposition. *Hilarius*, in his Answer to *Leontius*, highly approves of the Regard he has shewn for St. *Peter* and his Chair; expresses a great Desire to have the Discipline of the *Roman* Church established in all other Catholic Churches, that there might be but one Discipline, as there was but one Faith; and, above all, he extols his Zeal for requiring him to watch, and take care that the Rules of the Fathers, that is, the Canons of the Church, be every-where strictly observed. This last Passage is frequently alleged to prove, that it was the peculiar Province of the Bishops of *Rome* to watch and see, that the Canons were observed by all the Bishops of the Catholic Church; that he was vested with a Power to censure and punish all who transgressed them; and that such a Power, which was in effect some sort of universal Jurisdiction, was acknowledged by the Primate of *Arles*, and consequently, by the other *Gallican* Bishops. But in the Letter of *Leontius*, which

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Leontius
courts the
Favour of
the Pope
against the
Bishop of
Vienne.

The Pope's
Answer to
the Letter of
Leontius.

It was not
the Province
of the Bishops
of *Rome* to
see that the
Canons were
every-where
observed.

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is still luckily extant ^f, not the least mention is made of the Rules of the Fathers, or the Canons; nor so much as a distant Hint given, which could possibly induce *Hilarius* to imagine, that he was required to see, that the Canons were every-where observed, or that *Leontius* thought such a Province to be any Part of his Duty. However, supposing himself to have been acknowledged by *Leontius* for Guardian General of the Canons, he closes his Letter with declaring, that *for the sake of that Unity and Concord, which ought to reign among the Bishops of the Lord, he will take care, that the Ordinances of the Fathers be every-where punctually complied with, and that all Bishops seek not their own things, but Christ's* ^g. But to maintain the Unity and Concord that ought to reign among the Prelates of the Church, the Fathers of the Second Oecumenical Council had enacted a general Law, contained in their Second Canon, forbidding all Bishops, the Bishop of *Rome* not excepted, to concern themselves at all with Ecclesiastical Matters, without the Limits of their respective Jurisdiction. This wise Ordinance was confirmed by several subsequent Councils, and thought so necessary to restrain *the Bishops of the Lord* from quarreling about Power, that it was adopted into the Civil Law. *When an Ecclesiastic, says Justinian in one of his Laws* ^h, *shall be accused in point of Faith or Morals, or charged with a Transgression of the Canons; if he is a Bishop, he shall be examined before his Metropolitan; but if he is a Metropolitan, before the Archbishop, that is, the Patriarch, to whom he is subject*. By these Laws each Metropolitan was to see the Canons observed within the Limits of his Province; each Archbishop, that is, Patriarch or Primate, within the Limits of his Diocese; and none were to concern themselves with Ecclesiastical Matters without the Bounds of their Jurisdiction. It was therefore the Province and Duty of the Bishops of *Rome* to watch and see, that the Canons were observed within the Bounds of the Suburbicarian Provinces. But their Care they could extend no farther without transgressing those very Canons, for the Observance of which they pretended such an extraordinary Zeal.

The Pope's
Third Letter
to Leontius.

But to return to *Hilarius*: He wrote the same Year a Third Letter to *Leontius*, but in a very different Style from the Two former. This Letter was written on the following Occasion: *Rusticus, Me-*

^f Spicileg. veter. aliquot Scrip. per D. Luc. Dacheri. t. 5. p. 578. p. 1040.

^h Novel. 137. c. 5.

^g Concil. t. 4.

Metropolitan of *Narbonne*, having ordained his Archdeacon, named *Hermes*, Bishop of *Beziers*, and the People refusing to receive him, he named him, with the Consent of the People and Clergy of *Narbonne*, for his own Successor; and *Hermes* succeeded him accordingly in that See. As this Affair no-way concerned the Bishop of *Rome*, *Leontius* did not think it at all necessary to acquaint him with it; nor indeed was it his Business to do it, as we shall soon see. But *Hilarius*, who had heard of it from others, ascribing his Silence on such an Occasion, to want of Respect for St. *Peter*, resented it as an Affront offered to his Chair; and in the Height of his Resentment, wrote to the Primate of *Arles* in Terms, that had better become a Sovereign reprimanding his Vassal, than a Bishop complaining of a Brother and Collegue. The Letter began thus: *We are amazed to find you so forgetful of the Christian Law, as not to have acquainted us with the iniquitous things, that have happened in a Province belonging to your Monarchy* (A), [a new Phrase for Metropolitan Power] *that we might correct what you either will not, or cannot correct.* He then inveighs against *Hermes* for daring to intrude himself, *by a most wicked Usurpation, and execrable Presumption*, into the vacant See of *Narbonne*; and charges *Leontius* to transmit to *Rome*, without Delay, a distinct Account of the whole Affair, signed by him and other Bishops, that they might know what he should think fit to determine, and prescribe to be done ⁱ.

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Hermes is appointed Bishop of Narbonne at the Nomination of his Predecessor in that See.

The Pope reprimands Leontius for not acquainting him with it.

Hermes was a Man of an unblemished Character, well known at *Rome*, and, without all doubt, to *Hilarius* himself, though, in his Letter, he is pleased to call him *one Hermes*, as if he had never before heard of his Name. For, in the late Pontificate, he had been sent by his Predecessor to *Rome*, and had for some time resided there. His not having been received at *Beziers* was not owing to any Demerit in him, but to the irreconcilable Hatred, that *Frederic* the *Visigoth* bore him (B).

The Character of Hermes irreprehensible.

As

ⁱ Concil. t. 4. p. 1040, 1041.

(A) *Hilarius* supposes *Narbonne* to be under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Arles*. It had indeed been subjected to that See by *Zosimus*. But his Decree was reversed by *Boniface*, his immediate Successor, and *Leo* confirmed what *Boniface* had done (1). It is quite surprising, that *Hilarius* should have been thus unacquainted with the Transactions of his own Time.

(B) *Frederic* was the Brother of *Theodoric II.* King of the *Visigoths* in *Gaul*, who were zealous *Arians*, and, at this time, Masters of *Narbonne*, and the neighbouring Provinces. *Hermes* perhaps was too

(1) See Vol. I. p. 364.

Year of
Christ 462.
And his Ele-
ction canon-
ical.

As the Life of *Hermes* was irreproachable, so was his Promotion to the See of *Narbonne*, in the strictest Sense, canonical. For, upon the Demise of his Predecessor, he was received, without the least Opposition, by the People and Clergy of that City, and by all acknowledged for their lawful Bishop. *Rusticus*, it is true, had named him for his Successor; but it was with their Consent and Approbation that he named him; and the naming thus a Successor was neither forbidden by the Canons (C), as *Hilarius* pretended, nor was it without Precedents. I shall only mention Two, and both very remarkable. *Macarius* of *Jerusalem*, a Saint of the First Rate, ordained *St. Maximus* Bishop of that City, then named him, with the Consent of the People and Clergy, for his Successor in the Patriarchal See, and kept him with him, that, upon his Death, he might be installed in his room^k. *St. Austin* not only appointed one of his Presbyters to succeed him in the See of *Hippo*, but caused him to be solemnly chosen by the People and Clergy, whom he assembled for that Purpose^l. The Truth is: *Rusticus* had acquainted *Leo* with his Design of naming *Hermes*; and, to prevent all Disputes, had desired the Pope to approve it. *Leo* would not^m; yet *Rusticus* named him, and the Nomination took place. This *Hilarius* could not brook; and it was in the Heat of his Passion, at seeing the Authority of his Predecessor, and consequently his own, thus slighted, that he wrote the Letter I have quoted, covering, and, in a manner, sanctifying his Pride and Ambition, with the usual Disguise of Zeal for the Canons.

Why con-
demned by
Hilarius.

^k Soz. l. 2. c. 10.

^l Aug. ep. 110.

^m Concil. t. 4. p. 1041.

able, or too zealous a Stickler for the Catholic Cause, and on that Score (for I know of no other) hated, opposed, and persecuted, by *Frederic*. That Prince had not only stirred up the People of *Beziers* against their new Bishop; but, upon his being received by the People and Clergy of *Narbonne*, he had immediately dispatched a Deacon, named *John*, with a Letter to the Pope, informing him, that *Hermes* had, by a most wicked Usurpation, and execrable Presumption, intruded himself into the See of *Narbonne*. For thus *Frederic* expressed himself in his Letter to the Pope; and the Pope, no less incensed against the Catholic Bishop

than the *Arian* Prince, whom he even styles his Son, vented his Passion with the same Words in the Letter he wrote to *Leon-tius* (1).

(C) The Twenty-third Canon of *Antioch*, which seems to forbid such Nominations (2), was not received till many Years after the time of *Hilarius*; and besides, the Learned, generally speaking, understand that Canon, as only forbidding Nominations not authorized by the Consent and Approbation of the People and Clergy (3). The Council of *Antioch* was held in 341.

(1) Concil. t. 4. p. 1040, 1041.
disc. 1. l. 2. c. 22.

(2) Concil. t. 2. p. 575.

(3) Vide Thom.

But he had scarce written that Letter, when Two *Gallican* Bishops, *Fauftus* and *Auxanius*, both privy to what had happened at *Narbonne*, arrived at *Rome*; and their Arrival proved very seasonable. For the Two Prelates, surpris'd to find the Pope incens'd to such a degree against their Collegues, and without the least Appearance of Justice or Reason on his Side, did all that lay in their Power to appease him. They gave him a true Account of the Election and Ordination of *Hermes*, very different from that which had been transmitted to him by *Frederic*, an avowed Enemy to that Prelate, as well as the Faith, which he profess'd and defended. The Pope, sensible that he had been impos'd upon by the *Arian* Prince, and had acted too rashly, suffer'd himself to be so far prevail'd upon by the Remonstrances of the Two Prelates, as to assemble the Bishops, who were then at *Rome* (and many were then in that City, come from different Provinces, to celebrate the Anniversary of his Promotion), in order to lay the Affair before them. By this Council, consisting chiefly of Bishops immediately subject to the Bishop of *Rome*, and therefore intirely at his Devotion, the Promotion of *Hermes* was declared uncanonical, and repugnant to the Rules of the holy Fathers, though some of the greatest among the holy Fathers had shewn, by their Practice, as I have observ'd above, that they either did not know of any such Rules, or did not receive them. But it was the constant Practice of the Popes, before they openly set up their Sovereign Will in the room of the Canons, to pretend every thing they approved to have been commanded, and every thing they disapproved to have been forbidden, by the Canons. Thus they governed as despotically by their Will, while they owned themselves bound by the Canons, as they did after they had withdrawn themselves from all Obedience to the Canons, and acknowleg'd no other Law but their Will. As for the other Bishops, they either acquiesc'd out of Ignorance, believing, without farther Inquiry, such things to have been really commanded or forbidden by the Canons, as were solemnly declared by the Pope to be so; or out of Complaisance pretended to acquiesce, especially in Matters that did not appear to them of any great Importance, as they were not attending so much as they ought to have done, to the Papal Artifices and Views (A).

But

(A) Of the unaccountable Ignorance of the Bishops, even with respect to the Canons of Oecumenical Councils, innumerable Instances occur in History. I shall here mention one only, which is well worthy our Notice. The ordaining of Two Bishops

Year of
Christ 462.

Yet he is suf-
fered to keep
his See, but
divested of
the Power of
ordaining the
Bishops of the
Province.

But though the Promotion of *Hermes* was judged uncanonical by the Pope, and his Mock-council; yet the new Bishop was not deposed, but suffered, out of their great Indulgence, and for the sake of Peace, to keep his See. However, lest they should be thought to connive at such unlawful Practices, it was thought fit he should be degraded from the Rank of a Metropolitan, and reduced almost to the State of a mere Suffragan; which was done accordingly; the Power of ordaining the Bishops of the Province, which was vested in all Metropolitans, by the Sixth Canon of *Nice*, being transferred from him to the most antient Bishop of the Province; but with this Clause, *That, upon the Death of Hermes, it should revert to the See of Narbonne, since the City was innocent, though the Bishop was guilty*; which it would be no easy Task to shew, since the Citizens had all concurred with their Suffrages in raising him to the Episcopal Dignity. The Determination of the Council *Hilarius* immediately notified to the Bishops of the Provinces of *Vienne*, of *Lions*, of *Narbonensis Prima* and *Secunda*, and of the *Maritim Alps*, by a Letter dated the 3d of *December* 462. In the same Letter were contained several Regulations concerning the Discipline of the *Gallican Church*; but in what manner they were received by the Bishops in those Parts, I find no where recorded. However, I am inclined to suppose, with *Baronius*, that they met with no Opposition, but were by all most punctually executed. For, at this very time, the *Gallican* Bishops, especially those of *Arles*, of *Vienne*, of *Narbonne*, of *Aix*, and of

Concil. t. 4. p. 1042.

shops for one and the same Place was strictly forbidden by the First Oecumenical Council, and the most revered of all, that of *Nice*. And yet in the same Century, in which that Council was held, St. *Austin* was ordained Bishop of *Hippo* by the Primate of *Numidia*, and the other Prelates of that Province, while *Valerius* was still alive, and sat in that See; nay, it was at the Request of *Valerius*, that he was ordained. And it is observable, that their thus transgressing the Canon of *Nice* was not owing to any Disregard they had for that Council, or because they thought its Laws might, on some Occasions, be dispensed with; but because they were all

alike ignorant of that Law (1). St. *Austin* became afterwards acquainted with it; and therefore would not suffer his Successor, after he had named him, and caused him to be chosen, to be ordained while he himself was yet living (2). Of the Ignorance that reigned, generally speaking, among the other Bishops, with respect to the Canons, the Popes were well apprised, and availed themselves of it accordingly, roundly asserting, upon the least Prospect of Advantage to their See, the holy Fathers to have commanded or forbidden, what it had never come into the Thoughts of the holy Fathers to command or forbid.

1) Aug. ep. 110. et 64. Possid. in vit. Aug. c. 8.

(2) Idem ep. 110.

Embrun, were all at Variance, quarreling among themselves about Power and Jurisdiction, with as much Warmth as if the Whole of the Christian Faith and Religion were at Stake, and striving which should engage the Pope on his Side, by the most punctual and ready Obedience to whatever he should please to suggest. Thus did the Ambition of others contribute as much to the aggrandizing of the Popes as their own; the other Bishops being glad to compound, as it were, for the Power of commanding their neighbouring Collegues; with suffering themselves to be commanded by the Bishop of *Rome*, who was at a Distance. This Disposition in the Prelates of the Church the Popes took care to improve, with their usual Art and Address, siding sometimes with the one, and sometimes with the other, till they brought, at length, all the West insensibly, and by degrees, under their Yoke, as has been observed even by a very eminent *Roman* Catholic Writer ⁹. For the extraordinary Regard, Deference, or Submission, with which they were apt to bribe the Apostolic See, in their Quarrels and Disputes with one another, were afterwards construed, by the Popes, into an indispensable Duty, and exacted with the utmost Rigour both of them and their Successors.

Year of
Christ 462.

The Grandeur of the Popes owing as much to the Ambition of other Bishops, as to their own.

Hilarius seems to have been wholly bent on reducing the *Gallican* Church, and intirely subjecting it to his See. For, being informed, the following Year 463. that *Mamertus* of *Vienne*, a great Saint, but not at all free from the epidemical Distemper, as I may call it, which reigned at this time among the Bishops of *Gaul*, the Lust of Power, had taken upon him to ordain the Bishop of *Die*, a City once under the Jurisdiction of *Vienne*, but then subject to the Bishop of *Arles*, he wrote again to *Leontius*, severely rebuking that Prelate for not acquainting the Apostolic See with so daring an Attempt. From this Letter one would conclude, that the Primate of *Arles* acted, in that Station, as a mere Deputy, or rather Emissary, appointed by *Rome* to watch the Conduct of the *Gallican* Bishops; and, when he discovered any thing amiss in their Behaviour, to inform against them, at the high Tribunal of their Sovereign Lord the Pope. But this Treatment *Leontius* well deserved, and could expect no better, after he had acknowledged, as he did in his very first Letter to *Hilarius*, the Authority of the Popes, and thereby left himself, and his See, to their Mercy. In the same Letter *Hilarius* charges the Bishop of *Arles* to

Hilarius provoked against Leontius and Mamertus. His Letter to the former.
Year of
Christ 463.

⁹ Du Pin. Biblioth. des Auc. Eccles. t. 3. part. 2. p. 572.

Year of
Christ 463.

What provoked him
against Mamertus.

His threatening Letter
to that Bishop.

Year of
Christ 464.

His Letter to
the Gallican
Bishops.

cause the *unwarrantable Attempt of Mamertus* to be examined by a national Synod, and to inform him of the true State of the Case by a synodal Letter, that he (not they) might, with the Assistance and Direction of the Holy Ghost, determine what was most expedient to be done at so critical a Juncture^r. He could not have expressed more Earnestness and Concern, had the Catholic Faith, or the Church, been in imminent Danger. But both were very safe; nay, and the Canons too, of which he had set up for Guardian-General. What then could thus alarm him? *Mamertus* had presumed, in a *hostile manner*, to extend his Jurisdiction beyond the Limits to which it had been restrained by the Authority of the Apostolic See^s. For *Leo* adjudged the City of *Die* to the See of *Arles*. But *Mamertus*, refusing to stand to his Judgment, continued to exercise there the same Jurisdiction after, as he had done before that Judgment was given. This *Hilarius* construed into an unpardonable Crime; and, alarmed at it as an *enormous Excess*, charged *Mamertus*, in a Letter he wrote the following Year 464. to the Bishops in those Parts (A), with Pride, Arrogance, Presumption, Prevarication; he even threatened to divest him of all the Privileges he then enjoyed, as Metropolitan of *Vienne*, if he dared to maintain what he had done, or pretended what he had done to be right and lawful. As to the Bishop, whom *Mamertus* had ordained, *St. Marcellus*, the Pope will not allow him to be acknowledged as such, till his Ordination is confirmed by *Leontius*, whom he leaves at full Liberty to confirm it or not, as he shall think fit^t.

As this was an Affair of the utmost Importance, *Hilarius* wrote the same Year a long Letter on the same Subject, to *Victurus*, *Ingenuus*, *Idatius*, and Sixteen other *Gallican* Bishops, who are all named in the Address; and in that Letter, to authorize the Conduct of his Predecessor, as well as his own, in assuming and exercising such an arbitrary Power over those Churches and Bishops, he has recourse, not to any Divine Right, nor even to the Ecclesiastical Canons; but to a Law of the Emperors, meaning, no doubt, for he could mean no other, the Law which was enacted, at the Suggestion of *Leo*, by *Valenti-*

^r Concil. t. 4. p. 1043.
p. 1044, 1045.

^s Concil. ibid. p. 1044, 1045.

^t Concil. ibid.

(A) This Letter is dated the 24th of February, and was addressed to the Bishops of the Provinces of *Vienne*, of *Lyons*, of *Narbonensis Prima*, *Narbonensis Secunda*, and the *Alpes Penninae*.

Year of
Christ-464.
He owns
himself in-
debted to the
Emperor for
the Power he
claims.

nian III. Our Brother Leontius, says the Pope, *could forfeit no Honour, could be justly bereaved of no Right, that had been granted him by my Predecessor, of holy Memory; because it has been decreed, by a Law of the Christian Princes, that all Regulations concerning the Churches and their Rulers, made by the Bishop of the Apostolic See, to maintain Concord and Peace among the Priests of the Lord, and keep up the Ecclesiastical Discipline, should be received with Veneration, and by all inviolably observed*^u. This was challenging a Power to regulate and model, at Pleasure, the *Gallican*, as well as all other Churches within the Bounds of the Empire; for the Imperial Law could extend no farther; but, at the same time, owning, and in the plainest Terms, such a Power to be a free Gift of the Emperors. Of the Law vesting the Pope with such an extensive Authority, I have spoken above^w; and therefore shall not remind the Reader here, that it was universally looked upon as surreptitious, having been enacted at the Suggestion of a most ambitious, crafty, and designing Pope, by a weak, unexperienced, and bigotted Prince, perhaps one of the weakest that ever swayed the Imperial Sceptre, and grounded upon Facts known to be false. However, considering the present Disposition of the *Gallican* Bishops, the selfish Views most of them had at this time, the Jealousy they entertained of each other, and the Court they were all making to the Pope, it is not to be doubted but his Directions were received, and most punctually obeyed. St. *Mamertus* alone did not, it seems, submit to the Pope's Authority; for, in a Council held at *Arles* in 475. I find him placed, not among the Metropolitans, but the Suffragans; and *Hilarius* had threatened to divest him of the Metropolitan Dignity, if he did not own himself guilty in transgressing the Regulations made by *Leo*, and did not promise to observe them for the future, as sacred and inviolable Laws^x. To such an extravagant Height did this arrogant Pope carry the Claims of his See, though he may be said, in some degree, to have let them down, by owning himself indebted to the Emperors for the Power he claimed. As for *Mamertus*, who was thus persecuted by the Pope, all the contemporary Writers, but more especially *Sidonius*, Bishop of *Clermont*, paint him as a Prelate of extraordinary Merit, as a great Saint; and he is now honoured as such by the Successors of *Hilarius*, notwithstanding the Pains that Pope

^u Concil. t. 4. p. 1045.

^w See p. 14, 15.

^x Concil. *ibid.* p. 1045—1047.

Year of
Christ 464.

took to blacken his Character. He was the Author of the Rogation-Fast, which was afterwards adopted by the *Roman*, and most other Churches in the West ^r.

*The Bishops
of Spain con-
sult the Pope.*
Year of
Christ 465.

While *Hilarius* was wholly intent on subjecting to his See the Churches of *Gaul*, a favourable Opportunity offered of extending his Authority over those of *Spain*. *Silvanus* of *Calahorra* had taken upon him to ordain Bishops, without the Knowledge or Consent of his Metropolitan *Ascanius* of *Tarragon*; nay, he ordained the Curate of a Village in another Province, and ordained him, against his Will, Bishop of the Village. In these Ordinations he was assisted by some of his neighbouring Collegues; but they being prevailed upon by the Bishop of *Suragosa*, to separate themselves from his Communion, he ordained alone, by a new Breach of the Canons, all who wanted to

*The Subject
of their Let-
ters.*

be raised to the Episcopal Dignity. *Ascanius* therefore, and the other Bishops under his Jurisdiction, thinking the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* would add great Weight to theirs, wrote to *Hilarius*, intreating him, by a synodal Letter, to assist them with his Advice, that they might know how to proceed against the refractory Bishop as well as those whom he had ordained ^z. At the same time *Ascanius*, and the other Bishops of that Province, wrote a Second Letter to *Hilarius*, concerning another Affair. *Nundinarius* Bishop of *Barcelona* had shewn, on his Death-bed, a great Desire to have one *Ireneus* for his Successor, who was then Bishop of another Church. However, as that Church was Part of the Diocese of *Barcelona*, and *Nundinarius* had yielded it to *Ireneus*, with the Approbation of all the Bishops of that Province, *Ascanius* and his Collegues thought they might, without any Breach of the Canons, comply with the Desire of their dying Brother; the rather as *Ireneus* was a Prelate of an unexceptionable Character, and the whole Body of the Nobles, Clergy, and People, demanded him, with great Earnestness, for their Bishop and Pastor. A Decree was accordingly issued by the Bishops of the Province assembled in Council, appointing *Ireneus* Bishop of the vacant See of *Barcelona*. In their Decree, to obviate all Objections, they very judiciously observed, that what they did now, had been done by others on several Occasions. However, they unadvisedly suffered themselves to be prevailed upon by *Vincentius*, at this time Duke of the *Tarragonefe*, and a great Friend of *Hilarius*, to write to *Rome*,

^r Sid. l. 5. ep. 14. et l. 7. ep. 1.

^z Concil. t. 4. p. 1033.

and desire the Pope to confirm their Decree ^a. In this, as well as in the former Letter, they express the greatest Regard and Respect for the Apostolic See, acknowledging the Bishop of *Rome* for the Successor of *St. Peter*, whose Primacy ought to be loved and feared by all. They add, that they recur to his See, that they may receive Answers from a Place, where Error and Prejudice find no room, where nothing is determined, but after a mature and truly Episcopal Deliberation ^b. Here *Baronius* exults; but I must take notice of what he said but a few Pages before, on occasion of the Quarrel between this very Pope and *Mamertus* of *Vienne*. Be not surprised, Reader, that the Roman Pontiff *Hilarius* should thus bitterly inveigh against *Mamertus*, a Prelate of eminent Sanctity; for in litigious Points every Man may be easily deceived; *St. Leo* inveighed with no less Acrimony, against *St. Hilarius*. Who does not know, that the Ears of the Popes are often prepossessed with false Accusations; that the Popes themselves are not Proof against Surprise, so that they persecute the Innocent, and, at the same time believe, that they act agreeably to the Laws of Justice and Equity ^c? I have nothing to object against so plain a Truth; and therefore shall only observe, that if, in litigious or doubtful Points, the Popes, by the Annalist's own Confession, lie open, as well as other Men, to Error and Prejudice, I cannot see why he should exult as he does, in finding them complimented by the *Spanish* Bishops with a kind of Infallibility, even in litigious Points, unless it be because those good Bishops seemed to entertain a better Opinion of them, than he himself thought they deserved. His Remark on the Application of the same Bishops to the Pope, for a Confirmation of their Decree translating *Irenæus* from one See to another, ought not to pass unobserved. For having exhibited their Letter; at these Words, *We therefore humbly intreat your Apostleship to confirm the Decree which we have made*, he stops his Reader to make him take Notice, that it belonged to the Bishop of the *Roman* See only to dispense with the Canons. But how that can be gathered from their Words, is not easy to guess; since their Words only import a Request to the Pope, that he would confirm the Decree, which they had made; so that they had made the Decree without consulting his *Apostleship*, nay, and would have put it in Execution, had not the Governor

Year of
Christ 465.

They acknowledge the Pope for the Successor of *St. Peter*.

Baronius owns the Popes liable, as other Men, to Error and Prejudice.

His Remark on their applying to the Pope.

^a Concil. ib. p. 1034.

^b Concil. ibid.

^c Bar. ad ann. 464. n. 8.

Year of
Christ 465.

They do not
acknowledge
in the Pope
a Power of
dispensing
with the
Canons.

of the Province officiously interposed. But him *Baronius* keeps behind the Curtain, and never suffers to appear, that the Bishops may be thought to have applied to *Rome*, of their own Motion, and not at his Persuasion, as they certainly did. Upon the Whole it is manifest, that the *Spanish* Bishops were so far from suing to *Rome* for a Dispensation in favour of *Irenæus*, or acknowledging in the Pope a Power to dispense with the Canons, that they did not even judge it at all necessary to acquaint him with what they had done, thinking it to be right, as they declare in their Letter (*quod juste a nobis videtur factum*), though done without his Knowledge or Consent. The Annalist is too impatient, in too great Haste, to see his *High Pontiff* vested with the lucrative Power of dispensing with the Canons. But for that Satisfaction he must wait some Ages. At this time the Ecclesiastical Laws were thought binding with respect to all, unless some Advantage accruing to the Church required them to be dispensed with; and in that Case, as they had been made for the Good of the Church, so for the Good of the Church they might be dispensed with by every Bishop, at least by every provincial Synod.

The Pope's
Answer to
the Spanish
Bishops.

The Pope received the Two above-mentioned Letters from *Spain*, while he was holding a Council on occasion of the Concourse of Bishops come to *Rome*, to celebrate, according to Custom, the Anniversary of his Ordination. To that Assembly, consisting of 48 Bishops, of which Number 39 were of the Vicariate of *Rome*, and immediately subject to the *Roman* See, *Hilarius* caused both Letters to be read; and they were no sooner read, than it was decreed, with respect to *Irenæus*, that he should quit the Church of *Barcelona*, and return to his first Sec, because *Nundinarius* had desired, by his last Will, that he might succeed him, as if Bishopricks were hereditary^d. No other Reason was alleged in the Council. But *Hilarius*, knowing that to be quite frivolous, and easily answered, bethought himself afterwards of a better; viz. The general Prohibition of passing from one Church to another; and that Prohibition he urged in his Answer to the *Spanish* Bishops. But as they had desired him to confirm their Decree, without engaging to revoke it, if he did not; and besides had observed, in their Letter, that what they did had been practised by others, on several Occasions; the Pope was under no small Apprehension, lest they should, notwithstanding their pretended Respect for the Successor of St. *Peter*, slight his Decree, and stand to their

He declares
against
Translations.

^d Concil. t. 4. p. 1062, 1063.

Year of
Christ 465.

own. Taking therefore Advantage of the Attachment the Governor of the *Tarragonefe* had shewn for the *Roman* See, and depending upon his Assistance, he dispatched into *Spain* a Subdeacon, named *Trojanus*, charging him to see the Decree, which had been issued by him and his Council, punctually executed ^e. But whether it was executed or not, is no-where recorded; and therefore the Pope's Answer to the *Spanish* Bishops may well be alleged as an Instance of his attempting, with the Assistance of the secular Power, to exercise Authority over them, but not of their having acknowledged his Authority, or submitted to it.

The Zeal which the Pope exerted for the Observance of the Canons, in the Case of *Irenæus*, was very remarkable, as F. *Tomassin* ^{But at the same time acts in Opposition to the Canons of several Councils.} well observes ^f. But it was only in the Case of *Irenæus* that he exerted such an extraordinary Zeal. For as to *Silvanus*, though that rebellious and schismatical Bishop ought to have been degraded by the Apostolical Constitutions ^g, confirmed by the Canons of almost innumerable Councils, yet the Pope, as if his Zeal had here lost its Edge, ordered the *Spanish* Bishops to overlook all his Transgressions, and freely forgive him; nay, in Defiance of the Apostolical Constitutions ^h, of the Canons of *Nice* ⁱ, *Canons everlastingly binding*, as his Predecessor styled them, of *Antioch* ^k, *Laodicea* ^l, *Arles* ^m, *Turin* ⁿ, *Sardica* ^o, *Ephesus* ^p, and *Chalcedon* ^q, he confirmed the Bishops, whom *Silvanus* had ordained ^r. An excellent Guardian of the Canons indeed! His Decree however, confirming their Ordination, was not absolute, but conditional; for he confirmed them on Condition that they had married none but Virgins; that they had not been twice married; that they were not unacquainted with Letters; that they had not lost any of their Limbs, nor the Use of any; and had never undergone public Penance ^s. Not a Word of their Morals; though the Pope could hardly suppose all, whom *Silvanus* had ordained, to be even in that respect free from all Blame; since they had chosen, or at least had consented, to receive Ordination at his Hands, by an open and most barefaced Violation of the known Laws of the Church.

^e Concil. ibid. p. 1036. ^f Thom. Ancienne et nouvelle discip. &c. l. 2. ^g Apoff. Const. can. 35. ^h Can. Apost. 35. ⁱ Con. Nic. can. 4. ^k Con. Antioch. can. 19. ^l Con. Laodic. can. 12. ^m Con. Arelat. 2. can. 5, et 6. ⁿ Con. Taurin. can. 2. ^o Con. Sardic. 3. ^p Con. Ephes. decret. de Epif. Cypr. ^q Con. Chalced. act. 3. et can. 25. ^r Concil. t. 4. p. 1036. ^s Concil. t. 4. p. 1036.

Year of
Christ 465.

His Plea for
thus acting.

To excuse the extraordinary Indulgence shewn to *Silvanus*, the Pope pleads, in his Answer to the *Spanish* Bishops, the Necessity of the Times ^t. For the disobedient and refractory Bishop was, it seems, countenanced, and strongly supported, by some Men in Power; and *Hilarius* was too good a Politician to disoblige Men in Power, by an unseasonable Zeal for the Observance of the Canons, at the very time he stood in need of their Authority to establish his own.

His affront-
ing Beha-
viour to the
Spanish Bi-
shops.

The *Spanish* Bishops had recurred to the Pope, as I have observed above, *that they might receive Answers from a Place, where Error and Prejudice found no room; where nothing was determined but after a mature and truly Episcopal Deliberation.* But if they really thought they should receive any such Answers from *Rome*, they were soon undeceived. For though the Letter, charging *Silvanus* with so many scandalous Irregularities, was signed by all the Bishops of the Province; yet the Pope, upon the Receipt of a Letter from the Partisans of that Bishop, contradicting in part what the others had all affirmed and attested, concluded at once what they had affirmed and attested to be false; and accordingly told them flatly, in his Answer to their Letter, that they had advanced things which he knew to be false; that *Silvanus* had indeed ordained some Bishops, without the Approbation of the Metropolitan; but, as to the rest of the Charge, it was false, and absolutely groundless ^u. This was, in plain Terms, giving the Lye to the Bishops of the whole Province, and giving it upon the bare Testimony of Persons who might have been corrupted, and probably were; at least their avowed Friendship for the schismatical Bishop ought to have made the Pope suspend his Judgment till he had discovered, or tried to discover the Truth by a farther Inquiry. What was the Issue of this Affair is not related by any contemporary Writer; but we may well conclude the *Spanish* Bishops to have been cured, by the Pope's Conduct, of the mighty Opinion, which they seemed to entertain of his Impartiality; and to have been, at the same time, fully convinced, that his Decrees were not always the Result of *a mature and truly Episcopal Deliberation*; though by his Complaisance to the *great Men* among them their Subjection to him was more confirmed.

Year of
Christ 467.

Of *Hilarius* no mention is made in the following Year 466. but, in 467. I find him busied in opposing, at *Rome*, one *Philotheus*, a great Favourite of the new Emperor *Anthemius*, who brought him

^t Concil. ibid.

^u Concil. ibid.

with him out of the East, when he came to *Rome* to take Possession of the Western Empire. *Philothæus* himself professed the Doctrine of the *Macedonians*, denying the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. But he was, it seems, a Man of more generous Principles than most in his time, a Friend to Liberty in Matters of Religion, and an Enemy to that Spirit of Persecution and Tyranny, which now universally prevailed, at least in the West. For, soon after his Arrival at *Rome* with the Emperor, he employed all the Interest he had at Court; to obtain Leave not for those of his own Sect only, but for Christians of all Denominations, to assemble publicly by themselves, to own openly the Doctrines they held, and to serve God in the manner which they believed to be the most agreeable to him. This Leave he obtained; but the Pope, in the utmost Alarm and Consternation, opposed it with so much Warmth, that the Emperor thought it advisable to revoke the Permission he had granted, before it took place. Pope *Gelasius* writes, that his Predecessor *Hilarius*, presenting himself before the Emperor in the Church of *St. Peter*, obliged him to promise upon Oath, that he would suffer no schismatical Assemblies to be held in *Rome*. What *Gelasius* writes, is not improbable: for the Popes, taking Advantage of the frequent Changes of the Emperors; of their Absence from *Rome*, for they did not now reside there; of the Disturbances and Revolutions in the State, and the great Respect and Veneration, which their Character, and the Grandeur they affected, procured them from the common People; began now to act as Sovereigns of *Rome*, the Emperors themselves not thinking it safe, as the Empire was at the lowest Ebb, and invaded on all Sides by the Barbarians, to disoblige or oppose them.

This Opposition to the Toleration procured by *Philothæus*, which was indeed a Novelty, at this time, in the *Roman* Empire, in which a Spirit of Persecution had long prevailed, was the last Action of *Hilarius's* Life. For he died the same Year 467. having governed the *Roman* Church Six Years, wanting Two Months and some Days, if his Death happened, as is most probably supposed, on the 10th of *September*. As he was no less zealous for the Exaltation of his See, than *Leo*, whom he seems to have taken for his Pattern; and not only maintained, but improved, the Usurpations of his Predecessors, especially with respect to the *Gallican* Church, except in his unwary Concession of

Year of
Christ 467.

A general
Toleration
granted by
the Emperor
Anthemius.

Opposed by
the Pope.

The Emperor
yields.

Hilarius dies.

* *Gelas. ep. 13. t. 4. Concil. p. 1208.*
p. 31.

* *Marcel. chron. Bolland. Martii, t. 2.*

Year of
Christ 467.
And is
sainted.

a Derivation of the Papal from the Imperial Power, a Slip that had no Consequences; he has been thought as worthy as they, of a Place among the Saints; and is now accordingly worshiped as a Saint. His Conduct in the Council of *Ephesus*, under *Dioscorus*, has procured him the Title of Confessor; but to that Title he would have had a much better Claim, had he not been in too great a Hurry to leave the Place; nay, had he stayed only one Day longer at *Ephesus*, he had bidden fair for the Title of Martyr. But he was, it seems, fully satisfied with that of Confessor; and therefore, being informed of the Treatment *Flavianus* had met with (for he had taken care to absent himself from that Session), he withdrew that very Night from *Ephesus*, in Disguise, and with the utmost Precipitation, leaving every thing he had behind him. He was, by his Instructions, to repair from *Ephesus* to *Constantinople*, being charged by *Leo* with Two Letters, the one for the Emperor *Theodosius*, and the other for the Empress *Pulcheria*. But, instead of complying with that Part of his Instructions, he bent his Flight to *Italy*, not thinking himself anywhere safe in the East. The Danger he apprehended his Life to be in on this Occasion remained fresh in his Memory so long as he lived, and he was ever afterwards thankful for his happy Deliverance. But, robbing the true Author of his Safety of the Glory that was due to him alone, he gave it to St. *John the Evangelist*, whom he had invoked, as the Tutelary Saint of *Ephesus*, in his Distress. For, being raised, Twelve Years after, to the Papal Dignity, he built a magnificent Chapel, in Honour of that Saint, styling him, in the Inscription, *his Deliverer* (A). This would have been deemed rank Idolatry but

Builds Two
Chapels in
Honour of
Saints.

⁊ Concil. t. 4. p. 52.

(A) *Liberatori suo Beato Joanni Evangelistæ Hilarius Episcopus famulus Christi*. He built another Chapel in Honour of St. *John Baptist*, with the following Inscription on the Frontispiece; + *Hilarus Episcopus*, + *Sanctæ plebi Dei* +; and on the Gates, which were of Brass, were engraved, and lined with Silver, the following Words: *In honorem Beati Joannis Baptistæ Hilarus Episcopus, Dei famulus, offert*. Both Chapels stood in the Baptistery, near the

Lateran, now commonly called the *Baptistery of Constantine* (1). Adjoining to the Porch of the Baptistery was an Oratory; on the Walls of which *Hilarius* caused to be represented, in Mosaic Work, the Martyrdom of *Flavianus*, with *Dioscorus*, and his Satellites, stamping on his Breast, as he lay on the Ground. This Oratory, with some Remains of the Mosaic Work, was still to be seen in the Time of *Sixtus V* (2).

(1) Vide Bar. ad ann. 449. n. 89. 100.

(2) Bar. ibid. n. 99.

Hilarius.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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half a Century before. For St. *Austin*, who flourished in this very Age, in disputing with *Maximinus*, the *Arian* Bishop, used the following Argument to prove the Divinity of the Holy Ghost: That he must be God, because Temples were built and dedicated to him, which it would be Sacrilege to build or dedicate to any Creature². The same Father answers elsewhere², with Scorn and Contempt, the Charge brought by *Fauftus*, the famous *Manichee*, against the Catholics, as if they built and dedicated Temples to their Martyrs, calling it a false and groundless Imputation. Had he lived a few Years longer, his Argument against *Maximinus* had lost all its Force; and he had been obliged to own what *Fauftus* alleged against the Catholics to be but too true, and well-grounded. For now Saint-worship began to prevail; to Saints Temples and Chapels were built and dedicated; and Men began anew to *serve the Creature more than the Creator*.

Year of
Christ 467.

As to the Writings of *Hilarius*, a Letter has been ascribed to *His Writings* him, and even inserted, as his, in the Second Council of *Nice*, wherein he quotes a Passage out of *Chrysostom*, to prove the Lawfulness of Image-worship. But that Letter is now given up by all as supposititious. His Style is less florid than that of *Leo*, but clear and expressive. It was at his Request, while he was yet Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, that *Victorius*, a Native of *Limoge* in *Aquitain*, composed his famous *Paschal Cycle*, so much commended by *Gennadius*, *Cassiodore*, *Gregory of Tours*, and *Isidore of Seville*.

² Aug. contr. Maxim. l. 1. t. 6. p. 288.
c. 21.

² Aug. contr. Faust. l. 2.

SIMPLICIUS,

LEO THRACIUS,
LEO the younger,
ZENŌ,

SIMPLICIUS,

ANTHEMIUS,
BASILISCUS.

Forty-sixth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 467.

Simplicius
chosen.

HILARIUS was succeeded by *Simplicius*, chosen Ten Days after the Decease of his Predecessor; that is, according to the most probable Opinion, on the 20th of *September* 467. All we know of him before his Election is, that he was a Native of *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, and the Son of one *Castinus* ^b. There either happened some Disturbances at his Election, or he apprehended some might happen at that of his Successor. For on his Death-bed he charged *Basilus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* to *Odoacer* King of *Italy*, to assist at the Election, and suffer none to be made without his Advice and Direction ^c. This afforded Princes a plausible Pretence to interpose in the Elections, which they improved, as we shall see in the Sequel.

Great Revo-
lutions in the
State.

Simplicius governed the *Roman* Church in the worst of Times; and in his Pontificate happened great Revolutions both in the East and the West, both in the Church and the State. *Italy*, with its proud Metropolis, which for so many Ages had given Law to the rest of the World, saw itself enslaved by a contemptible Barbarian, whose Family, Country, and Nation, are not well known to this Day (A). For *Odoacer*, having taken, and confined to a Castle in *Campania*, the young Emperor *Augustus*, or *Augustulus*, and reduced all *Italy*, caused himself to be proclaimed King of that Country, not caring to

^b Vide Bolland. 2. Mart. p. 233.
diff. 96.

^c Concil. Rom. sub Symm. cap. Bene,

(A) *Odoacer*, the first King of *Italy*, is called by *Theophanes*, a *Goth* (1), by *Marcellinus*, King of the *Goths* (2), and by *Isidore*, Prince of the *Ostrogoths* (3). *Jornandes* styles him, in one Place, King of the *Rugians* (4), and in another, King of the *Turcilingians* (5). He was meanly born, (6) and a private Man in the Guards of the Emperor *Augustulus*, when the Barbarians in the *Roman* Service revolting, chose him for their Leader (7). He professed

the Doctrine of *Arius*, but being a Friend to Toleration, troubled no Man on the score of his Faith or Religion, during the 17 Years he continued Master of *Italy*: so that the Church enjoyed under him, and so she did under the *Ostrogoths*, his Successors in the Kingdom of *Italy*, though likewise *Arians*, the same Liberty and Privileges, which she had enjoyed under her own Princes.

(1) Theoph. p. 102.
chron.

(2) Vide Vales. rer. Franc. p. 228.

(3) Isidor.

(4) Jornand. reg. succ. c. 49.

(5) Idem rer. Goth. c. 45.

(6) Ennod. Panegy. Theodor. p. 308.

(7) Procop. p. 308.

assume

Simplicius. BISHOPS of Rome.

assume the Purple, or any other Mark of the Imperial Dignity. Thus failed the very Name of an Empire in the West, in the Year 476. of the Christian *Æra*, and the Ninth of *Simplicius*. As for the other Provinces formerly belonging to the Western Empire, the *Romans* had taken their last Farewel of *Britain*, ever since the Year 422. or 423 d. *Spain* was held by the *Sueves* and *Visigoths*; *Africa* by the *Vandals*; and the *Burgundians*, *Visigoths*, *Franks*, and *Alans*, had erected several Tetrarchies in *Gaul*. In the East *Zeno*, the Successor of *Leo*, was driven from the Throne by *Basiliscus*; and *Basiliscus*, in his Turn, by *Zeno*. Of these, the latter favoured, underhand, the *Eutychian* Party; and the former openly, having, from the very Beginning of his Reign, or rather Usurpation, publicly declared against the Council of *Chalcedon*. This occasioned great Confusion, and endless Disorders in the Church; and the *Eutychian* Faction once more became formidable.

Year of
Christ 467.

While the Princes were thus contending for Kingdoms and Empires, the Prelates of the Church were struggling, with no less Warmth and Ambition, for Spiritual Power and Dominion. The Sees of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* were become the Prey of ambitious and interested Men; and the Bishop of *Constantinople*, no longer satisfied with the Second Place, began, in Defiance of the Council of *Chalcedon*, to aspire to the First; though the Bishop of *Rome* would not even allow him the Second, but strove, in Defiance of the same Council, to keep the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* between him and his Rival. *Acacius* was, at this time, Bishop of *Constantinople*, a Prelate of great Abilities, and greater Ambition; a Despiser of Wealth, but covetous of Glory; of an engaging Behaviour, and an external Appearance, that commanded Respect; easy of Access, ever ready to serve all, who applied to him, or stood in need of his Assistance, and on that account greatly beloved both by his People and Clergy, especially by his Clergy, who, to testify their Gratitude for the tender Regard he shewed for them, placed his Portrait in all the Churches of *Constantinople*. He was the best Courtier of his Time; understood Mankind the best; and as by his Complaisance and good Offices he endeared himself to all Persons of an inferior Rank, so he won, by the Arts of Insinuation and Flattery, in which none excelled him, the Favour and Confidence of the Great. The Emperor

And Disturbances in the Church.

Acacius, his Character.

^a Vide Alford. ad ann. 422. et Bed. chron.

Year of
Christ 467.

Leo entertained so high an Opinion of his Talents, of his Integrity, and sincere Attachment to the true Interest both of the Empire, and the Imperial Family, that he determined nothing concerning either, till he had consulted him; he even allowed him a Seat in the Senate, where no Ecclesiastic had sat before him, either in the East or the West; and would have him in all Points, that were canvassed there,

*Is chosen Bi-
shop of Con-
stantinople,
and quarrels
with the Bi-
shop of Rome.*

Year of
Christ 472.

to deliver his Opinion the first^e. He was chosen Bishop of *Constantinople* in the room of *Gennadius*, who died in the Latter-end of the Year 471. and the very next Year he entered the Lists with the Bishop of *Rome*; and, after a short Truce, the War was kindled anew between the Two Sees. The Emperor *Marcian*, by obliging *Anatolius*, the Predecessor of *Gennadius*, to yield to *Leo*, and commending the Zeal of that Pope for the Observance of the Canons, had tacitly revoked, as it was understood at *Rome*, his Edict confirming the 28th Canon of *Chalcedon*. *Acacius* therefore, that no room might be left to dispute or question the Honours and Privileges granted to his See by that Council, as wanting the Imperial Sanction, applied to the Emperor *Leo*, and obtained of him an Edict, confirming, in a most ample manner, all the Honours, Privileges, and Pre-rogatives, that had ever been yielded to, or enjoyed by, the most holy Church of *Constantinople*. As the Emperor, in that Edict, styles the Church of *Constantinople*, *the Mother of his Piety, of all Christians, and of the Orthodox Faith*, and will have *Acacius*, and his Successors, to take place of other Bishops, without Restriction or Limitation, *in consideration of the Royal City*, *Baronius* is of Opinion, and his Opinion is not ill-grounded, that *Acacius*, seeing the Western Empire on the Brink of Ruin, and governed by a Subject of the Eastern Empire, for such was *Anthemius*, appointed by the Eastern Emperor, and sent from *Constantinople*, began to look upon that City as the Metropolis, and first City of the Empire, and upon himself as the first Bishop^s. This *Baronius* styles a bold, daring, foolish, unwarrantable, and wicked Attempt. But, in spite of all his Epithets, it had been intirely agreeable to the Principles, on which the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy was originally grounded. For why was the First Place allotted to the See of *Rome*, the Second to that of *Alexandria*, and the Third to the See of *Antioch*, when Primacies and Prece-

*Obtains an
Edict, con-
firming the
28th Canon
of Chalce-
don.*

*Aspires to the
Primacy.*

* Theod. Lect. p. 553—555. Theod. p. 97. Evagr. l. 2. c. 11. Niceph. chron. Suid. p. 117. Leg. 16. c. de Sacrosanct. Eccles. § Bar. ad ann. 472.

dencies were first established in the Church? For no other Reason, but because the Cities were so ranked when that Regulation was introduced. And why was the See of *Constantinople* afterwards raised, by Two Oecumenical Councils, above those of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*? Because the City of *Constantinople*, in becoming a *New Rome*, and the *Seat of the Empire*, as well as *Old Rome*, was thereby raised above the other Two. Might not therefore the Bishop of *Constantinople*, agreeably to the same Principles, claim the First Place, when, upon the Downfal of the Western Empire, that City became the First, and the only Seat of the Empire? Had he not then the same Title to the First Place, which he had before to the Second? Was it so very absurd in him to pretend that the Primacy was removed, when the Ground was removed, on which it stood? However that be, *Simplicius* was no sooner informed of the Edict issued by the Emperor, than, taking the Alarm, as if the Christian Religion, and the whole Church were in imminent Danger, he dispatched into the East *Probus*, Bishop of *Canusum* in *Apulia*, with the Character of his Legate, charging him to remonstrate against it as repugnant to the known Laws of the Catholic Church. What was the Issue of this Legation is not known, since Pope *Gelasius*, the only Writer who mentions it, says no more, than that *Probus* protested against the Imperial Edict, in the Name of *Simplicius*, and made it appear, that is, attempted to make it appear, in the Presence of the Emperor, that *it was not on the Dignity of the Cities that the Ecclesiastical Dignities depended, but on the manner of the Ecclesiastical Dispensation, confirmed and established by the Tradition of the Fathers* &c. But on what was the Ecclesiastical Dispensation founded? On the Civil, without all doubt, that is, on the Dignity of the Cities, as I have demonstrated in several Places of this History.

While *Simplicius* was thus pleading the *Manner of the Ecclesiastical Dispensation*, and *Tradition of the Fathers*, against the pretended Usurpations of his Rival in the East, he was himself striving to maintain and improve, in Defiance of both, the real Usurpations of his Predecessors in the West. Of this such of his Letters to the Western Bishops, as have reached our Times, are a sufficient Proof; and of them I shall speak here according to the Order, in which they are commonly placed, not being able to ascertain the Times, in

Year of
Christ 472.

Opposed by
Simplicius.

* Gelaf. ep. 11. t. 1. Epist. Rom. Pont.

Year of
Christ 472.

The Bishop of
Seville ap-
pointed Vicar
of the See of
Rome.

The appoint-
ing of Vicars
a most subtle
Contrivance.

which they were written. His First Letter is to *Zeno* Bishop of *Seville*, and Metropolitan of the Province of *Batica*, appointing him his Vicar in those Parts, and charging him, as such, to see that the Apostolical Decrees, and the Rules of the Fathers, were punctually complied with by all his Brethren^b. The appointing of Vicars was, as I have observed elsewhereⁱ, a most subtle Contrivance, and perhaps, of all others, the best calculated to extend and enlarge the Papal Authority. For such of the Bishops as were the most capable, by their Rank or Interest, of defeating the ambitious Views of the Popes, being taken with the Bait of that imaginary Honour, instead of opposing the daily Encroachments of *Rome*, thought themselves bound, by their new Office, to support and promote them; and they were the more inclined to think so, and to act accordingly, as every Addition to the Papal Power was, at the same time, an Addition to their own. The appointing of Vicars was the Contrivance of *Damasus*; and that Contrivance his Successors took care to improve with such Art and Address, as to reduce, in the Term of a few Years, the extensive Country of *East Illyricum*, where it first took place, to the servile Condition, in most respects, of a suburbicarian Province^k. It is therefore very surprising, that from the Time of *Damasus* to the Days of *Simplicius*, that is, for the Space of near One hundred Years, none of the intermediate Popes, though daily contriving new Ways and Means of establishing their spiritual Monarchy, should ever have thought of this, when they knew it, by Experience, to be the most successful of all. It is not to be doubted but *Zeno* accepted the Commission, and, acting agreeably to the pretended Power annexed to it, caused, so far as in him lay, all the Decrees that were sent from *Rome*, to be punctually executed; for I find him highly commended by *Felix*, the Successor of *Simplicius* in the *Roman* See^l (A).

His Letter to
John of Ra-
venna.

The Second Letter of *Simplicius* was written to *John* Bishop of *Ravenna*, and Metropolitan of the Province of *Emilia*, on the following Occasion: The People and Clergy of *Modena* chose one *Gregory*, Presbyter of the Church of *Ravenna*, for their Bishop; but, not being able to prevail upon him, by any other means, to accept that Dignity, they took him by Force, and dragged him before *John* his Metropolitan, who ordained him, in spite of his Opposition, and

^b Concil. t. 4. p. 1068.
p. 227.

ⁱ See Vol. I. p. 226—229.

^l Concil. ibid. p. 1072. Bolland. 25. Feb. p. 508.

^k See Vol. I.

(A) This Letter, though placed the First among those of *Simplicius*, bears no Date.
5 repeated

repeated Protests against the violent Proceedings of the People. Forced Ordinations were very frequent in the primitive Times; but that Practice had been lately prohibited by the Imperial Laws (B); and besides, as *Gregory* was possessed of an Estate, belonging to the Church of *Ravenna*, which he was to give up, upon his being translated to another Church, it was surmised *John* had ordained him against his Will, that he might have the Disposal of that Estate. However that be, the Pope reprimands him very severely; nay, and threatens to divest him of the Right of ordaining in that Province, or even in his own Church, should he for the future be guilty of the like Transgression. He adds, that he would have deprived him then of that Right, but for a Reason which he did not chuse to commit to

(B) Innumerable Instances of forced Ordinations occur in History. *St. Austin* was ordained Presbyter by Force (1); and so were *Paulinus* (2), *Nepotianus* (3), *Paulinianus* *St. Jerom's* Brother (4), *St. Martin* Bishop of *Tours* (5), and many others; nay, in some Places, it was a common Practice with the People, when they had chosen a Person for Presbyter, or Bishop, if he declined that Burden, to lay violent Hands on him, and carry him, by main Force, to the Bishop, who was to ordain him, whether he consented to his Ordination or not. If he fled, every Bishop was empowered to apprehend and ordain him where-ever he was found, and to send him back, thus ordained, to his own Bishop (6). Of all forced Ordinations, that of the famous Anchorite *Macedonius* is, perhaps, the most remarkable; for *Flavianus* of *Antioch*, by whom he was ordained, did not even let him know what he was doing, till the Ceremony was over. When the Anchorite understood that he was ordained Presbyter, he broke forth into a violent Rage against the Bishop, and all who had been any-ways concerned in the Action (7). I leave the *Roman Catholic* Divines to reconcile this Practice, allowed by the Church in those early Times, with their present Doctrine, requiring not only in

the Bishop who ordains, the Intention of ordaining, but in the Person who is to be ordained, the Intention of receiving Ordination, as Conditions, without which the Ordination would be absolutely void and null. The Practice of forced Ordinations continued to obtain, both in the East and West, till the middle of the Fifth Century, when it was suppressed by the Emperors *Leo* and *Majorianus*, forbidding any Man to be ordained against his Will, and setting at Liberty all, but Bishops, who were thus ordained, as if they had never received Ordination (8). As for Bishops, their Ordination, however forced, was, by the same Law, to stand good; and they were not allowed to relinquish their Office, or ever afterwards to return to a secular Life (9); nay, another Law of the Emperors *Leo* and *Anthemius*, among the other Qualifications of a Bishop, requires him to be so far from seeking the Episcopal Dignity, that he must be compelled to accept it (10). However this Practice was certainly wrong, without any Warrant from Scripture, and contrary to the Spirit of the Christian Religion. It was also particularly hard in those Times, when, by being forced into Orders, Men were forced into a State of Celibacy too.

(1) Poffid. vit. Aug. c. 4.

ep. 3. (4) Epiph. ep. ad Joan. Hierosol.

Mart. l. i. p. 224.

c. 13.

ibid.

(2) Paulin. ep. 35. inter Epist. Aug.

(4) Epiph. ep. ad Joan. Hierosol.

(6) Epiph. ubi supra.

(8) Leo Novel. 2. in Append. ad Cod. Theodos.

(10) Cod. Just. l. i. tit. 3. de Episc. leg. 31.

(3) Hier.

(5) Sulpit. Sever. vit. S.

(7) Theodoret. Hist. Relig.

(9) Leo Novel.

Year of
Christ 472.

He invades
the Right of
the Metro-
politans.

Writing; but had charged the Bishop *Projectus* to acquaint him with it by Word of Mouth. However, he will have *Gregory* to continue Bishop of *Modena*; but, by an Attempt on the known Rights of Metropolitans, yet unprecedented, he exempts him from all Subjection to the Bishop of *Ravenna*, and declares him immediately subject to the See of *Rome*^m (A).

As for the Estate which *Gregory* possessed, the Pope orders him to resign it, and the Bishop of *Ravenna* to pay him an annual Pension out of the Revenues of another Estate in the Territory of *Bononia*, now *Bologna*, which likewise belonged to his Churchⁿ (B).

Gaudentius
of Ausinum
accused to the
Pope, of em-
bezzling the
Revenues of
his Church.

The Third Letter of *Simplicius* is addressed to the Bishops *Florentius*, *Equitius*, and *Severus*, who had charged *Gaudentius*, Bishop of *Ausinum*, now *Ofene* in *Abruzzo*, in their Neighbourhood, with several Transgressions of the Canons concerning Ordinations; with having sold some Bond-men or Slaves, belonging to his Church; and having appropriated to himself, for the Space of

^m Concil. t. 4. p. 1068, 1069.

ⁿ Concil. t. 4. p. 1069.

(A) From the Pope's threatening to deprive the Metropolitan of *Emilia* of the Right of Ordination, *Baronius* concludes the Metropolitan Dignity, enjoyed by that Church, to have been a free Gift of the Apostolic See (1). But who can be so little conversant in the Annals of the Church, as not to know, that the Dignity of the Sees depended on that of the Cities, and the Dignity of the Cities on the Will and Pleasure of the Emperor, who alone had, as is agreed on all hands, the Right and Power of raising a City to the Rank of a Metropolis? When a City was thus raised, the Bishop was, till the time of the Council of *Chalcedon*, thereby, without any farther Declaration, intitled to all the Rights and Privileges of a Metropolitan, unless the contrary was, as it sometimes happened to be, expressly decreed. But as it became a common Practice among Bishops, especially of considerable Cities, to apply to the Emperors, or their Friends at Court, for Rescripts advancing their Cities, and of course themselves, to a higher Rank, the Fathers of *Chalcedon*, to defeat the Views

of their ambitious Brethren, and prevent the Confusion, which the frequent Changes occasioned in the Ecclesiastical Polity, declared by their Twelfth Canon, that the Bishops of such Cities, as were thus preferred to the Rank of a Metropolis, should indeed enjoy the Honour and Title of a Metropolitan, but not the Rights annexed by the Canons to the Metropolitan Dignity (2). The Bishop of *Ravenna* was, till the time of *Valentinian III.* Suffragan to the Bishop of *Milan*, that City belonging to the Vicariate of *Italy*, of which *Milan* was the Metropolis. But *Valentinian* erecting it, at the Request of the Pope, into a Metropolis, it became, by that means, the Capital of the Province of *Emilia*. And in that Sense the Bishop of *Ravenna* may be said to have been indebted to the See of *Rome* for his new Dignity. In short, it was by the Interest of the Pope, not by his Authority, that the City of *Ravenna* was made a Metropolis.

(B) This Letter is dated the 30th of *May* 482. or, as some will have it, 470 (3).

(1) Bar. ad ann. 482.
2. Mart. p. 154.

(2) Concil. t. 4. p. 762.

(3) Vide Bolland.

Three Years, Three Fourths of the Revenues of his Church, destined, as is said there, for the Fabric of the Church, for the Maintenance of the Poor, and the Subsistence of the Ecclesiastics (A). The Pope, Year of Christ 472.
in

† Concil. t. 4. p. 1069, 1070.

(A) The quadrupartite Division, or the Division of the Ecclesiastical Revenues into Four Parts, first took place about this time, in the Pontificate of *Simplicius* (1), and not in that of *Sylvester*, chosen in 314. as some have supposed. In this Division, the First Part was for the Bishop; the Second for the rest of the Clergy; the Third for the Fabric of the Church; and the Fourth for the Poor (2). The Revenues thus divided arose partly from the voluntary Oblations of the pious and charitable Christians, and partly from the real Estates which the Church possessed. In the primitive Times, the Ministers of the Gospel depended entirely, as to their Maintenance, on the Charity of the Faithful, which indeed knew no Bounds, so long as the primitive Zeal continued warm. It is observable, that, in the First Ages of the Church, an Opinion universally prevailed, that the World was to last but a short time. *You must know*, says *St. Cyprian*, *and hold for certain, that the End of the World is at hand, and the Time of the Antichrist* (3); and *Lactantius* assured the Christians of his Time, that *all those who had made a Computation of Time, grounded on Scripture and profane History, had declared, that the World could not last longer than Two hundred Years* (4). This firm Persuasion inspired the Christians with an utter Contempt for the Things of this World, and therefore greatly contributed to the enriching of the Church. In the Year 251. the Roman Church, though not yet possessed of any real Estate, maintained no fewer than 1500 Poor, besides Virgins, Widows, and all her Ministers (5); and the Wealth of the other Churches, especially in the great Cities, increased in Proportion. But this Increase of Wealth was of no Advan-

tage to the Clergy, during the First Two hundred Years of the Christian Religion. For they lived all that time in common, as the Monkish Orders do now; had no Money, nor had they Occasion for any, being supplied with the Necessaries of Life (and they required no more) by those, who were charged with the Administration of the Ecclesiastical Goods. But about the Year 220. they began to live in separate Houses, and to have each their Subsistence-money paid daily, weekly, or monthly, in proportion to their Number, to the Number of the Poor, and the Wealth of each particular Church. In this Distribution a larger Proportion was allowed to the Presbyters than to the Deacons, and a larger to the Deacons than to the other inferior Officers. *St. Cyprian* indeed put the Two Lectors *Celerinus* and *Aurelius* upon a Level with the Presbyters, allowing them the same Share (6). But he acted therein, as Writers observe, contrary to the common Rules, perhaps in consideration of their extraordinary Merit, and the great Sufferings they had undergone for the Faith, though yet very young. Hence it appears, that each Minister's Portion was assigned by the Bishop, and at his Pleasure.

Though the Churches had acquired very early great Wealth, yet they possessed no real Estates till the Latter-end of the Third, or the Beginning of the Fourth Century; the Christian Churches, as well as the Jewish Synagogues, being deemed unlawful Assemblies, and consequently incapable, by the Roman Laws (7), of holding real Estates. And it was for this Reason, that *those who were possessed of Lands and Houses*, instead of giving them, as was practised after *Constantine's* Time, sold

(1) Vide can. *Vobis* 23. quæst. 2.

(2) Cyp. ep. 58.

(3) Euseb. l. 6. c. 41. Prud. p. 77. Chrysol. p. 468.

(4) L. 2. D. de Colleg. l. 1. c. de Judæ. l. 8. c. de hæred. instit.

(5) Gelas. in can. quatuor. 27. 12.

(6) Lact. Inst. divin. l. 7. c. 25.

(7) Cyp. ep. 34.

Year of
Christ 472.

in his Answer to the Letter of those Three Bishops, I. Charges *Severus* to cause a full Restitution to be made by *Gaudentius*, of every Thing

them, and gave the Prices of them to the Church. However, the Observance of the Laws being utterly neglected, during the Troubles that attended the Captivity of the Emperor *Valerian*, some devout People, laying hold of that Opportunity, settled real Estates on the Church. But these were all confiscated, in the Year 302. by the Emperors *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*. In the Year 310. *Maxentius* restored to the Roman Church all her Possessions; and *Constantine*, having embraced the Christian Religion in 312. published an Edict Nine Years after, addressed to the People of *Rome*, whereby he gave all Persons Liberty to leave, by Will, real Estates, and whatever else they pleased, to the Churches, especially to the *Roman Church* (8). This Law, published by a Christian Emperor, out of his great Zeal for the Christian Church and Religion, proved, in the Course of a few Years, more hurtful to both, than any, that had ever been enacted, by the Pagan Emperors, against them. As the voluntary Oblations were still very abundant, the Overplus of the accruing Revenues was now employed in the purchasing of real Estates. By this means, as well as by Gifts and Donations, some Churches acquired immense Possessions, those especially of *Rome*, *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*. Of these the latter, though the least wealthy, maintained a very numerous Clergy, and fed daily more than 3000 Poor.

Though the Wealth of the Church was thus increased, the antient Method of administering and dispensing it was still kept up. The Oblations, as well as the Revenues arising from the real Estates, were yet in common; nay, the private Gains of each Clergyman were thrown into the common Stock, and managed as formerly, by the Deacons, Subdeacons, and other Stewards. But as the Bishops had the disposing of them, and ordered the Distributions at their Pleasure, they took the Liberty to apply the far greater Part of them

to their own Use; so that the Fabrics, in many Places, fell to Ruin, the Poor were left quite destitute, and the Clergy but very indifferently supplied. To prevent these Evils, it was agreed, in the Western Church (for the Eastern Church kept still the established Usage of living in common), that the above-mentioned Division into Four Parts should be made; and it was made accordingly, about the Year 470. as is generally supposed, the Third of *Simplicius*. But it was not in all Places settled in the same Proportion; nor could it, in the Nature of Things, be so settled. In some Churches the Number of the Clergy called for a greater Share than the Poor; in other Churches the contrary happened; in great Cities the Expence of the Fabric required a larger Share than was necessary in the smaller Cities. By the Poor were meant only the Poor of the Place; for it was incumbent on the Bishop to entertain the Clergy, and defray the Expences of the Poor, who came from other Places. The Fabric of the Church, besides that properly so called, comprehended the Habitation of the Bishop, of the Clergy, of the Sick, and the Widows.

This Division was only with respect to the Revenues; for the Stock or Funds remained still intire and undivided under the Administration of the Deacons and Subdeacons, who received the Rents, and assigned to each their Share. But Differences arising daily between the Bishops and the Clergy, about their respective Shares, that no room might be left for such Disputes, a Division of the Lands and Funds themselves was proposed, and readily agreed to by both Parties. As this Division was not made by public Authority, but by a private Agreement between the Bishops and their Clergy, it did not everywhere take place at the same time, but was in some Churches established sooner, and later in others. These Portions of the Ecclesiastical Estates were, by a borrowed Name, styled *Beneficia* or *Benefices*; for so

(8) L. 4. Cod. Theodos. de Episc. et Cler. l. 1. C. Just. de SS. Eccles.

of his Diocese, according to the antient Custom; and not by the Bishop of *Constantinople*, agreeably to the 28th Canon of *Chalcedon*. At the same time he exempted the Patriarchal See of *Ephesus*, as well as those of *Heraclea* in *Thrace*, and *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, from all Subjection to the See of *Constantinople*, reinstating them in all the Rights and Privileges which they had enjoyed before the Council of *Chalcedon*. Such Bishops as refused to receive the Emperor's Letter, he caused to be every-where deposed, and others, who signed it, to be chosen in their room. In a Council held at *Ephesus*, and consisting of all the Bishops of that Diocese, he excommunicated, anathematized, and deposed *Acacius*, as one, on many Accounts, unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity. This Sentence was signed by all, who were present at the Council, that is, by all the Bishops of the Exarchate of *Ephesus*. The same Year was *Petrus Fullo*, a Name famous in the Annals of the Church, restored, by means of *Ælurus*, to the See of *Antioch*, which he had formerly seized by Force, but had been driven out by the Emperor *Leo* (A).

Year of
Christ 476.
Exempts the
Patriarchal
Sees from all
Subjection to
the See of
Constanti-
nople.

He was now sent back to *Antioch*, after he had signed the Emperor's Letter, with an Order from Court, for the Count of the East to see him reinstated, and to maintain him in Possession of that See. *Julian*, the lawful Bishop, did not long outlive the Loss of his See; but died soon after of Grief. *Anastasius* of *Jerusalem* was one

Petrus Fullo
restored to
the See of
Antioch.

▪ Evagr. l. 3. c. 6. Theoph. p. 104.
Theod. Lect. p. 556.

• Liberat. c. 18. Evagr. l. 3. c. 5.
P Theodor. Lect. ibid. Theoph. p. 104.

(A) *Petrus* was originally a Fuller, and thence surnamed *Cnaphæus* or *Fullo*. He afterwards embraced a Monastic Life; but, being expelled after the Council of *Chalcedon*, for his inviolable Attachment to the Sentiments of *Eutyches*, he repaired to *Constantinople* in the Time of the Emperor *Leo*. There he became first known to *Zeno*, the Emperor's Son-in-law, and afterwards Emperor, who liking his Conversation, and not disliking his Doctrine, took him with him to *Antioch*, upon his being appointed Count or Governor of the East. At *Antioch*, *Fullo* soon gained such Numbers of Followers, being protected and countenanced by *Zeno*, that *Martyrius*, then Bishop of that City, finding himself become, by his artful Insinuations, ob-

noxious to, and forsaken by, the greater Part of his Flock, resigned his Charge, declaring in the great Church, at the time of his Resignation, that he willingly abandoned a disobedient Clergy, a rebellious People, and a polluted Church. Upon his Resignation *Fullo* caused himself to be ordained, and seized by Violence on the Episcopal Throne, being supported by those of his Party, and underhand by *Zeno* himself. But the Emperor no sooner heard of his Intrusion, than he ordered him to be apprehended, and sent into Exile. This Order however was not put in Execution, *Fullo* having, no doubt, with the Connivance of *Zeno*, made his Escape before it was publicly known (1).

(1) Theodor. Lect. p. 556. Liberat. c. 18.

Year of
Christ 476.

of the few who refused to sign the Emperor's Letter; but he too was driven from his See, and an Abbot, named *Gerontius*, a most zealous Stickler for the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, put in his room^r. Thus did the *Eutychian* Party prevail anew all over the East; all the chief Sees, but that of *Constantinople*, being now in the Hands of the avowed Enemies of the Council of *Chalcedon*.

A great Re-
volution both
in the State
and the
Church.

Year of
Christ 477.

But their Reign was short; for the very next Year 477. the great Revolution that happened in the State, was attended with a no less remarkable Revolution in the Church. *Zeno*, who had lain about Twenty Months concealed in *Isauria*, his native Country, being privately informed, by his Friends, of the State of Affairs in *Constantinople*, and encouraged by them not to neglect so favourable an Opportunity of recovering the Empire, appeared unexpectedly; and, putting himself at the Head of what Troops he could assemble, bent his March strait to *Constantinople*. *Basiliscus* was thunderstruck with the News; he distrusted the Soldiery, whom he had disobliged by his Avarice; and as to the People, he was well apprised they would declare against him, and join his Rival as soon as he appeared. In this Distress he was so mean-spirited as to repair, attended by his Wife *Zenonides*, to the great Church, and there, forgetful of the Imperial Dignity, publicly to ask Pardon of *Acacius* and *Daniel*, for his past Conduct, and implore, with a Flood of Tears, their Favour and Protection. He even demeaned himself so as to fall prostrate before *Daniel*, and, embracing his Knees, to beg he would suffer Mercy to take place of Justice, and no longer look upon him as an Enemy to God, or his Church, since he was ready to atone, in what manner *Acacius* and he should think proper, for the Mischief he had done. But the insolent Anchorer, proud of his Victory, and quite unaffected with seeing his Sovereign thus prostrate at his Feet, triumphed over him, reprimanded him in the sharpest Terms, and assured him, that Vengeance would soon overtake him^s. Such was the Spirit of this Man, of this great Worker of Miracles, a Spirit very different from that of the Gospel.

Basiliscus
submits to
Acacius and
Daniel.

The insolent
Conduct of
the latter.

He annuls his
former De-
cree by an-
other.

Basiliscus had promised *Acacius* and *Daniel* to atone for the Mischief he had done; and he was as good as his Word, notwithstanding the little Encouragement he met with from them. For upon his Return to the Palace, he annulled his former Decree by another,

^s Evagr. l. 3. c. 5. Theoph. p. 107.

^s Theodor. Lect. p. 556, 557.

which was thence called the *Anticirculatory* Letter or Decree. For he there commanded the antient Faith, in which he himself had been baptized, to be alone professed by all; declared void and null all other Regulations, Ordinances, and Decrees whatever, issued in his Reign, and repugnant to that Faith; and restored to the holy See of *Constantinople*, and to *Acacius*, whom he styles *The most Reverend and most Holy Patriarch and Archbishop*, all the Honours, Rights, and Privileges, enjoyed by them to that Time^s. Thus he hoped to appease the Storm raised against him, or at least to stop any further Mischiefs from it to himself and his Kingdom. But all was in vain. *Acacius* was implacable. The Anchorite still continued to preach and inveigh against him; the Multitude, governed by them, grew every Day more outrageous; *Zeno* advanced without Opposition; and the unhappy *Basiliscus*, abandoned by all, left the Palace; and taking Refuge with his Wife and Children, in the great Church, laid down his Crown on the Altar, and resigned the Empire. But *Acacius*, partly out of Revenge, and partly to ingratiate himself with *Zeno*, delivered them all into his Hands; and they were, by his Order, starved to Death in a Castle of *Cappadocia*, where they died embracing each other^t. And now the Work being done, for which the Hermit had been invited to *Constantinople*, *Acacius*, who had no farther Occasion either for his Zeal or his Miracles, suffered him to return to the Solitude; and accordingly he resumed his former Station on the Top of his Pillar, where he was honoured this very Year with a Visit from the Emperor, and his Wife *Ariadne*^u.

Year of
Christ 477.

*Basiliscus
driven out,
and Zeno
restored.*

Zeno no sooner found himself replaced on the Throne, than he wrote to *Simplicius*, returning him Thanks for the Zeal and Steadiness, with which he had, in Conjunction with *Acacius*, opposed *Basiliscus* (A). In the same Letter he assures the Pope, that he has brought with him to the Throne a firm Resolution utterly to abolish the *Eutychian* Heresy, to exterminate all who profess it, to cause the Council of *Chalcedon* to be received by all, and to restore *Salophacianus* to the See of *Alexandria*^w. The Pope, in his Answer, dated the 9th of *October*, congratulates *Zeno* on his Restoration, approves

*Who writes
to the Pope.*

^s Evagr. l. 3. c. 7. Theodor. Lect. p. 557.

^t Procop. Bell. Vand. l. 1. c. 7.

^u Sur. 11. Decemb. p. 229.

^w Concil. t. 4. p. 1078, 1079.

(A) No Notice is taken by the contemporary Historians, of any Opposition made by *Simplicius*; nor indeed of his having any ways concerned himself with those Affairs.

Year of
Christ 477.
The Pope's
Answer.

The Doctrine
of Eutyches
condemned by
those, who
had received
it a few
Months be-
fore.

and commends the godly Resolution he had taken to extirpate all, who were infected with the *Eutychian* Heresy, and begs him not only to drive out *Elurus*, and restore *Salophacialus*, but to condemn to perpetual Banishment all who had been ordained by the former *.

The News of *Zeno's* Restoration no sooner reached the Provinces, than Bishops flocked from all Parts to *Constantinople*, to assure him of their Attachment to his Interest, and the Faith he professed, the Faith of *Chalcedon*. The Emperor received them with the greatest Demonstrations of Respect and Esteem, but soon remanded them all to their respective Churches, where their Presence was more necessary than in the Metropolis. At the same time he wrote to the Bishops of the Two Patriarchates of *Antioch* and *Ephesus*, who had, but a few Months before, received, almost universally, the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, and thundered Anathemas against that of *Chalcedon*, commanding them to assemble in Council, and settle among themselves, what they should judge necessary for the Peace, Welfare, and Tranquillity of the Church. They understood his Meaning; a Council was convened without Delay, and by all who composed it, the Doctrine of *Eutyches* was anathematized and condemned; *Paul* of *Ephesus*, and *Fullo* of *Antioch*, the Abettors of that Heresy, were excommunicated and deposed; the Symbol or Decree of *Chalcedon* was received as the only Rule and Standard of the Christian Faith, concerning the Incarnation; and the same Curses were now pronounced, nay, and by the same Persons, against all, who did not receive it as such, that had been pronounced but a few Months before, against all who did. Unhappy Times! when the Prelates of the Church, better Courtiers than Bishops, had no other Rule of Faith but the Will and Pleasure of the Prince. And are the Definitions of such Men, whether assembled in National or Oecumenical Councils, to be received by us as Oracles, and put upon the Level with Scripture? Can their Faith be set up for the Standard of ours, when it is not well known to this Day, what their Faith was, what they believed or disbelieved? On this Occasion the *Asiatics* distinguished themselves above all the rest. It had been given out the Year before, that they had not signed the Letter of *Basiliſcus* freely, and of their own Motion; and they, to prevent such a Report from gaining Credit, had published a kind of

The Bishops,
better Court-
iers than
Bishops.

Uncertain
what they be-
lieved.

* Concil. ibid. p. 1079.
p. 107.

† Concil. ibid. p. 1042. Evagr. l. 3. c. 8. Theoph.

Manifesto, wherein they protested and declared, in the most solemn manner, that with them no Force, no Violence or Compulsion, had been used; but that they had all signed *freely, by Choice, and wholly of their own Motion, the Divine and Apostolic Letter of the most Religious and most Christian Emperor* ^a. But now they were not ashamed to declare, and even protest upon Oath, in a Letter to *Aca-* ^{The Asiatics distinguish themselves on this Occasion.} *cius*, that their signing the Letter of *Basiliscus* was owing merely to Force and Compulsion; and that they had never held any other Faith, but that of *Nice, Constantinople, and Chalcedon* ^a.

This sudden Revolution and Change of Affairs, though not un- ^{Ælurus dies.} foreseen, affected *Ælurus* to such a Degree, that he died this Year at *Alexandria*. His Followers gave out, that he foretold the Day of his Death; and well he might, if what *Liberatus* writes be true, *viz.* that he put an End to his Life with a Draught of Poison ^b. But that Report was perhaps industriously spread in Opposition to the other, and to prevent the ignorant and credulous Multitude from looking upon him as a Prophet. He was scarce cold, when *Petrus Moggus* or *Mongus*, whom he had appointed his Archdeacon, was chosen, by those of his Party, to succeed him. But him the Monks soon drove out, and replaced on that See *Salophacialis* the lawful Bishop. The Emperor not only approved what they had done, but ^{Salophacialis restored.} ordered all Ecclesiastics, as well as Laymen, who in the Term of ^{Year of} *Two Months* did not communicate with *the Blessed Timotheus Sa-* ^{Christ 478.} *lophacialis*, to be divested of their Dignities, and banished *Egypt* ^c. At *Antioch* the *Eutychian* Party still prevailed, being countenanced there by *John*, who had driven out *Fullo*, and seized on his See. The ^{John of Antioch is driven out, and Stephen chosen in his room.} other Bishops therefore, assembling in Council, deposed him, and ordained one *Stephen* in his room, *a zealous Preacher of the true Faith* ^d, that is, a violent Man of their Party. But his Zeal, and the violent Measures he pursued, provoked those of the opposite Party to such a Degree, that the enraged Multitude falling upon him one Day in the Church of *St. Barlaam*, murdered him at the very Altar, dragged his Body through ^{Who is murdered.} the chief Streets of *Antioch*, and threw it into the *Orontes* ^e. He is ^{Year of} *now honoured as a Saint, and his Festival is kept on the 25th of* ^{Christ 479.} *April*. The Emperor, to revenge his Death, ordered all to be ap-

^a Evagr. l. 3. c. 9.^a Idem ibid.^b Liber. c. 16.^c Concil.^{t.} 4. p. 1055.^d Concil. ibid. p. 1256. Theoph. p. 107.^e Concil. ibid.

p. 1032. Evagr. l. 3. c. 10. Theoph. p. 110.

Year of
Christ 479.

*The new Bi-
shop of An-
tioch ordain-
ed by Acacius
at Constan-
tinople.*

prehended and executed, without Distinction, who should be found to have been any-ways accessory to it.

But now at *Antioch* the Two Parties were so exasperated against each other, that the Emperor, apprehensive of the Disturbances that would infallibly attend the ordaining of a new Bishop in that City, commanded *Acacius* to perform the Ceremony at *Constantinople*.

*Zeno and
Acacius ac-
quaint the
Pope with it.*

Zeno and *Acacius* were both well apprised of the Umbrage the Bishop of *Rome* might take at such an Ordination. For though an intire Harmony reigned at this time between *Rome* and *Constantinople*; yet the Bishop of *Rome*, still looking upon his Brother of *Constantinople* as his Rival in Power, kept a watchful Eye over him, lest he should any-ways improve the present Disturbances to the Advancement of his Sec. To prevent the Pope therefore from looking upon the Ordination of the Patriarch of *Antioch* by the Bishop of *Constantinople* in that Light; when the Ordination was over, and not before, both the Emperor and *Acacius* wrote to *Simplicius*, acquainting him with it, and at the same time with the Reasons that had obliged them to dispense with the antient Practice. The Emperor, in his Letter, even condescended to promise, with a kind of Oath, that the Patriarch of *Antioch* should, for the future, be ordained as usual, by the Bishops of his Diocese^h. The Pope, in his Answer to these Letters, approves the Ordination, since the distracted State of the Church of *Antioch* had made it necessary; but strongly recommends to the Emperor the Observance of his Promise, and warns *Acacius* to forbear, in time to come, all Attempts of the like Nature, that no room may be left for Complaints on either Sideⁱ.

*Who ap-
proves it.*

Year of
Christ 482.

*Salophacialis
dies.
And John
Talaia is
chosen in his
room.*

The Person whom *Acacius* had ordained, *Stephen the younger* (so called to distinguish him from his Predecessor, named likewise *Stephen*), died in the Year 482. the Third of his Episcopacy, and was succeeded by *Calendion*, a zealous Stickler for the Faith of *Chalcedon*^k. The same Year died *Salophacialis* of *Alexandria*, and in his room was chosen and ordained *John Talaia*, a Presbyter of that Church, who immediately wrote, according to the Custom that then obtained, to the Bishops of the chief Sees, acquainting them with his Promotion, and begging their Communion. With his Letter to *Simplicius* he dispatched Two Ecclesiastics^l. But the Letters for the other Two Patriarchs, *Acacius* and *Calendion*, with one for

^h Concil. t. 4. p. 1032.

ⁱ Concil. ibid.

^k Evagr. l. 3. c. 10.

^l Liberat. c. 18. Concil. t. 4. p. 1081.

the Emperor, and another for *Illus*, the prime Minister, and his great Friend and Protector, he sent by the common Courier, charging him to deliver the Letter he had for *Illus* before any other. But *Illus* was not then, as *Talaia* supposed, at *Constantinople*. The Emperor, growing jealous of his Power, in order to keep him at a Distance from the Metropolis, had appointed him General of the East, and sent him to *Antioch*. The Courier therefore pursued his Journey to that City, carrying with him the Letters he had for *Acacius* and the Emperor. In the mean time *Acacius* heard of the Promotion of *Talaia*, and receiving no Letters from him, construed his supposed Silence into Contempt; the rather, as *Talaia* had been wanting, on another Occasion, as he apprehended, in the Respect that was due to a Person in his Station. For, having been sent by *Salophacialis* to *Constantinople* upon some private Affairs in 478. he there gained the Confidence of *Illus*, and, depending upon his Friendship, seemed to undervalue, and intirely neglect, that of *Acacius*^m. The haughty Prelate therefore, transported with Rage, and bent on Revenge, resolved to employ all the Interest he had at Court against the new Patriarch; and his Interest there was very great, the Emperor owning himself indebted chiefly to him for the Recovery of his Crown. He aimed at nothing less than to drive the new-chosen Bishop from his See, and to get another appointed in his room. With this View he painted him to the Emperor in the blackest Colours, as a Man unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity, and even of the Name of a Christian. He charged him with *Eutychianism*, with Hypocrisy, with an inviolable Attachment to *Illus*, who was now in Disgrace, and soon after joined the Usurper *Leontius*. But what he chiefly urged against him was his having accepted the Episcopal Dignity by a sacrilegious and barefaced Violation of the Promise he had made to the Emperor himself, and confirmed with his Oath. For the Emperor, discovering in him, during his Stay at *Constantinople*, a great deal of Ambition, and apprehending that, upon the Demise of *Salophacialis*, he might, by improper means, cause himself to be chosen in his room, and thereby give Occasion to new Disturbances, would not suffer him to return to *Alexandria*, till he had promised, upon Oath, not to accept the Bishoprick of that Cityⁿ. As *Talaia* joined the Pope against *Acacius*, and is now, on that score, honoured as a Saint, the Writers on that

Year of
Christ 482.

Occasion of
the Quarrel
between him
and Acacius.

Who employs
all his Interest
at Court
against him.

Talaia
charged with
Perjury.

Whether
guilty of that
Crime.

^m Liberat. c. 16. Theoph. p. 110.
Liberat. c. 17. Evagr. l. 3. c. 20.

ⁿ Concil. t. 4. p. 1169, 1170.

Year of
Christ 482.

Side, to clear him from Perjury, pretend, upon the Authority of *Zacharias* the Rhetorician, a Writer in other Matters of no Authority even with them, that he only promised, upon Oath, not to seek or canvass for the Episcopal Dignity. But that he bound himself, by his Oath, not to accept it, is positively affirmed by *Liberatus*, by *Evagrius*, nay, and by the Emperor himself^o, who, in the Letter he wrote to the Pope concerning this Affair, expressed himself thus: *Talaia is to blame for disturbing the Church to get himself acknowledged Bishop of Alexandria, after he had promised, upon Oath, never to sit in the Throne of that Church. He has broken his Oath, and is guilty of Sacrilege* p. That *Talaia* therefore was guilty of a Breach of his Oath in accepting the Episcopal Dignity, seems undeniable; and as to the Charge of *Eutychianism*, it would be no easy Task to clear him from it, if what was said of him be true, viz. that he persuaded *Salophacialis* to insert the Name of *Dioscorus* in the Diptychs^q. Indeed *Eutychius* of *Alexandria* styles him an *Eutychian*^r. But his Authority is as precarious as that of *Zacharias*, and there is no depending upon either.

Petrus Mongus proposed for the See of Alexandria.

Acacius, having by his artful Insinuations, as we are told, though there seems to have been no Occasion for Art, strongly prepossessed the Emperor against *Talaia*, as a Man quite unworthy of the high Post, to which he was raised, began, in the next place, to think of a proper Person to put in his room. There were at this time in the Church of *Alexandria* several Ecclesiastics of great Abilities, who had distinguished themselves by their Zeal for the Symbol of *Chalcedon*, and their Abhorrence of the opposite Doctrine. But *Acacius* was for reconciling the Two Parties, and not inflaming them still more against each other; and therefore, overlooking those Zealots, as he had no Occasion at present for their Zeal, he fixed, in his Mind, on *Petrus Mongus*, as the only Person, who, if he came into his Measures, might enable him to accomplish so commendable a Design. *Mongus*, it is true, had ever been a most zealous Defender of the *Eutychian* Doctrine, and was now at the Head of that Party. But *Acacius* well knew, that his Zeal would hardly be Proof against so tempting an Offer as that of the Patriarchal See of *Alexandria*; and, besides, was determined to propose no Terms to him, but what he might readily comply with, both in Honour and Conscience. *Mongus* lay

^o Liberat. Evagr. ibid.
^r Eutych. t. 2. p. 107.

^q Evagr. l. 3. c. 20.

^q Liberat. c. 17.

Thing belonging to the Church, which he had either disposed of to others, or appropriated to himself. II. He declares those degraded and deposed, whose Ordination was not agreeable to the Canons. ^{Year of Christ 472. And several punished.} III. He confines the Bishop of *Ausnum* to the Administration only of one Fourth of the Ecclesiastical Revenues, that is, of his own Share, charging one *Onager*, Presbyter of that Church, with the Administration of the other Three. Lastly, He divests him of the Power of ordaining, which he had abused, and appoints *Severus* to ordain in his room, and even in his Church^r. This was leaving him scarce any thing but the bare Name of a Bishop. The Pope indeed was his Metropolitan, and, as such, impowered to redress Abuses, and punish Transgressions, within the Purlieu of his Jurisdiction. But as neither his Power, nor that of any other Metropolitan, was independent and arbitrary, he was neither to censure nor punish, especially with so much Severity, without the Advice and Approbation of his Suffragans assembled in Council; and *Simplicius* is no-where said to have assembled a Council on this Occasion; nor even to have given the accused Bishop an Opportunity of clearing himself from the heavy Charge brought against him by the neighbouring Bishops (B).

But the Confusion and Disorders, that in the Year 475. began in *Zeno driven out by Basiliscus.* the East, left *Simplicius* no Leisure, during the remaining Part of his Pontificate, to attend to the Affairs of the West: in that Year *Zeno*, the Son-in-law and Successor of *Leo*, was driven from the Throne; ^{Year of Christ 475.} or rather shamefully abandoned it to his Rival *Basiliscus*; and the new Emperor no sooner found himself in Possession of the Empire, than he openly declared against the Council of *Chalcedon*, recalled the famous *Timotheus* *Elurus*^s, who had been confined to the

^r Concil. *ibid*.

^s See above, p. 108, et seq.

those Lands were called in the *Latin* Tongue, which the Princes distributed among their Soldiers, engaging them thereby to guard the Frontiers, to serve in War, when wanted, to defend the Strong-holds, and to perform other Services of the like Nature. This Name the Ecclesiastics chose, as alluding to their spiritual Warfare. Of the other Branches of the Ecclesiastical Revenue, I shall have Occasion to speak hereafter; especially of Tithes and First-fruits, the paying of which was quite

free and voluntary, during the Three First Centuries of the Church, began to be strongly recommended in the Fourth and Fifth, but was not established by Law till late in the Sixth.

(B) This Letter is dated the 19th of *November* of the Year after the Consulship of *Leo Augustus* (1); so that we cannot fix the precise Year in which it was written, *Leo* having been Consul in the Years 471. 473. and 474.

(1) Concil. *ibid*, p. 1070.

Year of
Christ 475.
Who declares
against the
Council of
Chalcedon.

Ælurus re-
stored to the
See of Alex-
andria.

Repairs to
Constanti-
nople.

Well received
there by the
Populace, but
opposed by the
Clergy.

Year of
Christ 476.

Taurica Cherfonefus by the Emperor *Marcian*, and, by a particular Rescript, restored him to the See of *Alexandria*, held at that Time, by *Timotheus Salophacialus* †, a zealous Stickler for the Faith of *Chalcedon*. The Imperial Rescript had scarce reached *Egypt*, when *Ælurus*, who must have kept himself concealed somewhere there, unexpectedly appeared, and, entering *Alexandria* at the Head of a numerous Band of Robbers and Outlaws, put *Salophacialus* to Flight, and took anew Possession of that See^u. He was soon joined by *Petrus Mongus*, a Deacon of the Church of *Alexandria*, who had been banished with him for his violent Attachment to the *Eutychian* Party; by *Petrus Fullo*, of whom I shall have Occasion to speak hereafter; and by many others, who had dissembled their Sentiments during the Reigns of *Marcian* and *Leo*.

Ælurus, finding he had nothing to fear at *Alexandria*, where he was in great Favour with the Populace, left *Egypt* this very Year, and repaired to *Constantinople*, with a Design to acquaint himself with the Strength of the *Eutychian* Party in that Metropolis, and found the Disposition of the People and Clergy there. The Court was changed, and he did not doubt but the Church would change with the Court. But he was soon convinced of his Error: for though he entered the City in a kind of Triumph, being attended by Crouds of People, crying out, *Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord*; yet the Clergy and Abbots, with *Acacius* at their Head, declared against him, and would not even allow him, notwithstanding the favourable Reception he met with at Court, to set Foot in any of their Churches^w. However, the Favour that was shewn him there, recommended him to many; and, in spite of the Ecclesiastics, and all their Efforts, his Party grew daily more powerful and formidable. Some Ecclesiastics therefore of *Constantinople*, with the Abbots and Monks of that City, apprehending the Faith of *Chalcedon* to be in imminent Danger, agreed to acquaint *Simplicius* with the State of Affairs, not doubting but he would heartily join his Interest and Authority to theirs, against a Man, who had been already condemned by his See. Their Letter the Pope received on the 10th of *January* 476. and, thinking no Time was to be lost at so critical a Juncture, he wrote the same Day to the Emperor *Basiliscus*, conjuring him, as he

† See above, p. 137.

^u Theodor. Lect. p. 556. Evagr. l. 3. c. 4. Liberat. c. 16.

^w Concil. t. 4. p. 1070—1077. Theod. Lect. p. 556. Theoph. p. 104. Cedren. p. 352.

tendered his own Happiness, and the Preservation of the Authority, with which he was vested, to maintain inviolable what had been approved and decreed by the whole Church, concerning either the Faith or *Ælurus*; to remand that Parricide, that new *Cain*, to the Desert, which he had been so deservedly confined to, and to peruse the Letters, which *Leo*, his Predecessor in the Apostolic See, had formerly written to the Council of *Chalcedon*, and to the Emperors *Marcian* and *Leo*^x. *Simplicius* did not, or, more probably, would not know, that *Ælurus* was countenanced by *Basiliscus* himself; for he styles him a most religious and Christian Prince. Of *Leo's* Letters he transmitted Copies to *Acacius*, though then under no small Concern at his not having heard from him on such an Occasion. *Acacius*, perhaps jealous of the Power and Authority of his Rival, industriously avoided giving him an Opportunity of intermeddling in the Affairs of his Church. However that be, *Simplicius* wrote Two Letters to him; one at this Time, and the other on the 30th of the same Month, exhorting him in both to oppose, with all his Might, the wicked Attempts of the Enemies of God, and his Church; and, above all, to prevent the assembling of a new Council^y. His Answer to the Ecclesiastics and Abbots of *Constantinople* was much to the same Purpose^z.

But the Emperor was so far from paying any kind of Regard to *Ælurus* of the Letters of *Simplicius*, or the Remonstrances of *Acacius*, that he suffered *Ælurus* to assemble a Council this very Year at *Constantinople*, when the Bishops, who had been driven from their Sees for maintaining the Doctrine of the Fathers, that is, the *Eutychian* Bishops, were all restored; and whatever had, till that Time, been done or attempted against *Ælurus*, was declared void and null^a. Of what Bishops this Council consisted, or how many, is not recorded. But it no sooner broke up, than *Basiliscus* published his famous Encyclical Letter, Ordinance, or Decree, addressed to *Timotheus*, the most Reverend and most Holy Archbishop of the noble City of Alexandria. The Emperor begins it with declaring, that he has nothing so much at Heart, as to see all good and well-disposed Christians united in one Faith, the ancient Faith of the Church; and that as it was his first and chief Duty to establish that Faith, so it was the Duty, which he thought himself first of all bound to discharge. He then launches

Year of
Christ 476.

The Pope
writes to the
Emperor
against him.

seems a
Council at
Constanti-
nople.

Basiliscus pub-
lishes his fa-
mous Encycli-
cal Letter.

^x Concil. ibid. p. 1072, 1073.
ibid. p. 1078.

^y Concil. ibid. p. 1072—1077.

^z Concil.

^a Concil. t. 4. p. 1081. Liberat. c. 16.

Year of
Christ 476.

into high Commendations of the Symbol of *Nice*; proposes it as the only Rule of Faith, and Bulwark against all Heresies; confirms the Acts of that Council, and with them those of the Second Oecumenical Council, and of the First and Second of *Ephesus*. But as for Pope *Leo's* famous Letter, and the Acts, Decisions, and Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon*, he strictly enjoins all Bishops not only to anathematize, but to burn them, where-ever they are found, as introducing a Doctrine repugnant to that of *Nice*, and only calculated to raise and foment eternal Quarrels among the Prelates of the Church.

And commands all Bishops to sign it.

He peremptorily requires the Bishops throughout the Empire to sign this Letter; and adds, that if any Person whatever, from that time forward, shall dare only to name the Council of *Chalcedon*, in speaking, writing, or disputing, he shall be deposed, if a Bishop, or an Ecclesiastic; and punished, if a Monk, or a Layman, with Exile, and the Confiscation of all his Effects ^a.

Acacius refuses to sign it.

The Publication of this Letter, or Decree, was attended with greater Disturbances at *Constantinople*, than the Emperor had foreseen. The Clergy, and the Monks, who were very numerous in that City, took the Alarm; the Populace joined them, and *Acacius*, putting himself at their Head, peremptorily refused, in Defiance of the Emperor's express Command, to sign a Decree, which appeared to him calculated, not to establish, but utterly to overthrow, the ancient Faith of the Church. But the Emperor was as peremptory as the Bishop; he absolutely insisted on the Bishop's paying that Obedience to his Commands, which he said was due from every Subject to his Sovereign.

The Emperor insists on his signing it.

On the other hand, the Bishop pleaded his Conscience, and the Offence it would give to all good Christians to see a Man, in his Station, publicly anathematize the Doctrine which he had hitherto professed, and profess the Doctrine which he had hitherto anathematized. The Emperor was deaf to all Remonstrances; and, finding he could prevail by no other means, resolved, in the End, to employ Force; and, repairing in Person, to the great Church, compel *Acacius*, in the Presence of his Clergy, to sign the Decree. But he had timely Notice of the Emperor's Design, and even of the Day on which it was to be put in Execution. On that Day therefore, to raise the Mob, and the Monks, he appeared clad in Black; and, at the same time, caused both the Episcopal Throne, and the Altar, to be covered

Acacius's Stratagem to raise the Mob.

^a Evagr. l. 3. c. 4. Theod. Lect. p. 556. Liberat. c. 16.

Simplicius. BISHOPS of Rome.

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with Veils of the same Colour. This was a new Sight to the *Greeks*,
 nothing of that Colour being allowed in their Churches; and it had
 the wished-for Effect. The Mob, alarmed at the Appearance of such
 a Phenomenon, portending, as was given out, the imminent Ruin
 of the Church, flew from all Parts of the City to her Rescue. The
 Women were no less forward; on this Occasion, than the Men; and
 the Children as forward as either. They were all alike seized with
 an enthusiastical Fury; all alike determined to stand up in Defence
 of their Bishop, and in him of the Church, against any Violence that
 should be offered to the one or the other. At the same time appeared a
 formidable Army of Monks, with Clubs in their Hands, and great
 Store of Stones, their usual Ammunition, and the only Arguments
 they were capable of employing with Success, in Defence of the
 Church, and the Faith^b. The Emperor, finding the Populace thus
 inflamed, thought it adviseable to forbear all public Violence, which
 he was sensible would be attended with a good deal of Bloodshed,
 and ordered *Acacius* to be privately murdered. But neither could
 that Order be put in Execution, the Bishop being guarded Night and
 Day by numerous Bands of Monks relieving one another^c. *Acacius*
 was bound, on a particular Account, to maintain the Council of
Chalcedon, the present Grandeur of his See being grounded, as we have
 seen; on a Decree of that Council. But, in other respects, he was
 certainly no Enemy to the *Eutychian* Party, as appeared soon after;
 nay, some Historians, supposing him to have been, at this very time,
 an *Eutychian* in his Heart, will have the Opposition he made to have
 been owing to the Fear he was in of the Populace and the Monks,
 zealously attached to the Faith of *Chalcedon*^d. But as, in Countries
 under an absolute and arbitrary Government; Men are seldom more
 afraid of the Populace than the Prince, the Opposition of *Acacius*
 may, perhaps, be more naturally ascribed to the Motive I have men-
 tioned, seeing he could not anathematize the Council of *Chalcedon*,
 without renouncing the Honours, Privileges, and extensive Juris-
 dictions, intailed on his See by that Council.

The Bishops in the Provinces were more complaisant; for the Em-
 peror's Letter was no sooner published in *Asia*, than the Bishops of
 that Exarchate, being assembled in Council, received it all to a Man;
 nay, and, by a synodical Letter, returned the Emperor Thanks for

Year of
Christ 476.

*Acacius no
Enemy in his
Heart to the
Eutychian
Party.*

*The Empe-
ror's Letter
received by
the Bishops in
the Provinces.*

^b Theod. Lect. p. 556. Theophan. p. 105.
 phan. p. 105.

^c Suid. 6, p. 540.

^d Theo-

employing, in Defence of the antient Faith of the Catholic Church, the Power which it had pleased Heaven to put into his Hands. They did not stop here, but, with great Solemnity, excommunicated, deposed, and anathematized *Acacius*, and all, who, with him, should refuse to receive the *Divine and Apostolic Letter of their most holy Lord Basiliscus* ^g; thus making a Pope of the Emperor, and submitting not only the Discipline and Order of the Church, but the Faith itself, to an Imperial Decree. The Example of the *Asiatics* was followed by most other Bishops; and no fewer than 600 signed the Emperor's Letter ^h. Thus was the Council of *Chalcedon* as universally condemned and rejected, as it had been, but 18 Years before, universally approved and received.

Acacius engages in his Quarrel Daniel Stylites.

In the mean time the Emperor having caused one of the Eunuchs of his Bed-chamber to be burnt alive, for daring to speak in Defence of the Council of *Chalcedon*, his Death struck the Monks and Populace with Terror; and their Zeal for the Church, and the Faith of the Fathers, began visibly to cool. *Acacius* therefore, in order to revive it, and keep alive among them that Spirit of Rebellion, on which alone his Safety depended, resolved to engage in his Quarrel, if by any means he could, an *Anchoret* named *Daniel*, who had stood many Years on the Top of a Pillar in the Neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, and was on that Account held by the Populace in the greatest Veneration. For several were now induced by the Fame and Reputation which *Symeon*, the first Author of that Whim, had acquired, to embrace the same whimsical Method of Life. To *Daniel* therefore *Acacius* first wrote a pathetic Letter, acquainting him with the Danger, to which his Zeal for the Catholic Faith of *Chalcedon* had exposed him, and imploring, in his present Distress, the Prayers and Protection of a Man, whom Heaven had distinguished with particular Blessings. The simple Anchoret, fired with Zeal on the Receipt of this Letter, and forgetful of the Subjection, that is owing by every Soul to the higher Powers, wrote to his Sovereign in such Terms, as would have been deemed in any, but a Saint, the Height of Arrogance and Presumption. For, in his Letter, he taxed him with Tyranny, styled him a new *Dioclesian*, and insolently threatened him, as if he had been the Dispenser of Kingdoms, with the Loss of the Empire ⁱ.

Who writes to the Emperor.

^g Evag. l. 3. c. 5. et 6. Decemb. p. 228.

^h Evagr. l. 3. c. 4.

ⁱ Evagr. l. 3. c. 7. Surius 2.

Year of
Christ 476.

And at the
Request of
Acacius, re-
pairs to Con-
stantinople.

Acacius, having thus, by a pretended Zeal for the Faith of *Chalcedon*, secured to his Party so great a Saint, resolved to make a proper Use of the high Opinion, which the People of *Constantinople* entertained of his Sanctity. He was sensible, that, should he prevail upon the Hermit to descend from his Pillar, to repair to the City, and there preach openly against *Basiliscus* as an avowed Enemy to the Church, the Monks and Populace would, by that means, be wrought up to such a Pitch of enthusiastical Madness and Fury, as might end in a general Rebellion, and endanger at the same time the Emperor's Life and his Crown. To attain this End, Two Bishops were employed, who, representing to *Daniel*, in *Acacius's* Name, the Danger that threatened the Church, and the Faith, conjured him, as he tendered the Welfare of both, to quit his Pillar for a while, and repair with them to *Constantinople*, where his Presence would give new Life to the Orthodox Party, and reclaim many Souls from eternal Perdition. The Anchorite was not a little surpris'd at such a Proposal. He had stood already Sixteen Years on his Pillar; and was very unwilling to remove farther from Heaven, and return to the Earth. However he recur'd to Prayer, and received, in an Ecstasy, an express Command, as is said, from Heaven, to obey *Acacius*. He obeyed, came down, and suffered himself to be carried to *Constantinople*; for we are told his Legs were so weakened, that he could not walk, tho' he had stood already Sixteen Years without ever once sitting down, and stood afterwards Eighteen more. The whole City crouded out to meet him, received him with loud Acclamations, and attended him in Triumph to the Place, where *Acacius* waited his Arrival. There he preached to the numberless Multitude; and his Sermon was intirely made up of most bitter and reviling Invectives against the Emperor, as a Traitor to God, as an Enemy to his Church, as a Heretic, on whose Head was ready to burst the Indignation of Heaven. His Words had the foreseen and wished-for Effect; the Populace were inflamed against *Basiliscus* to such a Degree, that some, out of Spite to him, were for setting Fire to the City, and others for burning the Palace, and the Emperor in it, with the whole Imperial Family. But *Basiliscus*, apprised of their Disposition and Designs, thought it advisable to quit the City; and accordingly withdrew to the Palace of *Hebdomon*, at a small Distance from *Constantinople*, leaving *Daniel*, as he expressed himself at his Departure, Master of the City, and all its Inhabitants.

Where he
preaches
against the
Emperor, and
raises the
Mob.

The Emperor
obliged to quit
the City.

* Theod. Lect. p. 556. Theoph. p. 104.

Year of
Christ 476.

Daniel follows him at the Head of the Monks and the Rabble.

But is obliged to return without seeing him.

Miracles cease when most wanted.

Florus employed in establishing the Eutychian Party in the East.

The Anchoret, not satisfied with thus raising in the Populace a Spirit of Rebellion, and thereby driving his Sovereign from the Metropolis, resolved to follow him, and, taking Advantage of the present Disposition of the People, and the Emperor's Fright, oblige him to retract his Encyclical Letter. He therefore no sooner understood, that the Emperor was retired to the *Hebdomon*, than he set out for the same Place, at the Head of the seditious Rabble, and an Army of Monks. He is said to have performed a miraculous Cure on the Road, and on his Arrival at the Palace to have struck a *Gothic* Lord dead, who could not forbear laughing at seeing a Person of his odd Figure carried on the Arms of Men, like a Consul¹. However, the Soldiers of the Emperor's Guard, being either unacquainted with the Miracles wrought by *Daniel*, or not believing them, which is more likely, as they were not Orthodox, but *Goths* and *Arians*, resolutely declared, that neither he, nor any of his Retinue, should set Foot in the Palace. Their Resolution damped the Courage of the Multitude; allayed their Zeal; nay, and seems to have even checked the miraculous Power of their Head and Ringleader. For though it would have cost him but one Miracle more to beat down the Gates and Walls of the Palace, and open himself a Way, in spite of all Opposition, into the Emperor's Closet itself, he tamely withdrew, and, shaking off the Dust of his Feet, returned to the City; and there resumed, and exerted anew, his Wonder-working Power^m. *Daniel* had, like most other Saints, an unlimited Power of working Miracles among those who believed in Miracles; but could perform none among those who did not. Miracles are now wrought daily abroad, by every Monk, Priest, or Nun, of any Reputation for Sanctity; few indeed in *France*, but many in *Italy*, and more in *Spain* and *Portugal*. But none even of their Missionaries can perform the least Miracle among us, though they must own Miracles to be quite necessary here, and quite unnecessary in their own Countries.

During these Disturbances at *Constantinople*, *Florus* was not idle, but labouring, and not unsuccessfully, to strengthen the *Eutychian*, and weaken the opposite Party in the other Cities of the Empire. He left the Metropolis after a short Stay there, and, repairing to *Ephesus*, replaced *Paul* on that See, who had been deposed by *Acacius*, because he had caused himself to be ordained by the Bishops

¹ Theodor. Lect. p. 556. Vide Bar. ad ann. 476. n. 52—59.

^m Idem ibid.

Year of
Christ 482.
*An Agree-
ment between
him and Aca-
cius, and up-
on what
Terms.*

at this time concealed in *Alexandria*, but had some Friends at *Con-
stantinople*, in whom he could confide; and by them an Agreement between him and *Acacius* was managed, and soon concluded. By this Agreement, *Acacius* was to prevail upon the Emperor to confirm *Mongus* in the See of *Alexandria*, to which he had been formerly, but unlawfully, chosen; while *Mongus* engaged, on his Side, to contribute, so far as in him lay, to the uniting of the Two Parties, and putting an End to the Schism, that had reigned so many Years all over the East. The Agreement being made, *Acacius*, without Loss of Time, applied to the Emperor, who indeed was not a little surprised at first, to hear *Mongus* proposed for the See of *Alexandria*, and proposed by *Acacius*, whom he knew to have hitherto behaved, on all Occasions, as his most bitter and inveterate Enemy. However, being satisfied, in the End, with the Reasons that Prelate alleged, he not only promised to second his Views, but extolled, with the greatest Encomiums, his Zeal and upright Intention in thus sacrificing, as it became a Christian Prelate, his private Resentment to the public Tranquillity of the Church, and the State.

*It is ap-
proved by the
Emperor.*

As *Mongus* had been condemned by *Simplicius*, and declared by him, at the Remonstrances and Request of *Acacius*, unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity; nay, and of the Name of a Christian; the Emperor thought, that the Pope should be acquainted, either by himself, or *Acacius*, with his Design of raising such a Man to that Dignity before it was put in Execution. He wrote accordingly himself to *Simplicius*; for *Acacius* declined that Office; and, at the same time, dispatched a solemn Embassy to *Rome*, charging *Uranius*, who was at the Head of it, to persuade the Pope, if by any means he could, to concur in the same Measures with him and *Acacius*. Such a Proposal from the Emperor, who had issued, not long before, an Order for apprehending, and even for executing *Mongus*, should he be found in *Egypt*, or presume to set his Foot in that Province; so heavy a Charge against *Talaia*, whom the Emperor, in his Letter, arraigned of Perjury; and the Silence of *Acacius* in an Affair of so great Importance; surprised and alarmed the Pope to such a Degree, that he avoided returning any Answer to the Embassadors at their first Audience. He heard them again the next Day, and so far yielded to their Remonstrances, as not to answer, for the present, the Letter he had

*He ac-
quainted
the Pop-
e with his De-
sign of rai-
sing Mongus
to the See of
Alexandria.*

* Liberat. c. 17, 18. Theoph. p. 112. † Concil. t. 4. p. 1082. ‡ Evagr. l. 3. c. 11.

Year of
Christ 482.
Who opposes
it,

And writes
to the Empe-
ror and Aca-
cius.

received from *Talaia*, though he was, at the time of their Arrival, upon the point of answering it, and thereby acknowledging him for lawful Bishop of *Alexandria*. As for *Mongus*, he declared, that he would not, upon any Consideration whatever, communicate with him, and much less own such a Monster of Wickedness for his Colleague. The Embassadors urged, in the strongest Terms, the Reasons that inclined the Emperor, though a most zealous Defender of the Faith of *Chalcedon*, to raise him to the See of *Alexandria*, notwithstanding his former Demerit, of which their Master was as well apprised as the Pope; but thought that even the greatest Crimes ought to be forgotten, and that Mercy ought to take place of Justice, and Forgiveness of Revenge, upon the Prospect of any Advantage accruing thence to the Church or the State. But the Pope was inflexible, and deaf to all Reasons. The Embassadors therefore, having no Hopes of succeeding in their Negotiation, left *Rome*, after a very short Stay there, and returned to *Constantinople*. By them the Pope wrote to the Emperor, and likewise to *Acacius*, though he had received no Letters from him, acquainting both with his firm and unalterable Resolution of never acknowledging *Mongus* for lawful Bishop. In his Letter to the Emperor, he conjures him, by all that is holy, not to suffer the Church of *Alexandria* ever to depart from the Doctrine of *St. Mark*; and in that to *Acacius* he gently upbraids him with his Silence on such an Occasion; and, not suspecting him to have any Hand in the Promotion of *Mongus*, begs him, by their mutual Friendship, to divert, by all means, the Emperor from putting in Execution a Design, which would be attended with the utter Ruin of the Catholic Interest in *Egypt*, and most dreadful Disturbances all over the East ^w. The Emperor and *Acacius*, satisfied by these Letters, and the Relation of the Embassadors, that the Pope would never yield, nor be prevailed upon to approve of their Measures, gave themselves no farther Trouble about his Approbation; nay, *Acacius* did not even answer this Letter, nor another to the same Purpose, which the Pope wrote to him a few Months after ^x (A). As he was determined to pursue his own Measures in spite of the Pope, he probably thought it adviseable to break off, at once, all Correspondence with *Rome*, being well apprised, that such a Corre-

^w Concil. t. 4. p. 1032, 1033.

^x Concil. ibid.

(A) His first Letter to *Acacius* is dated the 15th of *July* of the present Year, and his Second the Sixth of *November*.

spondence would only give Occasion to mutual Reproaches, would exasperate both Parties, and end at last in Curses and Anathemas on both Sides. Year of
Christ 482.

In the mean time Deputies arrived at *Constantinople*, sent by *Mongus*, with full Powers to negotiate a Reconciliation between the Two Parties. They had several Conferences with *Acacius*; and the Result of these Conferences was the famous *Henoticon*, or *Letter of Union*, published by the Emperor, with a Design to unite all his loving Subjects in one Faith and Communion; and addressed to the Clerks, Monks, and People of *Egypt* and *Libya*. In that Letter the Emperor, after solemnly protesting, that he has nothing so much at Heart as the Purity of the Catholic Faith, the Tranquillity of the Church, and the Welfare of his Subjects, 1. Declares, in the Name of the Churches spread over the whole World, that no other Symbol, Doctrine, or Definition of Faith, has been received, or ought to be received, but that of *Nice*, confirmed by the Fathers of *Constantinople*. 2. He pronounces all separate from the Congregation of the Faithful, who held any other. 3. He receives the Doctrine and Definitions of the Fathers, assembled at *Ephesus* to condemn *Nestorius*, because agreeable to the Definitions of *Nice*; and likewise the Doctrine of those, who met afterwards to condemn such as maintained the same Errors. This was receiving the Second Council of *Ephesus*, at which *Dioscorus* presided, as well as the First. 4. He requires all to anathematize *Eutyches*; to confess the Word to have taken Flesh of the holy Virgin, whom he styles *The Mother of God*; to have taken Flesh really, and not only in Appearance; to be One, and not Two; to be consubstantial with his Father, according to his Divinity, and with us, according to his Humanity, without any Mixture or Confusion. Lastly, He anathematizes all who shall profess, teach, or maintain any Doctrine not contained in this Letter, where-ever, and by whomsoever defined, whether by the Council of *Chalcedon*, or by any other Council. The Emperor industriously avoids, as the Reader must have observed, all Mention of the *Nature* or *Natures* of Christ, judging, and indeed very wisely, that it mattered little, whether Men believed Christ to be in *Two Natures*, and of *Two Natures*, or only of *Two Natures*, but not in *Two Natures*, so long as they believed him to be true God, and true Man, to be one Christ.

* Liberat. c. 17. Evagr. l. 3. c. 14. Leont. sect. 5.

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Christ 482.

and not Two, which they all did. The Council of *Chalcedon* indeed defined Christ to be *of* and *in Two Natures*; and their obliging all to receive that metaphysical Speculation as an Article of Faith, and engaging the Emperors to persecute those, who did not, as Heretics, and the worst of Men, gave Rise to the Disturbances I have hitherto described. The Emperor therefore, having first laid down, in the 4th Article of his *Henoticon*, the Doctrine that was held and professed by both Parties, concerning the Incarnation, forbids any other to be taught or maintained; which was silencing the *Eutychians*, as well as those who opposed them.

It is received
by Mongus.

The *Henoticon* was no sooner published at *Constantinople*, than *Acacius* caused a Copy of it to be transmitted to *Mongus* at *Alexandria*, with an Order from the Emperor, injoining *Apollonius*, Prefect of *Egypt*, to drive out *Talaia*, and see *Mongus* installed in his room, upon Condition that he received the Emperor's Letter, and promised to write Letters of Communion to *Acacius*, to *Simplicius*, and to the Bishops of the other chief Sees. To these Two Conditions was added a Third; *viz.* That he should not anathematize the Council of *Chalcedon* farther than it was anathematized by the Emperor in his Letter; so that he was to receive all the Decrees, Definitions, and Canons of that Council; and among the rest, the 28th, placing his See after that of *Constantinople*; and only to reject the perplexing Article, concerning the Two Natures in Christ. With these Conditions *Mongus* readily complied; and was thereupon, pursuant to the Emperor's Orders, proclaimed lawful Bishop of *Alexandria*, and placed, with great Solemnity, on the Episcopal Throne.

Who is in-
stalled in the
See of Alex-
andria.

The Henoti-
con received
in Egypt.

The new Bishop, soon after his Installation, convened a general Assembly of the Laity, as well as the Clergy of *Alexandria*, where the *Henoticon* was read, and received by all who were present. *Mongus* made an excellent Discourse on the Occasion, exhorting his Flock to mutual Love and Charity, and conjuring them to unite in one Faith, as they were united in one Baptism; to join in one Place, as they were joined in one Worship; and above all, to lay aside the odious Names of *Eutychian* and *Nestorian*, with which they had hitherto branded each other. At the same time he wrote, agreeably to his Promise, Letters of Communion to *Acacius*, to *Simplicius*, and to the Bishops of the other great Sees. All in the East, but Ca-

* Liberat. c. 18. Evagr. l. 3. c. 20. Theodor. Lect. p. 565. Theoph. p. 112.

endion of *Antioch*, received them, acknowledged him for lawful Bishop of *Alexandria*, and embraced his Communion ^b. As for *Simplicius*, he rejected his Letter, as we may well suppose, with the utmost Indignation. At *Constantinople* the *Henoticon* was publicly received by *Acacius* and his Clergy; and such as had passed till that time for *Eutychians*, whether Ecclesiastics or Laymen, were, upon their receiving it, admitted to his Communion ^c. The Example of *Acacius* was followed by all the Eastern Bishops, *Calendion* only excepted, even by *Martyrius* of *Jerusalem*, famed above all the rest for his Sanctity ^d. In *Egypt* indeed some Bishops, and other Ecclesiastics, obstinately refused to receive the Emperor's Decree; not that it contained, even in their Opinion, any Heresy, but because no mention was made there of the *Nature of Christ*; and rather than to part with the important Article, that Christ was *in and of Two Natures*, they were, out of the Abundance of their Zeal, for rekindling the War, of which they had all seen, and some of them had felt the woful Effects. But *Mongus* put it out of their Power, driving them from their Churches, as Disturbers of the public Tranquillity; and appointing others, more peaceably inclined, in their room ^e.

Year of
Christ 482.
And Mongus
acknowledged
for lawful
Bishop.

Mongus
causes the
Henoticon
to be received
in Egypt.

In the mean time *John Talaia*, who had been driven from the See of *Alexandria* to make room for *Mongus*, privately withdrew from that City; and, not thinking himself safe in *Egypt*, fled in Disguise to *Antioch*, to put himself there under the Protection of his Friend *Illus*. But *Illus* had forfeited all his Power and Interest at Court; and therefore could only recommend him, which he did very warmly, to the Patriarch *Calendion*, who had admitted him to his Communion, as lawful Bishop of *Alexandria*; and besides bore a secret Grudge to *Acacius*, for having taken upon him to ordain, without his Knowledge, one *John Codonatus* Bishop of *Tyre*, a See subject to the See of *Antioch*. However, he wrote in Behalf of the deposed Bishop, both to *Acacius*, and the Emperor. But apprehending his Letters would be of very little Weight with either, he advised *Talaia* to repair to *Rome*, to lay his Case before *Simplicius*, and implore the Protection of his See ^f (B). The very worst Advice he

Talaia with-
draws to
Antioch.

could

^b Liberat. c. 17. et 18.

^c Idem c. 17.

^d Evagr. l. 3. c. 1.

^e Concil. t. 4. p. 1072. Evagr. l. 3. c. 21. Liberat. c. 18.

^f Evagr. l. 3. c. 15. et

16. Liberat. c. 18. Concil. t. 4. p. 1042.

(B) This *Baronius* (1), and the other *Roman Catholic Writers*, style an Appeal. But, 1. There can be no Appeal, properly speaking, where no Judgment has been

(1) Bar. ad ann. 483. n. 1.

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Christ 482.

could have given him, since he, by following it, not only revived the Troubles, that were upon the Eve of being intirely compos'd, but gave Occasion to an intire Separation between *Rome* and *Constantinople*, as we shall soon see.

And from
thence to
Rome.

Year of
Christ 483.

Talaia, in Compliance with the Advice of *Calendion*, set out for *Rome* in the Latter-end of this, and arrived in that City in the Beginning of the following Year 483. He was received by the Pope, as all were, whether guilty or innocent, who had recourse to the Apostolic See; and upon that Merit alone, for I know of no other, acknowledged by him for lawful Bishop. In his first Audience, he acquainted the Pope with all the Particulars of the cruel Persecution rais'd and carried on, with an implacable Hatred, by *Acacius* and *Mongus* against him. This Persecution, the Loss of his See, and the other Calamities, that had befallen him, he ascribed to his inviolable Attachment to the Doctrine of *Leo*, and the Faith of *Chalcedon*, boldly asserting, that they had driven him from the See, to which he had been canonically chosen and ordained, merely to make room for a Man, who had signalized himself by his Zeal for the opposite Tenets. To inflame the Pope still more against *Acacius*, he did not forget his having ordained, by an open Violation of the Canons, *Codonatus* Bi-

Where he is
acknowledged
for lawful
Bishop.

given; and against *Talaia* no Judgment had been given. The Emperor knew him to be guilty of Perjury; and thereupon, thinking him quite unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity, removed him, and appointed another in his room. 2. I should be glad to know, why his recurring to the Pope should be called an Appeal, rather than his recurring to *Illus*? He recurred to both with the same View, to crave their Protection; first to *Illus*, and then to the Pope, whom he probably would never have troubled, had that Minister still been in Power. 3. On his Arrival at *Rome* the only Favour he begged of *Simplicius* was, that he would write to *Acacius* in his Behalf (2). And was not this evidently applying to the Pope only as a Mediator? Had he applied to him as a Judge, he would not have been satisfied with only desiring him to write in his Favour; but would have required him to act as a Judge, to try his Cause, and restore him, if innocent, by his sovereign Authority, to the Possession of his See. The Historian in-

deed uses the Word *appellavit*, he appealed. But from what I have said, it is manifest, that in what manner soever he expressed himself, he could mean no more than that *Talaia* had recourse to the Pope, or applied to the Pope. But *Baronius*, and indeed all other Writers on his Side of the Question, are very apt, for want of Reasons, to lay Stress upon Words, without any Regard to the Meaning of the Authors, or the Sense in which they used them. Thus, because *Simplicius*, in one of his Letters to *Acacius*, uses this Expression, *Delegatum tibi munus attendes*, Attend to the Charge delegated to you, *Baronius* concludes him to have been appointed by the Pope, his Legate, or Vicar-General, for the East. Had *Simplicius*, instead of *delegated*, used the Word *committed* (which he might have done, it being plain from the Context, that he meant no more by the former, than is imported by the latter), *Baronius* would never have thought of vesting *Acacius* with the Legatine Dignity.

Simplicius. BISHOPS of Rome.

shop of *Tyre*, without the Consent or Knowledge of *Calendion*, as if he aimed at nothing less than to extend his Jurisdiction all over the East. He concluded with begging *Simplicius*, as he tendered the Welfare of the Church of *Alexandria*, to write in his Behalf to the Bishop of *Constantinople* &c. He took no manner of notice of the only Crime, that was laid to his Charge, and for which alone he had been deposed, that of Perjury. As that Crime rendered him quite unworthy of the Dignity, to which he had been raised, and he had been charged with it by *Zeno* himself, in the Letter he wrote to *Simplicius*, it was the Height of Insolence in the Pope to acknowledge such a Man for lawful Bishop without the Consent, or even the Knowledge, of the Emperor. For to believe him innocent was giving the Emperor the Lye; and if he believed him guilty, but thought that his Guilt might be overlooked in Consideration of the extraordinary Zeal, which he pretended to have for the Council of *Chalcedon* (A), he ought surely to have acted therein in Concert with *Zeno*, who had deposed him. But Perjury was not the only Crime laid to his Charge. *Zacharias* arraigns him of Simony, as if he had supplied with Money the want of Merit, and by dint of Money opened himself a Way to the Episcopal Throne^h. That Writer, it is true, was no Friend of his; but *Liberatus*, who was, owns, that while *Talaia* was *Oeconomus* of the Church of *Alexandria* (B), he sent frequently very rich Presents to *Illus*, the reigning Favourite. And what End could he have in thus courting the Friendship of that Mi-

^a Concil. t. 4. p. 1082. Evagr. l. 3. c. 15. Liberat. c. 18.
l. 3. c. 12.

^h Apud Evagr.

(A) Pope *Gelasius*, in one of the Letters he wrote in behalf of *Talaia*, says, whatever Character he might have or deserve in other respects, his Faith had never been found Fault with, since he had been always deemed a true Catholic (1), that is, he was a good Catholic whether a good or a bad Man, and as such worthy of a Bishoprick.

(B) The *Oeconomus* was an Officer, chosen out of the Clergy, to manage the Ecclesiastical Revenues, under the Inspection of the Bishop. The Fathers of *Chalcedon* ordained, by their 26th Canon, that

every Church having a Bishop should likewise have an *Oeconomus* or Steward, to manage the Revenues of the Church, that they might not be imbezzled, nor any Reproach brought upon the Priesthood. That Office was originally discharged by the Bishop himself, with the Assistance of his Archdeacon. But they having, upon the general Conversion of the Heathens, too much Business of another Nature to mind this, it was thought necessary to appoint Officers, under the Name of *Oeconomi*, or Stewards, who should have no other Employment (2).

(1) Concil. t. 4. p. 1169.
Exerc. 16. c. 5.

(2) Vide Morin. de Ordin. Eccl. Part. 3.

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Christ 483.

nister, but to engage him in his Interest against the approaching Election of a new Bishop, *Salophacialis* being then advanced in Years, and very infirm? What *Zacharias* writes therefore was not, it seems, a mere Fiction and Calumny, without any Ground or Foundation, as *Baronius* would make us believe. *Liberatus*, however prejudiced in his Favour, observes, that he made those Presents to *Illus* while he was *Oeconomus*; which was plainly charging him, at least, with a Misapplication of the Ecclesiastical Revenues. However, the Emperor urged no other Crime against him, but the Breach of his Oath, that being the only Crime of which he knew him to be guilty; and he would lay no other to his Charge.

Simplicius
writes to
Acacius in
his Behalf.

Simplicius had already written Two Letters to *Acacius* without receiving an Answer to either, as I have related above. However, at the Request of *Talaia*, he wrote a Third; nay, and a Fourth, if *Liberatus* may be creditedⁱ, reproaching *Acacius* anew with his Silence in an Affair of such Importance; complaining of him for having admitted *Mongus* to his Communion without the Knowledge and Consent of the Apostolic See; and striving to convince him, that he must either prevail upon *Mongus* to receive the Definition of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*, without any Restriction or Limitation whatever, or absolutely separate himself from his Communion^k. The Reason he alleged why *Acacius* ought not to have communicated with *Mongus* without the Consent of the Apostolic See, was, because he had been excommunicated both by the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and himself; and therefore ought not to have been released from that Bond by either without the Consent of the other^l; which was declaring, that no Bishop, nor the Pope himself, was impowered to absolve a Person condemned, without the Consent of the Bishop, who condemned him. To neither of these Letters did *Acacius* return any Answer; and *Simplicius* died soon after, that is, on the 2d of *March* of the present Year 483. having presided in the *Roman Church* 15 Years, 5 Months, and some Days^m. He is now honoured as a Saint, and on the 2d of *March* his pretended Reliques are yearly exposed to public Veneration at *Tivoli*, where he is said to have been born.

Simplicius
dies.

ⁱ Liberat. c. 18.

^k Idem ib.

^l Idem. ibid.

^m Bar. ad ann. 483.

q. 4. Bolland. 2. Mart. p. 138.

ZENO,
ANASTASIUS,

F E L I X II.

ODOACER, King
of Italy.*Forty-seventh* BISHOP of Rome.

THE Death of *Simplicius* was attended with some Disturbances in *Rome*^a, which, however, did not prevent the People and Clergy from proceeding to the Election of a new Bishop. But while they were assembled for that Purpose, in the Church of St. *Peter, Basilus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and Lieutenant of King *Odoacer*, entered the Assembly; and, addressing the Electors, that is, the People, the Senate, and the Clergy, expressed great Surprize at their taking upon them to appoint a Successor to the deceased Bishop, without him; adding, that it belonged to the Civil Magistrate to prevent the Disturbances that might arise on such Occasions, lest from the Church they should pass to the State; that *Simplicius* had conjured him, on his Death-bed, as they all well knew, to suffer no Election to be made, without his Advice and Direction; and that, were *Simplicius* still alive, nothing of Moment ought to be undertaken till it was approved by him, who represented the Person of the King. He then declared all they had done, without him, to be null; and ordered the Election to be begun anew, though it was already near concluded. But, in the first place, he caused a Law to be read in the Name of *Odoacer*, forbidding the Bishop, who should now be chosen, as well as his Successors, to alienate any Inheritance, Possessions, or sacred Utensils, that now belonged, or should for the future belong, to the Church; declaring all such Bargains void; anathematizing both the Seller and the Buyer; and obliging the latter, and his Heirs, to restore to the Church all Lands and Tenements thus purchased, how long soever they may have possessed them^b. From this Law it is manifest, that great Abuses must have prevailed at this time in *Rome*, in the Management of the Goods belonging to the Church; and that the Popes must have given Occasion to such a Regulation, since it seems to have been made for them alone, though none had sat in that See, through a long Series of Years, but such as were sainted after their Death. We frequently meet with Laws restraining Abuses, especially in the Clergy, of which not the least Notice is taken by the

Year of
Christ 483.The Præfectus
Prætorio
will not suffer
the Election
to be made
without him.Publishes a
Law, forbid-
ding the Popes
to alienate the
Goods of the
Church.^a Concil. t. 4. p. 1336.^b Concil. ibid.

Year of
Christ 483.
Felix chosen.

Ecclesiastical Writers of those very Times, who, it seems, did not think it necessary to acquaint Posterity with them (A). The Law being read, the Votes were gathered anew; when *Calixtus Felix* was unanimously chosen, after a Vacancy of Six Days, according to some, and, according to others, of Twenty-six^c. He was a Native of *Rome*, the Son of a Presbyter, named likewise *Felix*; and probably had been married, and had Children (B).

Talaia presents a Petition to him against Acacius.

The new Pope was no sooner ordained, than *John Talaia*, who was still at *Rome*, presented a Petition to him, containing heavy Complaints against *Acacius*; and at the same time minutely informed him, by Word of Mouth, of the State of Affairs in the East, of the general Defection of the Bishops there, of the cruel Treatment those met with from *Acacius* and *Mongus*, who dared to stand up in Defence of the true Faith; and of the deplorable Condition to which the Church of *Alexandria* was reduced by the Usurper of that See. The Pope, proud to see a Patriarch of *Alexandria* thus applying, in the Quality of a Suppliant to his *Throne*, resolved to exert all his Interest and Power, that it might not be said he had applied in vain.

The new Pope assembles a Council.

A Council therefore was assembled without Delay, the Bishops, who had met to ordain the new Pope, being still in *Rome*; and it was there determined, that since Letters had hitherto proved ineffectual, neither *Acacius*, nor the Emperor, having deigned to answer them, Legates should be immediately dispatched, with proper Instructions, into the East. For this Legation were chosen *Misenus* and *Vitalis*, the for-

Legates sent into the East.

^c Bolland. 25 Feb. p. 504.

(A) In a Council held at *Rome* in 502. under Pope *Symmachus*, the Conduct of *Basilus* on this Occasion was censured, as an Attempt on the Rights which the People had of chusing their own Pastors: But very unjustly; since *Basilus* left them at full Liberty to chuse whom they pleased, and only complained of their proceeding to an Election without him, on whom it was incumbent to prevent or suppress all Disorders and Disturbances incident to popular Elections. But what the Bishops of that Council chiefly complained of, and very loudly, was, *Odoacer's* presuming, tho' a Layman, to anathematize those who were of the Ecclesiastical Order; *Laicum hominem anathema ecclesiastico ordini dicere*, was

what they could not brook. But that Diabolical *Odoacer*, and before him the Emperor *Zeno* (1); had learnt of them; and both thought, that they had as good a Right to curse the Clergy, and the Pope himself, as the Pope and the Clergy had to curse the rest of the World. The present Council indeed declared it repugnant to the Canons for a Layman to anathematize an Ecclesiastical (2); but I should be glad to know by what Law or Canon the Right of Cursing was restrained to their Order.

(B) It is more probable, considering the Distance of Time, that he was the Great-Grandfather of Pope *Gregory I.* chosen in 590. than *Felix III.* chosen in 526. for one of the Two was (3).

(1) See above, p. 187. (2) Concil. t. 4. p. 1337, 1338. not. mart. p. 94. & Bolland. ubi supra.

(3) Vide Bar.

mer Bishop of *Cuma* in *Campania*, and the latter of *Tronto*, a City of *Picenum*, long since ruined. To them was added *Felix*, Defender or Syndic of the *Roman* Church (C), whom the Pope styles a Man of great Integrity. By them *Felix* wrote both to *Zeno* and *Acacius*, conjuring them, as they tendered the Salvation of their Souls, for which he expresses great Concern, not to suffer a Man, whom the one had condemned, and the other had proscribed as a Heretic, to sit in the See of *St. Mark*. In his Letter to *Acacius* he tells him, that he is loth to find Fault with his Conduct; but cannot help suspecting his Silence in an Affair of such Moment; that, considering the Interest he was known to have at Court, there was good Reason to believe, that he was not willing to hinder what he did not hinder; and that not to oppose an Error, or defend the Truth, when one may, is approving the one, and betraying the other d.

Year of
Christ 483.

By them the
Pope writes
to the Empe-
ror and Aca-
cius.

Besides these Letters, the Legates were charged with Two Papers; the one addressed to *Acacius*, and styled a *Summons* (*Citationis Libellus*); for *Acacius* was there summoned to justify his Conduct in an Assembly of Bishops before *St. Peter*. The other was addressed to the Emperor, and called a *Lamentation* (*Deplorationis Libellus*); the Pope lamenting, in that Piece, the unhappy State of the Church of *Alexandria*, of which he lays the whole Blame on *Acacius*; adding, that since the Person, whose See *Mongus* had usurped, had presented a Petition against that Bishop, the Laws both Ecclesiastic and Civil obliged him to clear himself from the Crimes that were there laid to his Charge. The Pope knew *Talaia* to be extremely obnoxious to the Emperor, and therefore industriously avoided ever mentioning his Name in the Letter he wrote to that Prince, or in his Lamentation. *Evagrius* writes, that *Acacius* was summoned to appear at *Rome* in Person f. But Pope *Gelasius* says, in express Terms,

d Concil. t. 4. p. 1097, 1098. Evagr. l. 3. c. 18. Liberat. c. 18. e Concil. ibid. f Evagr. ubi supra.

(C) The *Defensores Ecclesie* were the Proctors or Syndics of the Church, whose Province it was to solicit the Cause of the Church, or of any single Ecclesiastic, when injured or oppressed; and to sue for Redress in a Civil Court, or apply immediately to the Emperor. These *Defensores* were, in some Places, chosen out of the Clergy, and, in others, out of the Laity. Nay, I find them in the same Place Ecclesiastics at one time, and Laymen at another. Thus at *Rome* they were Laymen in the Time of *Zosimus* (4), and Ecclesiastics in the Pontificate of *Gregory the Great* (5).

(4) Zol. ep. 1. c. 3.

(5) Greg. ep. 48.

Year of
Christ 483.

Instructions
given to the
Legates.

that it was left to his Choice, either to appear in Person before St. *Peter*, or to appoint another to appear in his room^f. The private Instructions given to the Legates, were, to press the Emperor, but with great Circumspection and Prudence, to drive *Mongus* both from the See, and the City of *Alexandria*; to maintain the Authority of the Council of *Chalcedon*; to let *Acacius* know, that he must anathematize *Mongus*, and answer the Request which *Talaia* had presented to St. *Peter* against him; to try whether they could persuade the Emperor to send *Acacius* to *Rome*, that his Cause might be judged and decided there; which had been gaining a great Point; but it was both Presumption and Folly to attempt it; lastly, the Legates were strictly enjoined not to communicate, under any Pretence whatever, with *Acacius*, till he had done what the Pope required him to do g.

The Legates
arrested and
imprisoned.

They yield,
and publicly
communica-
te with Aca-
cious.

With these Instructions the Legates, that is, the Two Bishops (for *Felix* was detained by Sickness), set out for *Constantinople* in the latter End of the present Year 483. But on their Arrival at *Abydus*, on the Streights of the *Hellepont*, now the Streights of the *Dardanelis*, they were arrested there by an Order from the Emperor, and thrown into Prison. Their Papers were all by Force taken from them, and they even threatened with Death, as Disturbers of the public Peace, if they did not communicate with *Mongus* and *Acacius*. The Threats and Menaces they withstood with great Firmness and Constancy; but their Virtue was not Proof against Caresses, Promises, and the large Sums that were offered them. To these they yielded, and, upon their yielding, they were set at Liberty, and allowed to pursue their Journey to *Constantinople*, where they were received with the greatest Marks of Kindness and Esteem both by *Acacius* and *Zeno*. The former immediately challenged their Promise, and, finding them disposed to perform it, that is, to communicate with *Mongus* and himself, he appointed them, and likewise the *Apocrisarii*, or *Nuncios* of *Mongus*, to attend him the very next Day at his Habitation, in order to proceed together from thence to the great Church, and there, in Token of an intire Reconciliation, celebrate together in common the sacred Mysteries. To this the Legates readily agreed; but it was no sooner known that they had, than some Monks and Presbyters, the avowed Enemies of the Two Bishops, flew to the House where

^f Concil. t. 4. p. 1201, 1202.
Theoph. p. 113, 114.

^g Concil. ibid. Evagr. l. 3. c. 18.

the Legates were lodged, to divert them, if possible, from so scandalous a Resolution, which, they said, would reflect an eternal Ignominy on their Memory, and be in the End unavoidably attended with the utter Ruin of the Catholic Cause in the East. But the Legates were determined to earn the promised Sums; and therefore, knowing upon what Errand these importunate Zealots were come, they could by no means be prevailed upon to hear, or even to see them. The Monks and Presbyters attempted, by all the Stratagems their Zeal could suggest, to gain Admittance; but, their Stratagems proving all unsuccessful with Persons come from *Rome*, they wrote a Note, reproaching them, in the sharpest Terms, with their scandalous Conduct; and, of that Note, they conveyed one Copy to them in a Basket of Herbs, another in a Book, and a Third they had the Boldness to fasten with a Hook to the Garment of one of the Legates, while they were attending *Acacius* in the public Procession. For the next Day the Legates met *Acacius* at the Episcopal Palace, agreeably to their Appointment; and from thence attended him, with the *Apocrisarii* of *Mongus*, in Procession to the great Church; which was a kind of Triumph for the Bishop of *Constantinople*. Divine Service was performed with the greatest Solemnity, in the Presence of a numberless Multitude; *Acacius* officiated; the Name of *Mongus* was rehearsed aloud in the Diptychs; and the Legates received the Eucharist with the *Apocrisarii*; which was communicating with them in the strictest Sense, and consequently with *Mongus* as lawful Bishop ^h.

The Pope was soon acquainted with the Conduct of his Legates. *Cyril*, Abbot of a Monastery in *Constantinople*, who from the Beginning had opposed the Union of the Two Parties, immediately dispatched *Symeon*, one of his Monks, to inform *Felix* of what had passed. The Legates themselves arrived soon after (for they made but a very short Stay at *Constantinople*), and brought with them Two Letters for the Pope, the one from *Acacius*, and the other from the Emperor. The former owned, in his Letter, that he communicated with *Mongus*, whom he maintained to be lawful Bishop of *Alexandria*, *John Talala* having, by a sacrilegious Violation of his Oath, rendered himself unworthy of that Dignity. The Emperor urged the same Crime, in his Letter; and begged the Pope would give himself no Trouble about a Man of that Character, which, he told him, was

The Pope informed by the Monks of the Prevarication of the Legates.

The Emperor and Acacius write to the Pope.

^h Concil. t. 4. p. 1082—1084. Liberat. c. 18. Evagr. l. 3. c. 20, 21. Theoph. p. 114.

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Christ 483.

absolutely to no Purpose. As to *Mongus*, he assured him, that his Faith was Orthodox; that, after the strictest Examination, it had been found to be Orthodox; and that he had not been acknowledged either by *Acacius* or himself, for Bishop of *Alexandria*, till he had signed the Definitions of *Nice*, to which those of *Chalcedon* were intirely agreeable ⁷.

The Legates
deposed.
Year of
Christ 484.

The Pope received the Letters; but *Symeon* had so prejudiced him against the Legates, that he would not admit them to his Presence, till he had assembled a Council; which, after hearing them, and those, who accused them, might, together with him, judge of their Conduct. A Council was assembled accordingly, consisting of 67 *Italian* Bishops; and before them *Misenus* and *Vitalis* were arraigned, and convicted of having communicated with *Acacius* and *Mongus*, to the great Prejudice of the Catholic Cause in the East. As they had acted therein in direct Opposition to their Instructions, and the positive Orders received from the Pope, they were, for their Disobedience, and the Countenance they had given to the *Eutychian Heresy*, declared unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity, and at the same time excluded from the Participation of the Sacred Mysteries, so long as the See of *Alexandria* should be held by an heretical Bishop ² (A).

Mongus ex-
communicated
anew by the
Pope.

The Legates being thus condemned, the Council, in the next Place, excommunicated *Mongus* anew; for he had been already excommunicated by *Simplicius*; and, at the same time, declared, that the *Roman* Church never had, nor ever would own him for lawful Bishop, because he had been ordained by Heretics, and therefore ought to be for ever debarred from governing a Catholic Church ³.

Articles of
the Charge
brought
against *Acacius*.

But the most notable Feat performed by this Council, and which has rendered it famous in the Annals of the Church, was the Tryal and Condemnation of the Bishop of *Constantinople*. That Prelate had greatly provoked the Bishops of *Rome*, and plainly shewn, by his late Conduct, that he made no Account of the boasted Power of

⁷ Concil. ibid. p. 1082. Evagr. l. 3. c. 20. Liberat. c. 18. ² Concil. ibid. Liberat. c. 18. Evagr. l. 3. c. 20. ³ Concil. ibid. p. 1083. Evagr. l. 3. c. 21.

(A) *Vitalis* died about the Year 495. of a sudden Death; and in the same Year *Misenus* was restored by Pope *Gelasius*, both to the Communion of the Church, and his Rank, though the See of *Alexandria* was then, and many Years after, held by Bishops whom *Rome* styled Heretics (1).

(1) Concil. ibid. p. 1272.

the *Throne* of *St. Peter*. He had excommunicated *Mongus* as a Man unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity, and even of the Name of a Christian; and persuaded *Simplicius* to pronounce the same Sentence against him: yet, upon his being afterwards reconciled with him, he not only absolved him, by his own Authority alone, but raised him, by his Interest, to the Second See in the East, without so much as acquainting the Pope with such a Design, either before or after it was put in Execution. He had undertaken to unite the Two Parties, and with that View dictated to the Emperor the *Henoticon*, or *Decree of Union*; caused it to be published in the Emperor's Name; obliged all Bishops to sign it; persecuted the Ecclesiastics, and drove from their Sees the Bishops, who did not receive it; and all this without thinking it necessary to consult the Pope in an Affair of such Importance, or even deigning to return an Answer to the many Letters, to the repeated Declarations, Remonstrances, and Protections of *Felix* himself, and his Predecessor *Simplicius*, against it. Of the Summons requiring him to answer the Petition of *Talaia*, and clear himself, before *St. Peter*, from the Things laid there to his Charge, he took no more notice than if it had never been issued; which was interpreted by the Pope as a Mark of the greatest Contempt. He had by an open Violation of the Canons forbidding Bishops to meddle with the Affairs of another Diocese, or to exercise there any kind of Power, Authority, or Jurisdiction, ordained *Codonatus*, Bishop of *Tyre*, subject to the See of *Antioch*; and not only restored, but raised to the Priesthood, a Deacon, named *Hymenius*, whom that Patriarch had formerly deposed. To all this was added the Treatment, which the Legates had met with, the Violence that was offered them, and their Prevarication in communicating with a Man anathematized by the Apostolic See, which was by them chiefly ascribed to *Acacius*.

These were the Heads or Articles, upon which a Council, consisting only of 67 Bishops, all of *Italy*, and most of them, if not all, immediately subject to the Pope, took upon them to try the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, though they could not but know (for I can hardly suppose them to have been to such a Degree unacquainted with the Laws and Practice of the Church), that they had no kind of Authority over him. When *Chrysostom*, one of the Predecessors of *Acacius*, was summoned, by *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, to appear before a Council, consisting chiefly of *Egyptian* Bishops, he paid no

fort

The Western Bishops had no Power over the Bishop of Constantinople.

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fort of Regard to that Summons, alleging, that, *agreeably to the Canons, the Affairs of the Provinces were to be regulated by the Bishops of the Provinces; and consequently, that it was very incongruous the Bishops of Thrace should be judged by those of Egypt*^b. And was it not still more incongruous, that the First Bishop of the East should be judged by those of *Italy*? The *Egyptians*, finding *Chrysostom* did not appear, tried him nevertheless, and condemned him. But of their Sentence the Bishop of *Constantinople* made no more Account than he had done of their Summons, urging the same Reason, that the Bishops of one Diocese had no Power over those of another; that the Bishops of *Thrace* were not to be judged by those of *Egypt*. From those of *Egypt* therefore he appealed to a General Council, which was plainly declaring, that he acknowledged no other superior Power. Of this Appeal Pope *Innocent* approved; nay, and did all that lay in his Power to procure the assembling of a Council. He was *Chrysostom's* great Friend; he was fully convinced of his Innocence: and yet he did not take upon him to judge his Cause himself, and declare him innocent; which it cannot be doubted but he would have done, especially when he found that the Emperor would not hear of a Council, had he believed such a Power to be vested in him, or any Assembly of Western Bishops, however numerous.

*Acacius
judged and
deposed, by
the Pope, and
his Council.*

The above-mentioned Articles being read to the Council, and proved by *Acacius's* own Letters, as well as by the Deposition of the Legates, and the Monks, sent for that Purpose, by their Abbots, from *Constantinople*, the Bishops, who composed that Assembly, were all of Opinion, for such was the Opinion of the Pope, that *Acacius* deserved to be condemned, anathematized, and deposed. Hereupon an Act was drawn up, in the Nature of a Letter, addressed to *Acacius* in the Name of *Felix* alone, but signed by the 67 Bishops of the Council. In that Act or Letter the Pope upbraids the Bishop of *Constantinople* with his past Conduct; repeats and exaggerates every Article of the Charge; and concludes thus: *Undergo therefore, by the present Sentence, the Lot of those whom you are so inclined to favour; and know, that you are deposed from the Episcopal Dignity, deprived of the Catholic Communion, cut off from the Number of the Faithful; that you have no longer the Name, nor the Power, of a Bishop,*

^b Pallad. dial. 2.

having

having been condemned by the Holy Ghost, and the Apostolic Authority; and that you can never be loosened from the Bond of the present Anathema c. In the same Council another Act, or Decree, as *Evagrius* styles it, was made in the Pope's Name, importing, in a few Words, for it was designed to be set up in all public Places both at *Rome* and *Constantinople*, that *Acacius* had been deposed by the Sentence of Heaven, for slighting the monitory Letters that had been sent him, and imprisoning the Pope in the Person of his Legates. All Bishops therefore, Ecclesiastics, Monks, and Laymen, were warned by *Felix*, Bishop of the holy Catholic Church of the City of *Rome*, not to communicate with the said *Acacius* late Bishop of *Constantinople*, on Pain of being anathematized, and punished by the Holy Ghost, who would not fail to execute the Sentence *S. Spiritu exequente* d. This was the boldest Attempt the Popes had yet made. They had indeed assumed, and were daily exercising, as we have seen, a kind of *Supremacy*, or absolute Authority, over the Bishops of *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*; and had long since attempted to bring all *Africa* under Subjection. But with the Eastern Bishops they had hitherto used great Caution and Reserve, contenting themselves, let the Provocation be ever so great, to deny them Communion, which every other Bishop had a Power to do. Thus when the Legates of *Innocent* were not only imprisoned, but treated with the utmost Barbarity by *Atticus*, then Bishop of *Constantinople*; that Pope no otherwise resented the many Outrages offered to him in the Person of his Legates, than by separating himself from the Communion of those, to whom he ascribed them. Had *Innocent* thought himself vested with any kind of Power or Authority over the Bishop of *Constantinople*, he was not a Man to have let it lie dormant on such an Occasion.

Year of
Christ 484.

The boldest
Attempt the
Popes had
yet made.

The above-mentioned Sentence, or Letter to *Acacius*, is dated the 28th of *July*; and a few Days after *Felix* wrote to the Emperor, to the Clergy of *Constantinople*, and to the Ecclesiastics and Monks of the Patriarchates of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, acquainting them with the Judgment that had been given by the Church against *Acacius* and *Mongus*, as if he and a few *Italian* Bishops were the whole Church; exhorting them to submit to her sacred Laws; and, at the same time,

c Concil. t. 4. p. 1072, 1073. Liberat. c. 18. Evagr. l. 3. c. 21. p. 1083. Evagr. ibid.

d See Vol. I. p. 299.

d Concil. ibid.

Year of
Christ 484.

Who gets safe
to that City.

The Sentence,
how notified
to Acacius.

letting them know, that they must either renounce the Communion of *Peter Mongus*, or that of the Apostle St. *Peter*^f. With these Letters the Pope did not chuse to dispatch Legates into the East, not doubting but they would meet with the same Treatment as *Vitalis* and *Misenus* had lately done, if not worse: and, besides, the Emperor, to prevent the Disturbances which he apprehended the Pope would strive, by his Emissaries, to raise in *Constantinople*, where all things were quiet, had ordered the Avenues to that City, both by Sea and Land, to be narrowly guarded, and all Persons, who could not give a satisfactory Account of themselves, to be arrested, and their Papers, if any should be found upon them, to be seized, and immediately conveyed to himself, or *Acacius*. Of this Order Intelligence was soon given by the Monks to the Pope, who thereupon chose an ancient Clergyman of the *Roman* Church, named *Tutus*, who was well acquainted with the Roads, as the most proper Person to execute so dangerous a Commission. *Tutus* readily accepted it, and, having every-where escaped, with great Address, the Vigilance of the Guards, he arrived safe and undiscovered at *Constantinople*. But now apprehending the Danger that would probably attend his delivering to *Acacius* the Letter, with which he was charged, he applied to the Monks, who in all desperate Attempts were the forlorn Hope of their Party. And indeed they acted as such, on the present Occasion: For taking upon themselves to acquaint the Bishop of *Constantinople* with his Condemnation, they fastened the Pope's Letter to his Garment, while he was either celebrating, or entering the Church to celebrate, the Sacred Mysteries. This occasioned, according to *Nicephorus*^g, a great Tumult, in which several Monks were killed, and several wounded, by the Friends of *Acacius*. But of this Tumult no Notice is taken by *Liberatus*, who lived the nearest to those Times, and began to write about the Year 460. Neither did *Felix*, or any of his Successors, ever reproach the Bishop of *Constantinople* with the Murder of those Monks, though, to blacken his Character, they did not even scruple to charge him with Crimes which he had never committed. *Baronius* however has allotted a Place to the supposed Martyrs in the Calendar of Saints; and their pretended Reliques are exposed in several Places, to public Worship, on the 8th of *February*^h. *Acacius* gave himself no Trouble about the Monks; but being soon informed,

^f Conc. t. 4. p. 1083—1088.
^g Feb.

^g Niceph. l. 16. c. 17.

^h Bar. Martyr.

that the Pope's Letter had been brought by *Tutus*, he resolved to put his Constancy to the same Trial as he had lately done that of the Legates. He recollected, that they had withstood his Threats, but yielded as soon as Money was offered them; and thence concluding the Offer of Money to be the proper Bait for the *Roman* Clergy, he caused, in the first Place, a considerable Sum to be privately promised to *Tutus*, on condition that he would communicate with him. There was no Occasion for any other Trial; the old Priest yielded at once; agreed to the Proposal, and communicated with *Acacius*, though he had still fresh in his Memory the severe Sentence against the Legates, and could not doubt but the like Sentence waited him. But present Advantage blinds and hardens Men, generally speaking, against all the Terrors of a future Punishment. The Fall of *Tutus*, joined to that of the Legates, mortified the Friends, and afforded new Matter of Triumph to the Enemies, of the *Roman* See. The Monks took care to acquaint the Pope immediately with it. They even found means to get into their Possession the very Letter which *Tutus* wrote to *Acacius*, when he agreed to his Proposal. That Letter they convey'd to *Rome*; and the unhappy Clergyman, upon his Return, was anathematized as a Traytor to God, and the Apostolic See, and for ever excluded from the Participation of the Sacred Mysteries, that is, of the Eucharist ¹.

Year of
Christ 484.
Tutus gain-
ed over by
Acacius,
communicates
with him.

Who is ex-
communi-
cated on his
Return to
Rome.

The Pope's Letter having been conveyed to *Acacius*, in the manner I have related, that Prelate expressed in perusing it, for he read it as soon as the Service was ended, more Surprise at the unprecedented Boldness of the Bishop of *Rome*, than Concern at the Sentence it contained. He knew that the Pope had no sort of Power or Authority over him; and therefore, to shew how little he valued his Communion, or feared his Anathemas, he in his Turn anathematized him, cut him off from his Communion, and ordered his Name to be struck out of the Diptychs. The Conduct of *Acacius* was approved not only by the Emperor, and the whole Church of *Constantinople*, Three Abbots excepted, and some of their Monks, but by almost all the Bishops in the East, even by *Andreas* of *Thessalonica*, at that Time the Pope's Vicar for *East Illyricum*. They all joined *Acacius*, and, together with him, sepa-

Acacius, in
his Turn, ex-
communicates
the Pope.

¹ Concil. t. 4. p. 1085, 1086. Liberat. c. 18. Theoph. p. 114. Evagr. l. 3. c. 18.

Year of
Christ 484.

An intire Se-
paration be-
tween the
East and the
West.

What in-
duced the
Eastern Bi-
shops to side
with Aca-
cius.

The Pope
the Author
and Cause of
this Schism.

rated themselves from the Communion of the Pope, and of such as communicated with him, that is, of all their Brethren in the West ^k. Such was the Rise, and such the Occasion, of the first general Schism, a Schism that continued for the Space of 35 Years, between the East and the West, between the *Latin* and the *Greek* Churches. I will not take upon me to justify *Acacius*, nor to examine here how far he was guilty; but only observe, that had he been undeniably guilty of every Article contained in the Charge brought against him, it did not belong to the Pope, and a few *Italian* Bishops, intirely at his Beck and Devotion, to try, condemn, and depose the First Bishop in the East. This could only be lawfully done by a General Council; and the Pope's having presumed to do it, by his own Authority, was the chief Plea of the Eastern Bishops for separating themselves from his Communion, and joining *Acacius*. They did not all approve of the past Conduct of that Prelate; and many among them, had an Occumenical Council been called, would have probably voted against him. But to acknowledge him to have been lawfully condemned and deposed, when condemned and deposed only by the Pope, and his Council, had been acknowledging in the Pope a supreme and uncontrouled Authority over all the Bishops of the Earth, and subjecting the whole Church to the arbitrary Will of one Man. It was chiefly on this Consideration, that they sided with *Acacius*, as appears from the Letters of the Popes themselves ^l, who therefore ought not to have reproached those Prelates, as they frequently did, with preferring the Friendship of *Acacius*, and the Favour of *Zeno*, to the Communion of the Apostolic See; since it was not to gain the Favour or Friendship of either, but to defeat the most bold, illegal, and dangerous Attempt, that had been yet made by the Apostolic See, that they joined in the present Dispute the Bishop of *Constantinople*. In short, Matters were now, by the Rashness of *Felix*, brought to a Crisis. The Eastern Bishops found themselves reduced to the Necessity of living subject to, or separated from, the *Roman* See (for *Felix* had excommunicated all, who, after his Sentence, should communicate with *Acacius*); and they chose the latter.

From what has been said it is manifest, that the present Schism, and the Evils attending it, ought, in Justice, to be charged to the Account of the Pope alone, notwithstanding the incredible Pains,

^k Concil. ibid. p. 1092. Facund. in Mocian. p. 565. Liberat. c. 18.
^l 4. p. 1199.

^l Concil.

which

which the *Roman* Catholic Writers have all taken to clear him, and lay the whole Blame on the *Greeks*. For it was he who separated himself the first from their Communion, and separated himself from it, because they would not submit to a Judgment which he had given, and they apprehended to be, as it undoubtedly was, inconsistent with their Liberties, as well as the known Laws and Practice of the Church. As for the Arguments in Favour of the Papal Supremacy, founded on the Excommunication and Deposition of the Bishop of *Constantinople*, they are quite frivolous, and scarce worthy of Notice, though displayed with great Pomp and Flourish of Words by *Baronius*, and the other *Roman* Catholic Writers. For, 1. As *Felix* excommunicated and deposed *Acacius*, so did *Acacius*, in his Turn, excommunicate and depose *Felix*. And why should the same Sentence be an Argument of Supremacy in the one, and not in the other? 2. The *Greeks* paid no more Regard to the Sentence of the Pope, than if it had been issued by the Bishop of *Eugubium*, of *Rhegium*, or of *Thanis* (A). And whether we may not conclude from thence, more agreeably to Reason and good Sense, that he had no kind of Power over the Bishop of *Constantinople*, than from his taking upon him to exercise such a Power, that he really had it, I leave the Reader to judge; and shall only observe, that if he was truly vested with an absolute and uncontrouled Authority over all the Bishops of the Catholic Church, it is very surprising, that the greater Part of the Bishops of the Catholic Church should have been, for the Space of near 500 Years, utterly unacquainted with a Truth which it was of the utmost Importance for them to know. 3. *Felix*, it is true, excommunicated and deposed *Acacius* by the *Apostolic Authority*, that is, by the *Authority of the Apostolic See*, as the Sticklers for the *Supremacy* have taken care to observe. But he himself was soon sensible, that he had gone

Year of
Christ 484.

His deposing
the Bishop of
Constantino-
ple no Argu-
ment of his
Supremacy.

Not looked
upon as such
by the Popes
themselves.

(A) The Bishops of *Eugubium*, of *Rhegium*, and of *Thanis*, are instanced by St. *Jerom* as the lowest and the least considerable in the Church; and yet are said, by the same Father, to be equal (by their original Institution, and abstracted from the Ecclesiastical Canons, and Imperial Laws) to the Bishops of *Rome*, *Constantinople*, and *Alexandria*, all Bishops being alike the Successors of the Apostles, who had no Superiority over one another, and were com-

manded by our Saviour to affect none. *Where-ever a Bishop is, says Jerom, whether at Rome or Eugubium, at Constantinople or Rhegium, at Alexandria or Thanis, he is of the same Worth, and of the same Priesthood. The Power of Wealth does not make a Bishop higher, nor does the Lowness of Poverty make him lower; for they are all alike the Successors of the Apostles* (2).

Year of
Christ 484.

too far; and therefore, to remove the just Umbrage which the *Greeks*, whom he did not expect to find so much upon their Guard, had taken at such an extraordinary Attempt, he declared, in a Letter to *Vetranio*, an eminent Prelate in those Parts, and of no small Interest at Court, that it was not by his *own Authority* he had excommunicated and deposed the Bishop of *Constantinople*, but by the *Authority* of the Council of *Chalcedon*, excommunicating and deposing all who held, or communicated with those who held, the *Eutyckian Doctrine*^m; which was plainly disowning what he had done, and resigning the Authority he had assumed, when he found, that the *Greeks* had taken the Alarm, and were determined not to acknowledge it. Had he thought himself vested with that extensive and unlimited Power which his Successors have claimed, he would not have failed to ascertain it at so critical a Juncture. He would have let the *Greeks* know, as Pope *Eugenius* did a Thousand Years after, that *all Patriarchs*, and consequently all other Bishops, *must yield to his Will*ⁿ; and either have told them, in the Words of *Innocent III.* that *the Confirmation, Translation, and Deposition, of Bishops, were reserved to the Roman Pontiff, not so much by Canonical Constitution as by Divine Institution*^o; or informed them, upon their pleading the Liberties and Independency of the Greek Church, that *it was of Necessity to Salvation for every human Creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff*, as was afterwards defined by Pope *Boniface VIII* ^p. But such Doctrines were yet unknown to the Popes themselves, none of them being yet arrived at such a Height of Arrogance, or rather Impiety, as to damn all who refused to submit to their sovereign Will. *Felix* therefore, instead of maintaining the Authority which the *Greeks* apprehended he had assumed; or pretending to any Privilege, Power, or Jurisdiction, peculiar to him, or his See; took great Pains to persuade his Brethren in the East, that he had assumed none but what was common with him to all other Bishops, all Bishops being, as he often declared, equally impowered to cut off from the Communion of the Church such as communicated, in Defiance of the Laws of the Church, with known and avowed Heretics ^q. The like Declaration was made, and in a more ample Manner, by *Gelasius*, the immediate Successor of *Felix*, in a kind of Manifesto which he wrote on this Subject, and addressed

No Power
exercised by
them but
what they
pretended to
be common to
all Bishops.

^m Concil. t. 4. p. 1092, 1093.
Gregor. Decret. l. 1. tit. 7. c. 2.
ibid.

ⁿ Concil. Flor. p. 484.
^p Extrav. com. l. 1. tit. 8. c. 1.

^o Inn. III. in
^q Concil.

to the Bishops of *Dardania*, as we shall see hereafter. To what Streights and Distress must the Popish Writers be reduced, since, to support the Supremacy, they are forced to recur to Facts which the Popes themselves have declared to have no kind of Connexion with the Supremacy!

Year of
Christ 484.

And now to resume the Thread of the History, all Communion and Correspondence between the East and the West being intirely broken off, the Emperor, to maintain Concord and Unity among the Bishops in his Dominions, issued an Order, commanding all, without Distinction, to be deposed, as Disturbers of the public Peace, who should refuse to sign the *Henoticon*, or to communicate with the most holy Archbishops of *Constantinople* and *Alexandria*. With this Order the far greater Part readily complied; and the few who did not, were, pursuant to the Emperor's Order, deposed, driven from their Sees, and sent into Exile; insomuch that in the Term of a few Months there was not a single Bishop to be found in the whole East, who had not written Letters of Communion to *Mongus* and *Acarius*, and thereby renounced the Communion of *Rome*.

All the Bishops in the East renounce the Communion of Rome.
Year of
Christ 485.

In this State Matters continued, nothing worthy of Notice happening either in the East or the West, till the Year 489. when *Acacius* died, and *Flavitas*, or *Fravitas*, was chosen in his room. He was a Presbyter of the Church of *St. Thecla* in *Constantinople*, and so renowned for what was then called Sanctity, that *Felix*, though highly incensed against *Zeno*, could not forbear commending that Prince for procuring the Election of a Man, whose Faith, he said, was as orthodox, as his Life was spotless. His Election was thought to have been miraculous. For the Emperor, to prevent the Disturbances which he apprehended would attend the Election of a new Bishop at so critical a Juncture, caused a Blank Paper, sealed with his own Seal, to be laid on the Altar of one of the Churches, and with it a Writing, whereby he and the whole Church of *Constantinople* bound themselves to chuse the Person, whose Name should be found written on the Blank Paper. Both Papers being deposited on the Altar, the Church was shut up, and the Avenues to it carefully guarded Night and Day by Bands of Soldiers, relieving one another, all under the immediate Command of *Cosmus* the Great Chamberlain; for the Emperor would trust no other. A rigorous Fast was enjoined, and

Acacius dies, and Fravitas is chosen in his room.

Year of
Christ 489.

His Election thought miraculous.

* Liberat. c. 18. Concil. t. 4. p. 1086. Niceph. chron.

Year of
Christ 489.

strictly observed by the whole City, for the Space of 40 Days; during which time, Prayers were daily put up to the Almighty, that he would be pleased to direct his People in the Choice of their Pastor, and signify his Will to them by one of his Angels. When the 40 Days were expired, the Paper was opened, with great Solemnity, in the Presence of the Emperor, of the Clergy, and of the whole City; and the Name of *Fravitas* appearing on it, written, as was believed, with a heavenly Hand, he was, with loud Acclamations, proclaimed lawful Bishop of the Royal and Holy City of *Constantinople*. No one entertained the least Suspicion of any Cheat or Imposture, Miracles being now so frequently wrought, that Men were no more surpris'd at a miraculous Event, than at any common Event or Occurrence of Life, nor more inclined to question the one than the other.

Fravitas
writes to the
Pope.

Fravitas answered, in Appearance, the good Opinion which all at *Rome* entertained of the Purity of his Faith. For he was no sooner ordained, than he wrote a flattering Letter to the Pope, begging his Communion, and owning St. *Peter* to be the First of the Apostles, to be the Foundation-stone of the true Faith, and the Pope to hold the Faith which was held, taught, and preached, by that Apostle. With this Letter, and one from the Emperor, recommending him to the Pope in Terms of the greatest Esteem and Affection, *Fravitas* dispatched to *Rome* some Ecclesiastics, and several Monks in their Retinue, who had distinguished themselves by their Attachment to the *Roman* See, and the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*. On their Arrival at *Rome*, they were received by that Church with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy; *Felix* was fully satisfied with the Letters they brought; and nothing now seem'd to remain, that could obstruct an intire Reconciliation between the Two Churches. But while the Pope was upon the point of concluding it, by admitting *Fravitas* to his Communion, he unluckily bethought himself to ask the Deputies, whether the new Bishop had yet erased, or had engaged to erase, the Name of *Acacius* out of the Diptychs. This Demand surpris'd the Deputies; for, to require the Bishop of *Constantinople* to strike the Name of his Predecessor out of the Diptychs, was requiring him to own, that he had been lawfully deposed, which, they knew, the Eastern Bishops would never allow. The only Answer,

Who is satisfied with his Letter.
But requires the Name of *Acacius* to be struck out of the Diptychs.

therefore they returned to the Pope was, That they had no Instructions concerning that Point; and indeed *Fravitas* had given them none: *Felix* strove to convince them of the Reasonableness of his Demand; but finding they industriously avoided either approving or disapproving it, he dismissed them, without admitting the new Bishop to his Communion; and immediately wrote both to him and the Emperor, acquainting them with the Motives that induced him to insist on the Name of *Acacius* being put out of the Roll of lawful Bishops, as an indispensable Preliminary to the proposed and wished for Union between the Two Sees ^t.

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These Letters *Felix* delivered to the Deputies, who immediately set out with them for *Constantinople*. But before they reached that City, *Fravitas* died; and, at his Death, it appeared that neither was his Life so spotless, nor his Faith so pure and orthodox, as the Pope had believed, and indeed the rest of the World; nay, even those who had most extolled his Sanctity, were soon convinced, and, to their great Mortification, forced to own, that he was an arrant Hypocrite, that his Holiness was all counterfeit, and, what gave no small Concern to the Emperor, and the whole City, that the supposed Miracle, which they had all believed, was a mere Imposture. For his Death was no sooner known, than some Usurers began to sue his Heirs for very considerable Sums. The Cause was brought before the Emperor, who, finding such exorbitant Sums had been all borrowed by *Fravitas* during the Vacancy of the See, began to suspect some simoniacal Practice. To discover the Truth, therefore, he ordered the Heirs of the deceased Bishop to be put to the Rack; when they owned, that the Money was borrowed to bribe the Great Chamberlain, who, as soon as he received it, opened the Paper, wrote on it the Name of *Fravitas*, and then sealed it again with the Imperial Seal ^u. Hereupon the Emperor, provoked beyond Expression, in finding he had been thus imposed upon, caused the Chamberlain to be immediately executed, and the Creditors of *Fravitas* to be paid out of his confiscated Estate ^w. Had this Impostor lived long enough to repay the borrowed Sums, and not died, as he did, Three or Four Months after his Election, what a glorious Figure would so remarkable a Miracle have made in his Legend! For it is not to be doubted, but his *spotless Life*, his miraculous Election, and his flattering Letter to the

Fravitas dies.
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*His supposed
miraculous
Election, a
mere Im-
posture.*

^t Concil. t. 4. p. 1087. 1091.

^u Niceph. l. 16. c. 18.

^w Idem ibid.

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Christ 490.

Euphemius
chosen in his
room.

Pope, would have procured him a Place in the Calendar of Saints, and a suitable Legend.

He writes to
the Pope.

Who insists
on his erasing
the Name of
Acacius.

Fravitas was succeeded by *Euphemius*, a Man of an unblemished Character, of eminent Piety, great Learning, and a most zealous Defender of the Catholic Faith ¹. The sincere Desire he had of seeing Concord and Unity reign again in the Church, prompted him, as soon as he was ordained, to replace, in the Diptychs, the Name of *Felix*, which had been struck out by *Acacius*; to transmit to *Rome* a Confession of his Faith, and to beg the Pope, as he rendered the Welfare of the Catholic Church, to admit him to his Communion, and by that means put an End to so dangerous a Schism. *Felix* received his Letter, owned his Faith to be truly orthodox; but peremptorily refused to communicate with him, or his Church, so long as the Names of *Acacius*, whom he had deposed, and *Fravitas*, whom he had not acknowledged, were kept in the Diptychs. The Name of the former *Euphemius* could not erase, without allowing him to have been lawfully deposed; nor that of the latter without owning him to have been no lawful Bishop, because he had not been yet acknowledged as such by the Pope. The good Prelate therefore, aware of the dangerous Consequences that might be drawn from his granting either, and not thinking the Communion of *Rome* worth purchasing at so dear a Rate, forbore, so long as *Felix* lived, all farther Attempts towards a Reconciliation between the Two Sees ².

Mongus dies,
and Athanasius
is chosen
in his room.

Three different
Parties
in the Church.

In the mean time died *Petrus Mongus* of *Alexandria*, and in his room was chosen *Athanasius*, Presbyter of that Church, and a most zealous Stickler for the Doctrine of *Eutyches*. *Euphemius* therefore separated himself from his Communion, and likewise from the Communion of *Palladius*, who had been lately chosen Bishop of *Antioch*, and, at his Installation, had publicly anathematized the Council of *Chalcedon* ³. Thus was the whole Church divided into Three different Parties or Factions. The *Egyptians*, with their Patriarch, formed one; the Bishops of *Pontus*, *Asia*, and *Thrace*, under the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, another; and the Western Bishops, with the Pope at their Head, a Third. The *Egyptians* professed the *Eutychian* Doctrine, anathematized the Council of *Chalcedon*, the Definitions of that Council, and all who received them. The other Bishops in the

¹ Evagr. l. 3. c. 23. Niceph. chron. Theophan. p. 115. ² Liberat. c. 18. Evagr. l. 3. c. 23. Theoph. p. 16. Concil. t. 4. p. 1154. ³ Liberat. c. 18. Evagr. l. 3. c. 23.

East, except the Patriarch of *Antioch*, and some Orientals, who sided with the *Egyptians*, received the *Henoticon*, and many among them, in which Number was *Euphemius* himself, the Decree of *Chalcedon* establishing Two Natures in Christ. The Bishop of *Rome* therefore, and his Brethren in the West, intirely agreed, in point of Doctrine and Faith, with the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and those of his Party; and the only Subject of the Quarrel between them was, whether the Name of *Acacius* (for that of *Pravitas* was soon dropt) should be kept in, or struck out of the Diptychs. *Euphemius* could not strike it out, without disobliging the Emperor, and the far greater Part of the Catholic Bishops; and his disobliging them would have occasioned a Schism or Division among the Catholics themselves, more prejudicial, in the present Circumstances, to their Cause, than a Rupture with *Rome*. On the other hand, the Pope was inflexible, and peremptorily required the Name of *Acacius* to be erased before he would communicate with the Bishop of *Constantinople*, or any of his Party, let the Consequences be what they would. Perhaps he was not sufficiently apprised of the State of Affairs in the East; but if he was not, *Euphemius* was; and therefore apprehending greater Evils from his communicating with *Rome*, upon the Pope's Terms, than could possibly arise from his continuing out of that Communion, he remained satisfied with having done what, in common Charity, he thought himself bound to do, in order to gain it.

In the Height of these Disturbances and Divisions died the Emperor *Zeno*, in the Beginning of *April 491*. and on the 11th of the same Month *Anastasius* was chosen to succeed him, chiefly by the Interest of *Ariadne*, the deceased Emperor's Widow, whom he had promised to marry, and married accordingly, the very Day after his Accession. *Euphemius*, suspecting his Orthodoxy, and with a great deal of Reason, opposed his Promotion, to the utmost of his Power; nor could he be prevailed upon by the Empress, and the Senate, to approve of their Choice, till *Anastasius* delivered to him a Confession of Faith, under his Hand, intirely orthodox, and besides promised, upon Oath, to take the Council of *Chalcedon* for the Rule of his Belief². The Patriarch had the Populace on his Side, by whom he was greatly beloved, and revered: *Longinus*, the late Emperor's Brother, claimed the Crown as his Right; and *Anastasius* had not yet even attained

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and *Anastasius* is chosen
to succeed him.
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He promises
to take the
Council of
Chalcedon
for the Rule
of his Faith.

² Evagr. l. 3. c. 29. Theodor. Lect. p. 558.

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to the Rank of a Senator, but was only one of the Great Chamberlain's Officers. It was not therefore, in these Circumstances, thought adviseable to disoblige so popular a Man, by reminding him of his Duty, and letting him know, that State-Affairs were foreign to his Ministry, that he was to receive and obey the Person whom the Senate chose, and not take upon him to direct them whom they should chuse, or whom they should not. Had *Euphemius* been Bishop of *Rome*, his refusing to consent to the Election of the Person, whom the Senate had agreed to raise to the Empire, till he had examined his Faith, and found it Orthodox, would have supplied *Baronius* and *Bellarmino* with ample Matter for Descants on the temporal Power of the Popes; I mean the Power of setting up Kings, and pulling them down at their Pleasure, which the Popes have, in the latter Times, most boldly asserted. But of such a Power in them not the least Footstep has yet appeared, though Occasions have not been wanting, on which it seasonably might, and even ought to have been exerted, for the Good of the Church, and the Catholic Cause.

Allows Liberty of Conscience to Christians of all Denominations.

Anastasius was himself strongly inclined to the Doctrine of *En-tyches*; but nevertheless began his Reign with granting Liberty of Conscience to all his Subjects, it being unworthy of a Christian Emperor, as he declared in his Edict for Toleration, to trouble or persecute any who, together with him, adored Christ. Thus he hoped to put an End to all Disputes, and see Peace restored, in his Days, to the Church and the State^a. But the Bishops, who received the Council of *Chalcedon*, refusing to communicate with their Brethren, who did not, and such as did not, with those who did, the Emperor found himself obliged to forbid all Bishops, on Pain of Deposition and Exile, to declare for or against that Council. Thus both Parties were silenced; but yet they would not communicate with one another, nor would the Pope communicate with either; so that they were still Enemies to each other in their Hearts, though restrained from open Hostilities, by the Fear of losing their Sees.

Felix writes to Anastasius.

Felix was no sooner informed of the Death of *Zeno*, and the Promotion of *Anastasius*, than he wrote to the new Emperor, to congratulate him on his Accession to the Crown; for he did not doubt, as he expressed himself in his Letter, but the Authority of so religious a Prince would prove as advantageous to the Church, and the

^a Idem ibid. c. 31.

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true Faith, as that of his Predecessor had been prejudicial to both ^{b.} Of this Letter the Emperor took no Notice. But *Felix* did not live long enough to know what Reception it met with. He died in the latter End of this, or the very Beginning of the following Year 492. ^{Year of Christ 491.} having governed the *Roman* Church Nine Years, wanting some Days ^{Felix dies. Year of Christ 492.} ^{His Character.} He may be said to have exceeded in Pride, Arrogance, and Presumption, all who went before him; at least he attempted what none of them had dared to attempt, not *Leo* himself, who, in the Quarrel between him and *Anatolius*, one of the Predecessors of *Acacius*, only threatened to separate himself from the Communion of that Prelate; which was indeed all the Canons of the Church allowed him to do. But *Felix*, more bold and enterprising, carried his Resentment and Revenge to the Height we have seen, in open Defiance of the Ecclesiastic, as well as the Imperial Laws. I say, his *Resentment* and *Revenge*; for it was not out of any Zeal for the Faith, or the Church, that he took upon him to excommunicate and depose the Bishop of *Constantinople*, but merely to be revenged on him, as the *Greeks* well observed, for the Contempt he had betrayed, on several Occasions, for the Bishop of *Rome*, and his See ^{d.} Had he had any real Concern for the Welfare of the Church, nothing would have tempted him to take such an unwarrantable and unprecedented Step; for he could not but foresee the dreadful Evils that would inevitably attend it. He foresaw them; but, apprehending the Dignity of his See to be at Stake, and the Want of that Deference and Respect, which he claimed as due to St. *Peter*, that is, to himself, to be a greater Evil than any thing that could befall the Church, he pursued his Revenge, at all Events, and thereby gave Rise to the present long and dangerous Schism. Such a Conduct, we may be sure, intitled him to a Place ^{He is sainted.} among the Saints; and he is now accordingly worshiped as a Saint, having deserved well of the Apostolic See, how ill soever he may have deserved of the Church.

Besides the Letters of *Felix*, which I have already taken notice of, ^{His Letter to the African Bishops.} there is one from that Pope, dated the 15th of *March* 488. concerning those, who, during the *Vandalic* Persecution in *Africa*, had suffered themselves to be baptized, or rebaptized, by the *Arians*. From the Regulations contained in that Letter, the Reader may judge of the

^b Concil. t. 4. p. 1268.
^c Apr. t. 1. p. 34.

^c Marcell. chron. Vide Bolland. 25. Feb. p. 508.
^d Concil. ibid. p. 1198.

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*The unrea-
sonable Ri-
gour of the
Church-Dif-
cipline.*

unreasonable, not to say antichristian Rigour of the Church-Discipline in those times. For the Pope there requires the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, who had consented to be rebaptized, tho' forced by the Violence of Torments, to do public Penance so long as they lived; reduces them to Lay-Communion (A), and that to be administered only

(A) There are Three different Opinions concerning the Meaning of that Word. Lay-Communion was, according to some, communicating among the Laymen after the Clergy, and without the Rails of the Chancel. But Lay-Communion was administered to degraded Clergymen in private Houses, and on their Death-beds, where there could be no room for such a Distinction; and consequently Lay-Communion must import something besides that Distinction. Others therefore are of Opinion, that to reduce a Clergyman to Lay-Communion, was divesting him of all the Power which he had received by his Ordination, and reducing him to the State and Condition of a Layman. This seems to have been the Opinion of all the ancient Councils and Fathers; for they all speak of the Ecclesiastics, who were only admitted to Lay-Communion, as mere Laymen, and as incapable of performing any Episcopal or Sacerdotal Functions, as if they had never been ordained. The greater Part of the *Roman Catholic* Divines allow (and this is the Third Opinion) Lay-Communion to import Degradation; but then by Degradation they mean no more than the Suspending of a Bishop or a Priest from the Functions of his Ministry. For tho' the Church may, according to them, grant or deny the Episcopal or Sacerdotal Power to whom she pleases, yet she can never revoke it, when once granted. Thus should a Bishop or a Priest be guilty of the most enormous Crimes; should he for his Wickedness be degraded, anathematized, and even cast out of the Congregation of the Faithful; nay, should he abjure Christ, and the Christian Religion, and embrace the

Jewish, Mohammedan, or Pagan Superstition; he would, in spite of the Church, and all her Anathemas, still retain the Power she has given him, still continue to be a Christian Bishop or Priest, though no more a Christian; and might even ordain, confirm, absolve, consecrate, and perform all the other Functions of the Episcopal or Sacerdotal Office, as effectually as the Pope himself. This Doctrine, however repugnant to common Sense, and the Practice of the Catholic Church in all Ages preceding the Councils of *Florence* and *Trent*, necessarily follows from the Definitions of those Two Councils concerning the *Indelible Character*, which was by them thought a Matter of such Consequence as to be made an Article of Faith (1). By this *Character* is meant a real Quality, Sign, Mark, or Seal, produced, and imprinted in the Soul of a Bishop or Priest at his Ordination; which can by no Power upon Earth be ever effaced, and is inseparably connected with all Episcopal or Priestly Authority. But that the Antients were all utter Strangers to such a Character, has been, I may say, demonstrated by several Protestant Writers (2); and therefore I shall only observe here, that the present Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, concerning her *Indelible Character*, is evidently inconsistent with the Doctrine of the most revered Council that was ever held in the Church, that of *Nice*: For by that Council it was decreed, that such Bishops or Presbyters, as had been ordained by a degraded Bishop, *Melanius* of *Lycopolis* in *Egypt*, should not be admitted to serve the Church either as Bishops or Presbyters, till they had been re-ordained (3). And was not this plainly declaring Or-

(1) Concil. Flor. in Instru. Armen. et Trident. Sess. 7. Can. 9. (2) See Chemnit. Exam. Concil. Trid. part. 2. p. 25. Rivet. Cath. Orthodox. Bellarmin. Enervat. t. 3. c. 5. Perkins Demonstrat. Problemat. p. 130. Alting. Theolog. Elenctica, p. 594. Calvin. Antidot. Concil. Trident. Sess. 7. Can. 9, &c. (3) Epist. Synod. apud Socrat. l. 1. c. 9. & Theodor. l. 1. c. 9.

only at the point of Death; and excludes them for ever from the Prayers and Assemblies of the Faithful. As for the other Ecclesiastics, and Year of Christ 492.

ders conferred by a degraded Bishop to be void and null, and consequently such a Bishop to be absolutely divested of all Episcopal Power and Authority? In compliance with this Decree, and the Directions of the Council in their Synodical Letter to the Church of *Alexandria*, *Theodore*, Bishop of *Oxyrinchus*, re-ordained all the *Meletian* Presbyters, who returned to the Church, without any kind of Regard to their former pretended Ordination (4). Neither he therefore, nor they, knew any thing of an *Indelible Character inseparably connected with all Episcopal Power and Authority*; but believed those, whom the Church had deposed for their Misdemeanours, to be absolutely divested of all the Power and Authority they had before. And indeed, that a Man should be deposed from his Office, and yet retain all the Power belonging to his Office, is so repugnant to Reason and common Sense, that it is surprising the Church of *Rome* should ever have adopted such a Notion.

However, the Antients acknowledged, it must be owned, some kind of Distinction between a deposed Ecclesiastic, and a mere Layman: but that Distinction they did not place in any spiritual *Mark or Character* in the Soul of the one, and not of the other; nor in any Power which the one had, and the other had not; but in this alone, that the Ecclesiastic had been once, by the outward Form of Ordination, or Imposition of Hands, destined to the sacred Ministry; and therefore was qualified to officiate again without a new Ordination, should the Church think fit to recall him to his Office. But this Qualification the Layman wanted, who had never been commissioned by the Church to exercise any spiritual Office or Function. Ordination, tho' a transient Act, qualifies a Man, so long as he lives, to perform all Sacerdotal or Episcopal Functions, and therefore needs never be repeated. But a Man may be qualified

for an Office, and at the same time have no more of the Power belonging to that Office, than if he were not qualified for it. The Distinction which the Antients acknowledged between a deposed Clergyman, and a mere Layman, cannot be better illustrated and explained, than by that which they allowed between an apostate Christian, and a mere Jew or Pagan. An Apostate from the Christian Religion to the Jewish or Pagan Superstition cannot be called, properly speaking, a Christian, is not a Member of the Christian Church, nor has he any Right to the common Privileges of a Christian, so long as he continues in his Apostasy. But still, in virtue of his Baptism, he is qualified, according to the Doctrine of the Antients, to be admitted to the Communion of the Church, after the greatest Apostasy, without a new Baptism; and this Qualification a mere Jew or Pagan has not. In like manner a deposed Priest or Bishop cannot be called, in Propriety of speaking, a Priest or Bishop; does not belong to the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, nor has he the Power and Authority of his former Office more than a Layman. But nevertheless he is qualified, in virtue of his past Ordination, to perform all the Functions of the Ministry, when it shall please the Church to restore him to his Rank and Dignity. That Qualification a Layman wants, who has never been ordained; and in that alone does the Difference consist between him and a degraded Clergyman.

To conclude, if it is Heresy, as has been defined by the Church of *Rome*, to say, that a Clergyman may cease to be a Clergyman, and become again a Layman; that a Man who is a Priest or a Bishop To-day, may be a Layman To-morrow; all the antient Councils were guilty of Heresy. For by them a degraded Clergyman is said to be turned out of Office (5); to be totally deposed (6); to fall totally from his Order (7);

(4) Vide Vales. Not. in Socrat. l. 1. c. 9.
(6) Concil. Antioch. Can. 5.

(5) Concil. Carthag. 4. Can. 48.
(7) Concil. Ephes. Can. 6.

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and the Monks, Virgins, and Laymen, if they submitted, of their own accord, to be rebaptized, they are to atone for their Crime by a Twelve Years public Penance; but only by a Three Years Penance, if they yielded by dint of Torments; and to a Three Years Penance the Pope subjects those too, who had been rebaptized not only against their Will, but even without their Knowledge; for it was customary with the *Arians* to rebaptize the Catholics before they were aware, and often while they were asleep: And what Crime had those to expiate, who had been thus baptized? The Pope concludes this remarkable Letter with declaring those incapable of being ever admitted to the Clerical Order, who have been baptized or rebaptized by Heretics, whether that has been done with their Consent and Knowledge, or without either ^e.

Some style this Pope *Felix* III. but I have shewn elsewhere ^f the Election of *Felix*, whom they call the Second of that Name, to have been null.

ANASTASIUS.

G E L A S I U S,

Forty-eighth B I S H O P of Rome.

Gelasius chosen in the room of Felix.

IN the room of *Felix* was chosen, after a Vacancy of Five Days only, *Gelasius*, the Son of one *Valerius*, by Birth an *African*, according to some, and a *Roman*, according to others. Perhaps he was a Native of *Africa*, but born a *Roman* (for so he styles himself ^g),

^e Concil. t. 4. p. 1075—1077.
Ep. 8. Concil. t. 4. p. 1182.

^f See Vol. I. p. 146.

^g Gelas.

to be unordained [deordinatur] (8); *to be removed out of the Order of the Clergy* (9); *to cease to be of the Number of the Clergy* (10). The last is the Expression of the Council of *Nice*; and to the Champions of the *Indelible Character* I leave the Task of reconciling a Man's *ceasing to be of the Number of the Clergy*, and his being still a Clergyman.

As to *Bellarmino's* Opinion, understand-

ing by *Lay-communion* Communion in one Kind only (11), it is scarce worthy of Notice; nothing being more certain than that Clergymen were, by the Censures of the Church, reduced to Lay-communion, when the Laity communicated in both Kinds: this is owned by almost all the other *Roman* Catholic Writers, who indeed seem to have been quite ashamed of *Bellarmino's* Ignorance (12).

(8) Apud Crab. Concil. t. 1. p. 318. (9) Concil. Arelat. 1. Can. 13. (10) Concil. Nicæn. Can. 2. (11) Bellar. de Eucharist. l. 4. c. 24. (12) Vide Cardinal. Bona de Reb. Liturg. l. 2. c. 19.

in

in the Senſe St. *Paul* was a *Roman*, though born in *Tarſus*. He was no ſooner inſtalled, than he wrote a moſt reſpectful Letter to *Anaſtaſius*, to acquaint him with his Promotion, and recommend to his Protection the Catholic Church, and the Faith of *Chalcedon*^b. To this Letter the Emperor returned no Answer: But *Euphemius*, to whom the new Pope had not condeſcended to notify his Election, as was cuſtomary, wrote to him the firſt a Letter filled with the moſt tender Expreſſions of Affection and Friendſhip, intreating him to pity the unhappy and diſtracted State of the Church, by contributing, ſo far as in him lay, towards uniting in one Communion thoſe who were ſincerely united in one Faith. But at the ſame time he lets him know, that he muſt not think of having the Name of *Acacius* ſtruck out of the Diptychsⁱ. Either *Gelaſius* did not answer this Letter, or *Euphemius*, impatient to ſee the Evils redreſſed that afflicted the Church, wrote a Second Letter before the Pope could answer his Firſt (for we know of no Answer to the Firſt). In the Second Letter *Euphemius* complains, but in the moſt friendly Manner, of the Pope, for not having acquainted him, according to the Cuſtom that obtained in the Catholic Church, with his Promotion to the Epiſcopal Dignity; expreſſes a moſt earneſt Deſire of ſeeing a perfect Harmony re-eſtabliſhed between the Two Sees; but aſſures his Colleague in Chriſt, and begs he may be believed, that the People of *Conſtantinople* will never ſuffer the Name of *Acacius* to be put out of the Roll of their Biſhops. He adds, that *Acacius* had never been guilty of any Hereſy; that his Faith had never been ſo much as ſuſpected; that he had indeed communicated with *Mongus*, but not till *Mongus* had publicly abjured the Errors with which he was charged; that *Acacius* had been tried, condemned, and depoſed, without the Concurrence, nay, and without the Knowledge, of his Colleagues in the Eaſt, and conſequently in Deſiance of the known Laws and Practice of the Church. However, if the Pope ſtill inſiſted on his Name being eraſed out of the ſacred Register, he adviſes him to write to the People of *Conſtantinople*, or to ſend Legates into the Eaſt, capable of diſpoſing them to conſent to his Requeſt. He cloſes his Letter with conjuring the Pope to take the Will of God alone for the Rule of his Conduct, without ſuffering himſelf to be ſwayed, in an Affair of ſuch infinite Conſequence, by any Engagements he may apprehend his See to be under^k.

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Writes to the Emperor, but not to Euphemius.
Euphemius writes to him, begging his Communion.

* Concil. ibid. p. 1168. ⁱ Concil. ibid. p. 1161. ^k Concil. ibid. p. 1159—1161.

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Christ 492.

The Pope in-
sists on his
erasing the
Name of
Acacius.

This Letter the Pope answered in a most arrogant, imperious, and peremptory Style, declaring, that so long as the Name of *Acacius* was suffered to remain in the Diptychs, he would, upon no Consideration whatever, be reconciled to the Church of *Constantinople*. He allows *Acacius* to have been no Heretic; but nevertheless pretends, that he had forfeited his Dignity by communicating with Heretics; and lays it down as a general Rule, that an excommunicated Person infects such as communicate with him, and that such as communicate with him infect all who communicate with them. Upon this Principle he peremptorily refuses to communicate with *Euphemius*, so long as he kept the Name of *Acacius* in the Diptychs, and thereby communicated with one who had excommunicated himself by communicating with an excommunicated Person, meaning *Mongus*. He therefore tells *Euphemius*, that he must not look upon the Letter he writes to him as a Mark of Communion, since he writes to him only as to a Stranger, being absolutely determined to have no Communication with those, who preferred the Communion of Heretics to that of St. *Peter*. As to his writing to the People of *Constantinople*, or sending Legates into the East, he excuses himself from doing either, since it could not be expected, that those, who would not hearken to the Voice of their own Pastor, should obey the Voice of a Stranger¹. This Letter gave great Concern to *Euphemius*. He had flattered himself, that the new Pope might be more peaceably inclined than his Predecessor, and that, as *Acacius* had not been excommunicated by him, he might connive at the small Regard that was paid to his Memory, the rather, as he had once deserved so well of the Church and the Faith, and had favoured *Mongus* with no other View but to gain him over to the Catholic Interest. But, to his great Disappointment, he found *Gelasius* more obstinate than *Felix* himself, and more untractable (*acerbus, asper, nimis durus, difficilisque*). Being therefore satisfied, that he could by no other means procure a Peace with *Rome*, but by kindling a War in *Constantinople*, and dividing the Catholics there among themselves, which he very justly called incurring a greater Evil to avoid a less, he despaired of seeing an End put to the Schism in his Days, and wrote no more.

Euphemius
refuses to
comply with
his Demand.

¹ Concil. ibid. p. 1162.

The following Year, 493. *Theodoric*, the new King of *Italy* (B), ^{Year of Christ 493.} having dispatched a solemn Embassy to *Constantinople*, at the Head of which were *Festus*, or *Fauftus*, and *Irenæus*, both *Romans* of the first Rank, and distinguished with the Title of *Illustrious*, *Gelasius* ^{Gelasius writes to the Eastern Bi-} took that Opportunity to write a long Letter, addressed to all the *Bishops* of the Eastern Empire, whom he styles, in the Address, his *Beloved Brethren*, but strives, in the Letter, to convince them, that they are all Heretics, and all alike excommunicated. The chief Purpose and Design of this Piece was, to answer the Reasons alleged by the *Greeks* to shew, that *Acacius* had not been lawfully deposed, and consequently that it was very uncharitable in the Pope, with whom they agreed in all Points of Faith, to insist on their omitting his Name in the List of Bishops, as a Term of Communion. Their Reasons the Pope reduces to the Three following Heads: 1. That it did not belong to him, but to a General Council, to judge, condemn, and depose the Bishop of *Constantinople*. 2. That *Acacius* was neither a Heretic, nor had he communicated with Heretics condemned by the Council of *Chalcedon*; since he had not admitted *Mongus* to his Communion, till he had received the *Henoticon*, and thereby abjured the Errors condemned by that Council. 3. That to condemn, anathematize, and depose the Bishop of *Constantinople*, however guilty, without thinking it at all necessary to consult his Collegues in

(B) *Theodoric* was King of the *Ostrogoths*, whom the Emperor *Marcian* had allowed to settle in *Pannonia*, quite dispeopled by the Incursions of the *Hunns*, and other barbarous Nations. He was at first greatly favoured by the Emperor *Zeno*, and served under him as Commander in Chief of the *Roman* Cavalry. But afterwards thinking himself ill-used by that Prince, he not only quitted the Service, but at the Head of his *Goths* made War on the Empire, till he was persuaded by the Emperor to turn his Arms against *Odoacer*, who reigned in *Italy*. Some write, that *Zeno* yielded that Country to him, and his Posterity (1); for it belonged of Right to the Emperor of the East; while others pretend, that, by the Treaty between him and the Emperor, he was to hold it only during his Life (2). However that be, the King of the *Goths* engaged in

this new War with great Alacrity; and having, in the Term of Five Years, completed the Conquest of *Italy*, by the Reduction of *Ravenna* after a Three Years Siege, he caused himself to be proclaimed by his *Goths* King of that Country, without waiting for the Emperor's Permission. And it was to excuse this Liberty, and solicit the Emperor's Approbation, that he dispatched *Fauftus* and *Irenæus* to *Constantinople*, with the Character of his Ambassadors. *Anastasius* approved of what he had done, promised not to molest him in the Possession of the Country he had conquered, and sent him the Ensigns of Royalty. Hence it is manifest, that *Theodoric* himself owned he held his Kingdom of the Emperors of the East; and by them he even suffered the *Roman* Consuls to be named (3).

(1) Jornand. Rer. Goth. c. 57. Procop. Bell. Goth. l. 2. c. 6.
p. 84. Marcell. p. 479.

(3) Procop. ibid.

(2) Mal.

Year of
Christ 493.

*His Answer
to the Rea-
sons alleged by
the Greeks to
shew, that he
was not law-
fully con-
demned.*

the East, in an Affair that so nearly concerned them, argued such a Contempt in the Pope for the *Greeks* in general, as nothing could justify or excuse. The First of these Reasons *Gelasius* answers as his Prédecessor had done; *viz.* That he had only executed the Sentence of the Council of *Chalcedon*, excommunicating the *Eutychians*, and all who communicated with them; which, says he, was not arrogating to himself any particular or extraordinary Power, but exercising that which was common to him with all other Bishops. As nothing was more certain, than that *Mongus* had anathematized *Eutyches*, and all who held the same Doctrine, before *Acacius* would admit him to his Communion, the Pope seems to have been greatly at a Loss how to answer the Second Reason of the *Greeks*, how to maintain the former to have been a Heretic, and the latter to have been excommunicated for communicating with him, even after he had, in the most solemn Manner, renounced his Heresy. After a long Descant, therefore, on the Dignity and Pre-eminence of the Apostolic See, he concludes, that what St. *Peter*, that is, the Pope, had bound, no other Power could loosen, and what St. *Peter* had loosened, no other Power could bind. Upon this Principle he pretends *Mongus*, whom St. *Peter* had condemned as a Heretic, and never absolved, to have continued a Heretic; and consequently *Acacius* to have been lawfully deposed for communicating with him. In Answer to the Third Reason of the *Greeks*, he tells them, in plain Terms, that they were all byassed in favour of *Acacius*; that most of them were no less guilty than he; and that it was not usual for a Judge, in condemning a Criminal, to consult his Accomplices^m.

The inflexible Obstinacy of the Pope gave great Joy to the *Greeks* of the *Eutychian* Party, who chose rather to live separated from, than united with *Rome*, and triumphed in seeing their Enemies in the East thus deprived of the Assistance they might receive from their Orthodox Friends in the West. Of this Evil the Catholic Bishops were well apprised, and, in order to prevent it, resolved to make one Attempt more towards a Reconciliation between the Two Churches. They knew no Reasons alleged by them would be of any Weight; and therefore, applying to the Two Embassadors *Fauftus* and *Irenæus*, who had brought the Pope's Letter, they begged them to apprise his Reverend Holiness of the fatal Consequences that would inevitably

*The Greeks
apply to the
Embassadors
of King The-
cudoric.*

^m Concil. t. 4. p. 1217—1221.

attend their complying with his Request. For they could not persuade themselves, that, were the Pope well acquainted with the unhappy State of the Church in the East, and aware of the Evils which they had so much Reason to apprehend from their erasing the Name of *Acacius*, he would still insist on such a Punctilio. *Fauftus*, who was, it seems, a Man of some Piety, took upon him to write to the Pope, in their Name; and wrote accordingly, assuring him, among other Things, that neither the Emperor, nor the People of *Constantinople*, would ever suffer the Name of *Acacius* to be omitted in the Diptychs; and that to disoblige either, at so critical a Juncture, when the *Eutychian* Party was acquiring daily new Strength, and the Catholic Interest was daily declining, would prove a Thing of most dangerous Consequence, and might end at last in the total Ruin of the Faith in the East. From the Letter of *Fauftus* it appears, that the *Greeks*, I mean those of the Catholic Party, were ready even to own, that *Acacius* had done wrong in absolving *Mongus* without the Consent and Concurrence of *Rome*, nay, and to ask Pardon for the Contempt it was pretended he had thereby shewn for the Apostolic See, provided the Pope would only connive, for the present, at their keeping his Name in the Diptychs, and, joining them against the common Enemy, refer the Decision of so fatal a Quarrel to the Judgment of a General Council, to which they solemnly engaged to submit. They added, that, as the Emperor had not yet openly declared either for the *Eutychian* or the Catholic Party, but seemed to be in Suspense, and to waver between both, they could not justify, in the Sight of God or Man, their doing any thing that might estrange him from them, or give him the least Byas in favour of those, who were alike Enemies to them, and to *Rome*, and sought the Destruction of both ⁿ.

But the Pope was not to be moved, and would hearken to no Reasons. The Apostolic See had condemned and deposed *Acacius*; and that Judgment was to be maintained, let what would happen to the Church and the Faith. *Gelafius* therefore, in his Answer to *Fauftus*, whom he could not suppose to be any-ways byassed in favour of the *Greeks*, after repeating what he had said in his Letter to *Euphemius*, concludes thus: As *Acacius* was condemned, and deposed, according to the Canons of the Church, and the Rules of the Fathers, and died

Year of
Christ 493.

Who write to
the Pope in
their behalf.

The Terms
they proposed.

The Pope im-
flexible.

His Answer
to the Letter
of the Em-
bassadors.

Year of
Christ 493.

*The Greeks
excommuni-
cate Gelasius,
and all who
communicate
with him.*

*The Continu-
ation of the
Schism owing
to the Pope.*

under that Sentence, the *Roman* Church cannot even connive at his being honoured as a lawful Bishop after his Death, without transgressing the Canons and Laws by which she condemned him: Let them therefore chuse whether they will communicate with *Acacius*, and his Followers, or with the Apostolic See, and the Apostle St. *Peter*; for they cannot with both, and in vain they attempt it°. This Letter *Fausus* communicated, as soon as he received it, to the leading Men of the Catholic Party; and it had the Effect which he apprehended it would. The unparalleled Obstinacy of the Pope, after they had given him such undeniable Proofs of the sincere Desire they had of being reconciled with him, after they had made all the Advances towards a Reconciliation, which they thought compatible with their Duty, and the Safety of the Church, at that time in imminent Danger, provoked them to such a Degree, that they separated themselves, in their Turn, from the Communion of *Rome*, struck the Name of *Gelasius* out of the Diptychs, and agreed, to a Man, not to communicate with him, or any who communicated with him p. Thus was the Schism continued, during the Pontificate and Life of *Gelasius*: and to whose Account the Continuation of so great an Evil, the Division of one half of the Church from the other, ought to be charged, needs no great Examination to determine. The *Greeks* had, as appears from the Letters of *Euphemius* and *Fausus*, very substantial and unanswerable Reasons to justify their not complying, at least in the present Circumstances, with the Terms of Communion required by the Pope; the Pope had none that could, in any Light whatever, justify his insisting on such Terms, as Matters then stood. He alleges indeed several, as we have seen; but they can by no Man of the least Discernment or Penetration be otherwise looked upon than as mere Pretences to disguise the true Motive of his Conduct; viz. the Engagement he apprehended himself to be under of maintaining, at all Events, what his Predecessor had done. He had deposed *Acacius*, and, to keep the Name of a Man, whom the Apostolic See had deposed, among the Names of other Bishops, was, with the Successor to his Power and Dignity, a greater Evil, so far as we can judge from his Conduct, than any that could befall the Catholic Faith, or the Catholic Church.

° Concil. ibid. p. 1168—1172.

p Concil. ibid. p. 1185.

The Bishops of *East Illyricum*, over whom the Popes had exercised an usurped Jurisdiction ever since the Time of Pope *Damasus*, were not so unanimous, with respect to the Name of *Acacius*, as *Gelasius* could have wished; nay, the Bishop of *Theffalonica*, though Vicar of the Apostolic See in those Parts, could not help censuring the Conduct of the Pope; and kept the Name of the late Bishop of *Constantinople* in the Diptychs of his Church. However, as they agreed in all Points of Faith, they lived in brotherly Concord and Unity, not thinking it a Matter of such mighty Moment, to mention, or omit, the Name of a Man who was no more, as to quarrel about it. This was treating as a mere Trifle what the Apostolic See had made a Term of Communion; and therefore *Gelasius*, highly displeased with the Harmony that reigned among those Prelates, in order to interrupt it, and set them at Variance, wrote Three long Letters, addressed to the Bishops of the different Provinces of *East Illyricum*. The main Purpose of these Letters was, to justify the Conduct of his Predecessor, and his own, with respect to *Acacius*; to convince the Bishops in those Parts, and the other Ecclesiastics, as well as Laity (for to them too he desired his Letters might be read), that to keep the Name of *Acacius* in the Diptychs, or leave it out, was not, as they seemed to imagine, a Thing of little or no Concern, but a Matter of the last Importance; and to exhort those who left it out, not to communicate with such as kept it in, but to look upon them as Enemies to the Church, and Rebels to St. *Peter*, on pain of being themselves looked upon as such by the Apostolic See; which was obliging them to quarrel either among themselves, or with him. They seem to have chosen the latter; for they continued united among themselves, notwithstanding the great Pains *Gelasius* took to divide them. In one of these Letters, that to the Bishops of *Dardania*, dated the First of *February* 495. he strives to satisfy some of those Prelates, who, it seems, thought it strange, that the Bishop of *Rome* should have condemned a Bishop of the Imperial City, without the Concurrence of an Oecumenical Council. He repeats there the same frivolous Reason which he had alleged in his general Letter to the *Greeks*, and in that to *Euphemius*; and, greatly piqued at their calling the Bishop of *Constantinople* Bishop of the Imperial City, he most insolently styles him a pitiful Suffragan of *Heraclea*, as if the Bishop of *Constantinople* had not the same Title to the Rank he then held, as the Bishop of *Rome* had

Year of
Christ 494.

Gelasius
writes to the
Bishops of
East Illyri-
cum.

And strives
to set them at
Variance.

He writes to
the Bishops of
Dardania.

Year of
Christ 495.

* Concil. ibid. p. 1167—1197.

Year of
Christ 495.

Misenus of
Cumæ ab-
solved, and
restored to his
Rank.

Upon what
Terms.

Inconsistency
of the Church
of Rome.

The Pope al-
leges a new
Reason why
the Name of
Acacius
should be
omitted.

to his; all Bishops being originally, as I have often shewn, on the same Level.

These were the last Letters *Gelasius* wrote concerning *Acacius*. He held indeed a Council this Year at *Rome*, consisting of Forty-six Bishops. But the Acts of that Council have not reached our Times; and all we know concerning it is, that, with the unanimous Consent of all the Bishops who composed it, *Misenus* of *Cumæ*, formerly deposed for communicating with *Acacius*^r, was readmitted to the Communion of the Church, restored to his Rank, and reinstated in his See. On this Occasion the Pope gave a remarkable Instance of his mortal Aversion to the *Greeks*; for, before he would grant the wished-for Pardon to the penitent Bishop, he required him solemnly to protest and declare, in the Presence of the Council, that he *condemned, anathematized, abhorred, and for ever execrated*, *Dioscorus, Ælurus, Petrus Mongus, Petrus Fullo, Acacius, all their Successors, Accomplices, Abettors, and all who communicated with them*^s. This was cursing at once the better Half of the Church, the Emperor himself, and, what is more, many Persons at this very time eminent in the East for their Sanctity; *viz.* *St. Sabas, St. Theodosius, St. Elias* Bishop of *Jerusalem, St. Daniel Stylites, the Thaumaturgus* of his Age, &c. These all flourished at this very time, had all communicated with *Acacius*, lived in the Communion of his Successors, died out of the Communion, nay, under the Curse of *Rome*, and yet (strange Inconsistency of that Church!) they are now honoured by her as Saints of the First Rate, and invoked by the Successors of those by whom they were cursed.

The Pope made a long Speech to the Bishops of the present Assembly, before the Sentence of Absolution was pronounced in favour of *Misenus*; and on that Occasion he alleged a new Reason, why he could not suffer the Name of *Acacius* to be kept in the Diptychs; *viz.* because that would be absolving him after his Death; which, he says, it was not within the Compass of his Power and Authority to do^t. By whose Power and Authority then were the above-mentioned Saints, who died under the same Sentence with *Acacius*, not only absolved, but canonized, after their Death? To have inserted the Name of *Acacius* in the Diptychs, when he was no more, had been certainly absolving him after his Death. But it is quite surpri-

^r See above, p. 198.
1274.

^s Concil. *ibid.* p. 1270, 1271.

^t *Ibid.*

sing, that *Gelasius* should pretend to have no such Power; since it was, long before his Time, the common Practice of the Church to replace in the Diptychs the Names of those, whom, upon any new Discovery after their Death, they found to have been undeservedly condemned, and to strike out the Names of such as they found to have been undeservedly absolved. This was the usual Way of condemning the Guilty, and absolving the Innocent, after their Death, of cutting off the former from, and restoring the latter to, the Communion of the Church. Thus Pope *Innocent*, one of the Predecessors of *Gelasius*, peremptorily insisted on the Name of *Chrysostom* being inserted in the Diptychs after his Death; and had not *Atticus*, then Bishop of *Constantinople*, yielded at last, the keeping a Name out had been attended with a no less fatal Division in the Church, than that, which we have seen occasioned by the keeping a Name in ^t. For *Innocent* was no less obstinate than *Gelasius*; and indeed it was a Maxim with them all never to yield.

Year of
Christ 495.
No less fri-
velous than
the rest.

The following Year 496. *Gelasius* died, and is said to have been buried in the Church of St. *Peter* ^u. His Death happened in the 5th Year of his Pontificate, having governed Four Years, Seven, Eight, or Nine Months, and some Days ^w. As his Life was, we may say, a constant Warfare for the Dignity of his See; as he maintained, with an inflexible Obstinacy, what his Predecessor had done, *with an unshaken Firmness and Obstinacy*, says *Baronius*, I need not tell the Reader, that he has been distinguished with the same Honours, and is now worshiped as a Saint. He wrote several Letters besides those I have mentioned; but they only relate to some particular Points of the Ecclesiastical Discipline, and contain nothing that is either material, or new. In his Time the Sect of the *Manichees* began anew to spring up in *Rome*, notwithstanding the Pains *Leo* had taken to root it out ^x. They believed Wine to be the Gall of the Prince of Darkness, as I have observed elsewhere ^y; and therefore received the Eucharist in one kind only, as the *Roman Catholics* do now, in Compliance with the Decrees of *Constance* and *Trent*. But that Practice *Gelasius* condemned in the strongest Terms, ordering such, as did not receive in both kinds, to be excluded from both, BECAUSE ONE AND THE SAME MYSTERY CANNOT BE DIVIDED WITHOUT GREAT SACRI-

Gelasius dies.
Year of
Christ 496.

And is saint-
ed.
His Wri-
tings.

He condemns
Communion
in one Kind
only.

^t See Vol. I. p. 311, 312.
Bar. ad ann. 496. n. 1.

^u Vide Bolland. Apr. t. 4. p. 34.
^x See above, p. 19, et seq.

^w Bolland. ibid.
^y Ibid.

Year of
Christ 496.

LEGE 2. Either *Gelasius* was guilty of a great Heresy, or the Church of *Rome* is now guilty of a great Sacrilege. We shall see hereafter the Doctrine, advanced by *Gelasius*, to have been, for the Space of 1200 Years, the Doctrine of the whole Catholic Church, however repugnant to that which is now practised and taught by the *Romish* Church; and consequently, if *Gelasius* was guilty of Heresy, the whole Catholic Church to have been, for so many Centuries, guilty of Heresy too. But that Decree, says Cardinal *Bona*^a, was made against the *Manichees*. And what matters it against whom it was made, so long as it is there declared, in general Terms, without any Restriction or Limitation, That *the Sacrament cannot be divided, that it cannot be received in one Kind only, without Sacrilege?*

His Treatise
on the Ana-
thema.

Besides the Letters of *Gelasius*, Four Tracts, or small Treatises, composed by him at different Times, are still extant. The first is on the *Bond or Tie of the Anathema (de Anathematis vinculo)*. This Piece is imperfect, extremely confused, and hardly intelligible; but seems to have been written to justify, or rather explain, an Expression in the Sentence pronounced by his Predecessor against *Acacius*, viz. That *he never should, nor ever could, be absolved from that Anathema*, there being no Bond that may not be loosened by the Power of the Keys. But his Explanation is as unintelligible as the Expression itself. In this Treatise he observes, that antiently the Royalty and Priesthood were often united in one and the same Person among the *Jews* as well as the *Gentiles*; but that, since the Coming of Christ, these Two Dignities, and the different Powers that attend them, have been vested in different Persons; and from thence he

The Temporal
ought not to
encroach on
the Spiritual,
nor the Spirit-
ual on the
Temporal
Power.

concludes, that neither ought to encroach on the other; but that the temporal Power should be left intire to the Princes, and the spiritual to the Priests, it being no less foreign to the Institution of Christ, for a Priest to usurp the Functions of Sovereignty, than it is for a Sovereign to usurp those of the Priesthood. Let *Baronius* and *Bellarmino* reconcile, if they can, the Maxims of *Gelasius* with those of his Successors.

His Treatise
against the
Lupercalia,
which he had
suppressed.

The second Treatise is a kind of Remonstrance against a *Roman* Senator, named *Andromachus*, and others, who were for restoring the *Lupercalia*, or Feasts celebrated by the Pagan *Romans* in Honour of their God *Pan*. That Solemnity, lewd and scandalous as it was,

^a Gelas. ap. Gratian. de consecrat. dist. 2. c. 12.

^a Bona rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 19.

the Popes had suffered to be kept yearly under their Eyes, till the Time of *Gelasius*. He suppressed it; but the City proving that Year very sickly, the *Romans*, who, it seems, were yet but half Christians, and had only grafted the Christian Religion on the old Stock of *Pagan* Superstition, ascribed the Maladies, with which they were afflicted, to the Suppression of that Festival; and it was to confute this Notion, that *Gelasius* wrote the present Treatise. The Feast of the Purification of the Virgin *Mary*, commonly known by the Name of *Candlemass*, because Candles were blessed, as is still practised in the Church of *Rome*, at the Mass of that Day (C), is thought by some to have been introduced in the room of the *Lupercalia**, which were kept on the same Day. It is true there is no Conformity between the Ceremonies of the Two Festivals, as some have observed. But it is likewise true, that though the heathenish Rites were, generally speaking, retained almost intire in the Christian Feasts, and only sanctified by a Change of the Object, as the Statues were by a Change of the Name; yet sometimes it happened, that, in the room of the Pagan, a Christian Superstition was introduced, intirely different from the Pagan; the People only wanting to riot and revel, no Matter in Honour of whom, or with what Ceremonies, as their Pagan Ancestors had done, and at the same stated Times and Seasons of the Year.

Year of
Christ 496,

*The Feast of
the Purifica-
tion said to
have been in-
troduced in
their room.*

The Third Treatise was composed by *Gelasius*, to confute the Doctrine of the *Pelagians*, that a Man may live free from all Sin.

But of all the Writings of this Pope, that which he published of *the Two Natures*, against *Eutyches* and *Nestorius*, is by far the most esteemed. It is called, by a contemporary Writer, of no mean Character, an excellent Performance (D); and is often quoted by the

*His Treatise
of the Two
Natures.*

* Vide St. Elig. Serm. Hanschen. ad diem 2 Feb.

(C) The Candles, that are blessed on *Candlemass-Day*, are thought to be a sure Protection against Thunder and Lightning, and therefore are lighted by timorous Persons in stormy Weather. But their chief Virtue is to frighten the Devils, and drive them away; and for this Reason they are kept burning in the Hands of dying Persons, so long as they can hold them, and by their Beds, from the Time they begin to be in Agony, till they expire; none of the Spirits of Darkness daring to appear where they give Light. To this Practice the Italian Proverb, *ridotto alla Candela*, reduced to the Candle, owes its Rise; and is used to

express the greatest Distress a Man can be reduced to.

(D) *Gennadius*, a Presbyter of *Marseilles*, who flourished at this very time, and wrote several Books, of which he has given us himself the Catalogue. *I have written*, says he, *Eight Books against all Heresies, Six against Nestorius, Three against Pelagius, a Treatise of the Thousand Years, and the Revelation of St. John, the present Treatise*, that is, of the Ecclesiastical Writers, *and one declaring my own Doctrine, addressed to Pope Gelasius* (1). But of all his Works, only the Two last have reached our Times.

(1) Gennad. de Script. Ecclef. c. 14.

Year of
Christ 496.

*The Doctrine
of Transub-
stantiation
unknown in
his Time.*

Authors of the following Ages. In this Treatise, so much extolled and commended by all the Antients, is a Passage which shews undeniably, that, in those Days, the Church was yet utterly unacquainted with the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, at least, that *Gelasius* was. For the right Understanding of a Passage so favourable to the Protestant Doctrine, I must premise, that the *Eutychians* were supposed to believe the human Nature in Christ to have been, by its Union with the Divinity, absorbed by, and transformed into, the Divinity; so that Christ could not be said to have Two Natures, after the Union. Against these *Gelasius* undertakes to prove the Reality of the Two Natures in Christ, notwithstanding that Union; and argues thus: *The Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ, which we receive, are certainly a divine Thing; and by them we are made Partakers of the Divine Nature; but yet THE SUBSTANCE OR NATURE OF BREAD AND WINE DO NOT CEASE TO BE IN THEM. Indeed the IMAGE and SIMILITUDE of the Body and Blood of Christ is celebrated in the mysterious Action: we are therefore to believe the same thing in our Lord Christ, as we profess, celebrate, and take in his IMAGE, viz. That, as by the perfecting Virtue of the Holy Ghost the Elements pass into a divine Substance, while their Nature still remains in its own Propriety; so in that principal Mystery (the Union between the Divine and human Natures), whose Efficacy and Power these represent, there remains one true and perfect Christ; and both Natures, of which he consists, remain in their Properties unchangeable* d. He must be quite blind, who does not see, that the whole Strength of the Pope's Argument rests upon this, That the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist retain the Nature and Substance of Bread and Wine, notwithstanding their sacramental Union with the Body and Blood of Christ. This he does not prove, but supposes as a Truth, not questioned either by the *Eutychians* or the Catholics, and from thence argues the human Nature in Christ to retain, in the same manner, its own Substance, tho' united with the Divinity. Should we suppose the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist to be changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, this Argument had been of no Force against the *Eutychians*, but might have been by them unanswerably retorted against the Catholics.

d Concil. t. 4. p. 1199. et Biblioth. Patr. t. 4. p. 422.

This Passage has absolutely put the *Roman Catholic Divines* to a Nonplus; and what they have hitherto said, in Answer to it, serves only to shew, that it cannot be answered. Some of them have attempted to persuade the World, that the above-mentioned Treatise is not the Work of Pope *Gelasius*, but of another *Gelasius*, who was a Native of *Cyzicus*, and flourished at this very Time, or of a Third *Gelasius*, who was Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Palestine*, in *St. Jerom's* Time, and whose Life they prolong to the Rise of the *Nestorian* and *Eutychian* Heresies, that they may father this Work upon him. But as we know of Two Bishops, *John* and *Eulogius*, both sitting in that See after *Gelasius*, and before either of those Heresies was heard of, *Baronius* clears *Gelasius* of *Palestine*, and fixes the Charge of writing such a Piece on *Gelasius* of *Cyzicus*; nay, not satisfied with proving, he pretends *unanswerably to demonstrate*, the latter *Gelasius* to have been the Author of that Work, and not his High Pontiff *Gelasius*. It is not worth the Reader's while to hear the idle Notions, and far-fetched Conjectures, on which the Annalist founds his pretended Demonstration, nor is it worth mine to repeat them. I shall therefore only observe, in answer to all that has been, or can be, said, to prove or *demonstrate* the present Treatise not to have been written by Pope *Gelasius*; 1. That there is an intire Conformity, in point of Style, between this and the other Writings of that Pope, as the learned *Du Pin* ingenuously owns^f. 2. That in all the antient Manuscripts it is ascribed to him, and placed among his other Works. 3. That it is said by *Gennadius*, who lived at this very Time, and was well acquainted with the Pope, to have been *composed by Gelasius Bishop of the City of Rome*; and is quoted as his by *St. Fulgentius*, who wrote not Thirty Years after, and is called, by *Du Pin*, an unexceptionable Witness^h, by Pope *John II.* and by all the Writers, who, till the Time of *Baronius*, have had Occasion to mention it. But after all, what is it to the present Purpose, whether *Gelasius* of *Palestine*, of *Cyzicus*, or of *Rome*, was the Author of this Piece? Whoever he was, he speaks of the Nature and Substance of the Bread and Wine remaining in the Eucharist, as of a known Truth, which no Man disputed; and therefore could neither have himself, nor could he suppose others to have, any Notion or Idea of *Transubstantiation*. And was *Transubstantiation*, at this very

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Pope Gela-
sius undoubt-
edly Author
of this Piece

The Doctrine
contained
in that Tre-
atise, the Do-
ctrine of the
Church at
that Time.

* Bar. ad ann. 496. n. 1, et seq.
descript. Eccles. c. 14.

^f Du Pin, Bibl. Eccles. in Gelas.
^h Du Pin, ubi supra.

* Genrad.

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Time, the known Doctrine of the Church, and an Article of the Christian Faith? If it was, how came the Author of a Work, which the Antients have thought worthy of the greatest Commendations, not to know it? How can we account for his being so little acquainted, though otherwise a Man of Learning, with the received Doctrine of the Church, I may say, with his Catechism, as to suppose the Substance of the Bread and Wine to remain, when it was an Article of Faith that it did not remain? Had it in those Days been deemed a Heresy to deny *Transubstantiation*, would the contemporary Writers, who mention that Work, have all commended it, as they do, and not one of them taken the least Notice of the gross Heresy it contained?

Baronius
*strives to re-
concile the
Doctrine of
Gelasius
with the pre-
sent Doctrine
of the Church
of Rome.*

Baronius, having by a long, tedious, and senseless Digression, attempted to prove that Treatise to have been written by *Gelasius* of *Cyzicus*, and not by the Pope of that Name, though ascribed to him by all the contemporary Writers, undertakes, in the second Place, to shew, that nothing is there contained inconsistent with the Catholic Doctrine of TRANSUBSTANTIATION, nothing that can give the least Countenance to the opposite Heresy, and, consequently, that he might safely allow that Piece to be the genuine Work of the Roman Pontiff *Gelasius*. If so, he has surely taken a great deal of Trouble and Pains to very little Purpose. But to as little Purpose does he labour to reconcile the Doctrine laid down in that Treatise; viz. That, *in the Eucharist, the Substance or Nature of the Bread and the Wine is not changed, but remains*; with the present Doctrine of his Church, *In the Eucharist the Substance or Nature of the Bread and the Wine is changed, and does not remain*. But what he says on that Head, I shall give in his own Words, that I may not be thought to have misrepresented his Meaning, with a Design to expose him. *It is true*, says he, *that the Pope, if we allow, as we may, that Work to be his, owns the Substance of the Bread and the Wine to remain in the Eucharist. . . . But what did he mean here by the Substance or Nature of Bread and Wine? Not what these Words truly and properly import. For he has declared, in this very Treatise, that he does not pique himself upon the Propriety of Words. . . . By the Substance therefore of Bread and Wine, he only could, and without all doubt did, mean the Species or Accidents of Bread and Wine, that is, the Colour, Taste, Shape, Quantity. These indeed are really distinguished from the Substance; but*
he

How absurdly.

he chose to express them by that Word, the School Word Species or Accidents, by which they are properly expressed, not being yet adopted by the Church. Thus *Baronius*^b; and his Answer may, in a few Words, be reduced to this, that Gelasius said one thing, and meant another. However, the Annalist is so well pleased with it, as to call it, with his usual Modesty, a *plain Demonstration, an unanswerable Reply to the babbling and blaspheming Heretics*. Indeed I shall not presume to answer it; but cannot help blaming him for not giving us some certain Rule, whereby to judge of a Man's true Meaning, since it may not, according to him, be always conveyed to us by his Words, however plain and explicit. Without such a Rule, we may question the Definitions both of the Popes and the Councils, nay, and maintain, in spite of all their Decrees, the Doctrine diametrically opposite to that, which they seem to have established by their Definitions and Decrees, however worded.

Bellarmino's Answer is, in other Words, the same with that of *Bellarmino's* *Baronius*. For, according to him, *Gelasius*, by saying that the Substance of the Bread and Wine remained, meant no more than that it remained in Appearance, or that it only appeared to remainⁱ. But neither he, nor his Fellow-Champion, seem to have been aware, that thus they make the Pope, instead of combating the *Eutychians*, against whom he writes, supply them with an unanswerable Argument in favour of their Doctrine; viz. that as in the Eucharist the Substance of the Bread and Wine remained indeed in Appearance, but was really and truly changed into the Body and Blood of Christ; so, in the Mystery of the Incarnation, the human Nature of Christ remained indeed in Appearance, but was really and truly absorbed and changed into the Divinity. Cardinal *Alan*, more ingenuous than either of the other Two Cardinals, candidly owns it to have been the Opinion of Pope *Gelasius*, and likewise of *Theodoret*, that the Substance of the Bread and Wine remained in the Eucharist. He calls it indeed an erroneous Opinion, chusing rather to charge the Pope with an Error, than the Church, since he could, by no means, reconcile such opposite Doctrines^k. But *Baronius* and *Bellarmino* were bound to maintain the Infallibility both of the Pope and the Church, and therefore attempted, with the Success we have seen, to reconcile them,

Cardinal
Alan owns
the Pope, and
likewise
Theodoret,
to have de-
nied Tran-
substantia-
tion.

^b Bar. ad ann. 496. n. 2, 3, & seq.
Alan. de Euch. Sacrament. l. 1. c. 35.

ⁱ Bell. de Euch. l. 2. c. 27.

^k Card.

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in spite of all Contradiction. The Passage in *Theodoret*, to which Cardinal *Alan* alludes, was, no doubt, the following: *After Sanctification, he speaks of the Eucharist, the mystical Symbols do not depart from their own Nature; but REMAIN still in their FORMER SUBSTANCE, and Figure, and Form, and may be seen and touched just as before*¹. This Passage *Baronius* and *Bellarmino* explain in the same Manner as they have done that of *Gelasius*; viz. that by the *Substance Theodoret* meant Things very different from the Substance, the Accidents; that he spoke improperly, though he has no-where declared, that *he does not pique himself upon the Propriety of Words*; in short, that he said one Thing, and meant another. But I should be glad to know in what other Terms *Gelasius* and *Theodoret* could have expressed themselves, had they really believed, that *the Symbols remained in their Substance*.

Gelasius's
Decree con-
cerning the
Canonical
Books of the
Scripture.

To the other Writings of *Gelasius* we may add the Decree which he published concerning the Canonical and Apocryphal Books of the Scripture, and the Primacy of the *Roman Sec*. For that Decree was drawn up by him, and only approved by the Council that was held at *Rome* in 494. and consisted of Seventy Bishops. He there places among the Canonical Books those which we reject as Apocryphal, and which the Church rejected in St. *Jerom's* Time^m. He mentions but one Book of the *Maccabees*, and that he makes Canonical, as his Predecessor *Innocent* had done. But both these Books were afterwards declared Apocryphal by Pope *Gregory the Great*ⁿ; and such they were deemed by many learned Men among the *Roman Catholics* themselves, till they were anew declared Canonical by the Council of *Trent*, probably *because they are of great Force against Heretics, Purgatory being no-where so expressly mentioned as in the Maccabees*; which is the Reason a *Roman Catholic* Writer has given why they ought to be admitted into the Canon^o.

Changes the
Foundation
on which the
Primacy had
hitherto stood.

As to the Primacy of the *Roman Sec*, it was now high Time for the Popes to think of changing the Foundation on which it had hitherto stood, the Dignity of the Imperial City, and the Decrees of Councils. The City of *Constantinople* was now superior in Dignity to that of *Rome*. It was the sole Imperial City in the whole Christian World; and *Rome* only the Metropolis of a small Kingdom, the Kingdom of *Italy*. The Councils had all founded the Pre-eminence,

¹ Theod. Dial. 1. t. 4. p. 17.
ral. in Job. l. 19. c. 17.

^m Hier. in Prolog. Gal.
^o Jul. Rieger de Lib. Canon. p. 80.

ⁿ Greg. Mo-

Honours, and Privileges granted by them to the See of *Rome*, on the Dignity of the City, and the Regard and Respect that was due to the Metropolis and Seat of the Empire ^p. That Foundation was now withdrawn; and *Gelasius* did not know but as Two Occumenical Councils (of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon*) had placed the Rival See next in Dignity to the See of *Rome*, a Third might, upon the same Principle, raise it even above the See of *Rome*, as it had been already raised above those of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. To prevent this, and lay a new Foundation, that could not be removed, as being independent of Councils, and at the same time might support the Primacy, whatever became of the City, he enacted the present Decree, boldly declaring, as if all Records had been destroyed, and Men knew nothing of what had happened but a few Years before, *That it was not to any Councils, or the Decrees of any, that the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church owed her Primacy, but to the Words of our Saviour, saying in the Gospel, Thou art Peter, &c. and thereby building the Church upon him, as upon a Rock that nothing could shake; that the Roman Church, not having Spot or Wrinkle, was consecrated, and exalted above all other Churches, by the Presence, as well as by the Death, Martyrdom, and glorious Triumph, of the Two chief Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, who suffered at Rome under Nero, not at different Times, as the Heretics say, but at the same Time, and on the same Day; and that the Roman Church is the First Church, because founded by the First Apostle, the Church of Alexandria the Second, because founded by his Disciple St. Mark in his Name, and that of Antioch the Third, because St. Peter dwelt there before he came to Rome, and in that City the Faithful were first distinguished with the Name of Christians* ^q.

That the Sees were ranked according to the Dignity of the Cities, without any kind of Regard to their Founders, has been unanswerably demonstrated in several Places of this Work ^r; and no Truth (if in History there is any Truth) can be better attested. I shall therefore only observe, with respect to the present remarkable Decree, I. That the Fathers are greatly divided among themselves about the true Meaning of the Passage, *Thou art Peter, &c.* on which *Gelasius* pretends to found the *Primacy*, and the Divines of the Church of *Rome* the *Supremacy*, of the *Roman* See. Some of the Fathers, by

The Passage
Thou art
Peter, &c.
has no kind of
Connexion
with the Pri-
macy.

^p See above, p. 80.
& supra, p. 79, 80.

^q Concil. t. 4. p. 1260.

^r See Vol. I. p. 104, & seq.

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the *Rock*, on which the Church was to be built, understand St. *Peter's* Faith, and not his Person; others neither his Faith nor his Person, but Christ himself; and some the other Apostles, as well as St. *Peter*, who are therefore in Scripture all called Foundations. In the first Sense, that Passage is interpreted by St. *Hilarius*, St. *Gregory of Nyssa*, St. *Ambrose*, St. *Chrysostom*, St. *Austin*, *Cyril of Alexandria*, *Juvenalis of Jerusalem*, nay, and by some of the Popes themselves, viz. *Gregory the Great*, *Felix III.* *Nicholas I.* and *John VIII.* And truly this Interpretation seems the most natural. St. *Peter* had said before, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God*; our Saviour answered, *Thou art Peter, and on this Rock*, on this Faith, of which thou hast now made Profession, *I will build my Church*, &c. However, St. *Jerom* understood that Passage in the second Sense; and *Origen*, St. *Cyprian*, St. *Basil*, and *Theodoret*, in the third. But in none of these Senses has it, as is evident, any kind of Connexion either with the *Primacy* or the *Supremacy* of St. *Peter*, and his pretended Sec.

Not certain
that St. Peter
and St. Paul
suffered in
the same Year.

II. In that Decree *Gelasius* brands those with the Name of Heretics, who pretended St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* to have suffered at different Times. Was this a Matter of such mighty Moment as to be made an Article of Faith? But that they did suffer at different Times, tho' on the same Day; that St. *Peter* suffered a Year before St. *Paul*; was the Opinion not only of *Prudentius*^t, *Strator*^u, and St. *Nilus*^w, but of St. *Austin*, nay, and a common Tradition, in his Time^x.

Gelasius
takes no Notice
of St. Peter's
having founded
the See of Antioch;
and why.

III. It is remarkable, that *Gelasius*, in ranking, as he does, the Three Patriarchal Sees, according to the Relation they had to St. *Peter*, takes no Notice of that Apostle's having founded the See of *Antioch*; though that it was founded by him, nay, that he sat at *Antioch* several Years, was an Opinion so universally received at this very Time, that it had been deemed a kind of Heresy to dispute it (D). But that the Pope craftily dissembled for the present, contenting

^t See Barrow, Pope's Suprem. p. 86, 87. Du Pin, dissert. 4. p. 304—313. ^u Prud. de Mart. 12. p. 144. ^w Strat. l. 2. p. 700. ^x Phot. c. 276. ^y Aug. serm. 296. c. 7.

(D) St. *Chrysostom* writes, that St. *Peter* continued at *Antioch* a long time (1). That long time Pope *Gregory the Great* fixed to Seven Years (2); and it is now the prevailing Opinion in the Church of *Rome*, that St. *Peter* governed the Church

tenting himself with only saying, that *St. Peter dwelt at Antioch* before he came to *Rome*, and alleging that as a Reason why the *Sec of Antioch* was the Third in Rank and Dignity. Had he owned it to have been founded by *St. Peter*, he could have given no Reason, without recurring to the Dignity of the Cities, why it was placed, though founded by that Apostle himself, after the *Sec of Alexandria*, founded only by a Disciple of his. Of this he seems to have been well aware, and therefore to have industriously avoided all Mention of the Founder of that *Sec*, as if it had been *consecrated*, and raised to the Third Rank, only by the Presence of *St. Peter*. Besides, had he here made *St. Peter* the Founder of the *Sec of Antioch*, his Method of Reasoning had appeared as absurd as it really was; for he had then reasoned thus: The *Sec of Rome* is the First, because founded by *St. Peter*, and consecrated by the Presence and the Death of that Apostle; the *Sec of Alexandria* is the Second, because founded by a Disciple of *St. Peter*, and in *St. Peter's* Name, as he pretends, without any Warrant; and that of *Antioch*, the Third, because founded, not by a Disciple of *St. Peter*, but by *St. Peter* himself, and consecrated by his sitting several Years there.

of *Antioch* Seven Years, and the *Roman* Twenty-five, or, as some will have it, only Twenty-four Years, Five Months, and Twelve Days (3). The Computation had been still more minute and exact, had they added to the Number of the Days that of the Hours; and they might have done the one as well as the other. To confirm the prevailing Opinion, especially as it owes its Rise to a great Pope, *Eusebius* has been made to write, in his Chronicle, That *St. Peter sat at Antioch Seven Years, and from thence travelled to Rome, where he resided Five-and-twenty*. I say, made to write; for that Passage has been long looked upon, by all unprejudiced Men, as an Interpolation; and was therefore left out by *Scaliger*, in his *Greek Edition of Eusebius* (4), as absolutely inconsistent with Chronology, and contradicting what the same Author writes in his History, at least, with respect to the Time *St. Peter* is said to have resided at *Rome*. For he there tells us, that *St. Peter, having preached the Gospel in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, &c. at*

last, or in the End, being at Rome, he was there put to Death (5). Whether he would have thus expressed himself, had he believed *St. Peter* to have resided Five-and-twenty Years at *Rome*, I leave the Reader to judge. No Pope has yet attained to the supposed Years of Pope *Peter*; and if we credit the Prophecy of an unknown Prophet, *non videbis annos Petri*, none ever will. *Adrian*, chosen in 772. was, I think, the nearest, in Years, to *St. Peter*. For he sat Twenty-three Years, Ten Months, and Seventeen Days. In our Time *Clement XI.* held the Papal Dignity Twenty Years, Three Months, and Twenty-six Days; and, in the last Years of his Life, that he might not yet be under any Apprehension from the Prophecy, it began to be interpreted as including the Seven Years *St. Peter* had sat at *Antioch*, as well as the Twenty-five he had sat at *Rome*. The Church of *Rome* celebrates the Festival of *St. Peter's* Chair, at *Antioch*, on the 22d of February. But I have shewn elsewhere (6), that *St. Peter* was never Bishop of *Antioch*.

(3) Panvin. in chron. Rom. Pont. et alii. hist. l. 3. c. 1.

(6) Vol. I. p. 382. in the Notes.

(4) Lug. Bat. 1606.

(5) Euseb.

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Gelasius is said to have written some other Tracts, on different Subjects; but none of his Works are now extant, besides those I have mentioned, and a *Sacramentarium*, which passes under his Name, and was printed at *Rome*, in 1680. from a Manuscript, thought then to be 900 Years old. His Style is elevated, but obscure, and in some Places absolutely unintelligible. In his Writings is a great deal of false Reasoning, as *Du Pin* has observed²; and he often supposes, for certain, what is absolutely groundless, or very ill-grounded.

ANASTASIUS.

ANASTASIUS II.

Forty-ninth BISHOP of Rome.

Anastasius
chosen.

The Western
Churches en-
joy a profound
Tranquillity.
In the East
the Emperor
declares
against the
Council of
Chalcedon.

IN the room of *Gelasius* was unanimously chosen *Anastasius*, the Second of that Name, a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of a *Roman* Citizen, named *Peter*¹; which is all we know of him before his Election. He was ordained on the 28th of *November*, as some pretend, or the 25th of *December*, as others will have it. At this Time reigned a profound Tranquillity in the Western or *Latin* Church, the Western Provinces being, for the most part, subject to *Arian* Princes, who did not concern themselves about the Council of *Chalcedon*, or the Doctrine of the Two Natures. But, in the East, the Emperor *Anastasius* had openly declared against that Council ever since the Year 494. and spared no Pains to gain over to his Party such of the Bishops as still stood up in Defence of its famous, or, as he styled it, unintelligible Decree. *Palladius* of *Antioch*, and *Athanasius* of *Alexandria*, readily joined him, anathematizing the Doctrine of Two Natures, and, with the Doctrine, those who had defined it, and all who held it. But *Euphemius* of *Constantinople*, who was at the Head of the Catholic Party, as they styled themselves, could neither be allured by Promises, nor awed by Threats, into a Compliance with the Emperor's Will. Since all other Means therefore proved ineffectual, the Death of the obstinate and refractory Priest, as they called him at Court, was resolved on at last; and a

¹ Gennad. de Scrip. Eccles. c. 14.
Bolland. t. 1. p. 35.

² Du Pin, ubi supra.

³ Marcell. chron.

Person was hired, with a large Sum, to murder him. The Assassin first met him at the Door of the Vestry; and there, tho' he was attended by others, discharged a Blow at his Head with a Scymetar. But the Defender of the Church, who was taller than the Bishop, received the Blow on his Head; and, in the mean time, an Ecclesiastic, with the Bolt of the Door, the first Thing that offered, laid the Assassin dead at his Feet ^b. Another Attempt was made on the Bishop's Life, on Occasion of his going to officiate in a Church on the neighbouring Mountain. But the Assassins missing their Blow a Second time, the Emperor resolved to discharge them, and employ the Bishops of the opposite Party, in their room, promising himself better Success from them, in the Temper they were in at that Time, than from any Assassins he could hire. And they answered his Expectation; for he having assembled in Council all the Bishops, who were then in *Constantinople*, and charged *Euphemius*, before them, with several Crimes, they declared him, without any farther Examination or Inquiry, unworthy of the Episcopal Dignity, and deposed him accordingly. This Sentence occasioned an Insurrection; but the Populace, having no *Stylites* to head or encourage them, were soon quelled, and *Euphemius* was conveyed into Exile, where he died in 515. or, as some write, was murdered, by an Order from the Emperor ^c. No Man ever deserved better of the Catholic Faith than *Euphemius*, if the Faith of *Chalcedon* was the Catholic Faith. Had he to his extraordinary Zeal for that Faith, which cost him the Loss of his See, if not of his Life, added the Merit of gratifying the revengeful Spirit of the Popes, by striking the Name of *Acacius* out of the Diptychs, we should now see him honoured as a Saint of the first Class, how prejudicial soever his Complaisance to them might have proved to the Catholic Cause. But as he could not be prevailed upon to sacrifice the Catholic Interest in the East, and at the same time prostitute his own Conscience to their Revenge and Ambition, he has not been thought worthy of a Place in the Calendar, either among the Confessors or the Martyrs. *Baronius* indeed owns, that his Sufferings intitled him to that Honour; but adds, that, as he did not deserve, by deposing *Acacius* after his Death, to be admitted to the Communion of the *Roman* Church, out of which there is no true Confession of Faith, no true Martyrdom, the unhappy Wretch forfeited

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And orders
Euphemius,
who stood up
in Defence of
that Council,
to be murdered.

Euphemius
escapes; but
is condemned
and deposed
by a Council.

His blameless
Life and Sufferings avail-
ed him no-
thing, in the
Opinion of
Baronius;
and why.

^b Theod. Lect. p. 559. Theoph. p. 119, 120. ^c Theod. Lect. p. 559. Marcell. chron. Concil. t. 4. p. 1413. Surius 11 Decemb. p. 230.

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every other Merit, was himself deposed by a just Judgment of God ; and though he died in Defence of the true Faith, departed inglorious ^d. Thus does that profane and venal Writer impiously place the chief, or rather the only, Merit and Duty of a good Bishop, in gratifying the Revenge, the Ambition, and the other ungodly Passions of his High Pontiffs. This was, by his own Confession, the only Merit *Euphemius* wanted. He had, but a little before, acknowledged him to have been not only orthodox in his Belief, but the Pillar of the Orthodox Faith, and a most zealous Defender of the Council of *Chalcedon* ; nay, and to have been, on that Account, deservedly honoured and revered by all the Orthodox ; insomuch that not to communicate with him, was declaring against the Council of *Chalcedon* ^e. But the Want of that Merit no other could supply ; and therefore *the unhappy Wretch*, with all his other Merits, departed *inglorious*. But if there is no true Confession of Faith out of the Communion of the *Roman Church*, why did not *Baronius*, in virtue of the Commission or full Power granted him to reform the Calendar, that is, to saint or unsaint whom he pleased, drive from Heaven the Two great Saints *Meletius* and *Flavianus* ^f, both Bishops of *Antioch*, and the other Saints I have mentioned above ^g, who all died out of the Communion of the *Roman Church* ? If *Euphemius* did not deserve a Place in Heaven, they of course ought to have forfeited theirs.

Macedonius
is chosen in
his room.

In the room of *Euphemius* was chosen, by the Clergy and People of *Constantinople*, *Macedonius*, a Presbyter of that Church, no less zealously attached to the Council of *Chalcedon* than *Euphemius* himself. He did not write to the Pope, as his Predecessor had done, to acquaint him with his Promotion, or to beg his Communion, concluding from the inflexible Obstinacy and haughty Behaviour of the Two last Popes, that it would be in vain for him to attempt a Reconciliation with *Rome*, upon any other Terms but those which they had so peremptorily required, and he was absolutely determined not

The new Pope
desirous of
putting an
End to the
present Dis-
turbances.

to grant. But the new Pope was more peaceably inclined than either of his Two immediate Predecessors, and sincerely desirous of putting an End to the present unhappy Division. It grieved him to quarrel about a Matter of so very small Moment, and to live, as it were, in a State of Enmity with Men, who professed the same Faith with

^d Bar. ad ann. 495. n. 21—23.
489. n. 3.

^e Idem ad ann. 492. n. 7. 9. 26. 46. et ad ann.
^f See Vol. I. p. 196. et 221.

^g See p. 224.

Year of
Christ 497.

him, and suffered so much to support and maintain it. But, on the other hand, he was unwilling to yield, and at the same time sensible that they could not, without disobliging the Emperor, and thereby exposing both themselves and their Cause to the utmost Danger. He resolved therefore to try, in the First place, whether the Emperor might not be prevailed upon to suffer the Name of *Acacius* to be omitted in the Diptychs. With this View he determined, without Loss of Time, to dispatch a solemn Legation to the Court of *Constantinople*; though his Predecessor *Gelasius* had rejected, with great Scorn and Haughtiness, the Proposal, made to him by *Euphemius*, of sending Legates, as if he despaired of, or were indifferent about, the Success of their Negotiations. The Persons he employed on this Occasion were *Cresconius* of *Todi*, and *Germanus* of *Capua*, both Men of uncommon Parts, and great Moderation. By them he wrote a most humble, submissive, and respectful Letter to the Emperor, with this Address, *To my most glorious and most clement Son Anastasius Augustus, Bishop Anastasius*. However he takes care, from the very Beginning, to let him know, what it was now of more Importance than ever the Emperors should be all well apprised of; *viz.* That the *Roman* See held the First Place in the Catholic Church, and held it by *Divine Appointment*, our Lord saying to *St. Peter*, *Thou art Peter, &c.* Words, which we shall hear echoed, after *Gelasius*, by all the Popes, and on all Occasions. Throughout the whole Letter he expresses a most earnest Desire of seeing Tranquillity restored to the Church; in his Days; and as the Name of *Acacius* was the only Subject of the Quarrel between the Two Churches, and the only Obstruction to the wished-for Union, he does not imperiously require, as his Predecessors had done, but begs, in the most humble Terms, it may be omitted; that our Saviour's Coat, *without Seam, woven from the Top throughout*, meaning the Church, may not be rent, for a Matter of so very little Moment, for the sake of a dead Man's Name. He adds, that the *Roman* Church ought not to be blamed for requiring his Name to be expunged, since she had condemned him; but that neither the Sentence of the Apostolic See, nor any-thing else, it was in the Power of Men to do, to the Prejudice of his Memory, were undoubted Proofs of his having been guilty before God; that the *Roman* Church, indeed, had condemned him for Crimes as certain as human Evidence could make them; but, after all, that

Men

He sends Legates into the East, and writes to the Emperor.

Year of
Chriſt 497.

He allows
the Orders
conferred by
Acacius to be
valid.

Men acted as Men, and there was but *One Judgment infallible*, that of God, who ſearches the Hearts.

The *Greeks* apprehended; and it was conſonant to Reaſon they ſhould, that if they acknowledged *Acacius* to have been lawfully depoſed, they muſt of courſe own the Orders he had conferred, after his Depoſition, to be null. For, by the Sentence of *Felix*, he was diveſted of all Epiſcopal Power; and not even the Name of Biſhop was left him ^f. To remove this Apprehenſion, which engaged in the Cauſe of *Acacius* all whom he had ordained, the Pope declares, by the preſent Letter, the Orders conferred by him, as well as the Sacraments, which he had adminiſtered after his Condemnation, to be valid; which was, in effect, reverſing the Sentence of his Predeceſſor, or rather declaring it to have been null, from the Beginning. He expreſſes all along the greateſt Regard and Reſpect for the Imperial Dignity, never addreſſing the Emperor, but with the Titles of *Tour Highneſs, Tour Serenity, Tour Piety, Clemency, &c.* and, oppoſing to them, when he ſpeaks of himſelf, *My Lowneſs, or My Obſcurity* & (A).

The diſtracted
State of
the Church of
Alexandria.

The Pope does not forget, in his Letter, the diſtracted State of the Church of *Alexandria*, rent at this time into Three different Parties or Faſtions, under the *Eutychian* Biſhop *Athanafius*, who had ſucceeded *Mongus* in 490. One Party was ſatiſfied with the *Henoticon* alone; another to the *Henoticon* added the Decree of *Chalcedon*, and

^f See p. 200.

^g Concil. t. 4. p. 1278—1280.

(A) I cannot help being a little ſurpriſed at the mighty Commendations the Pope beſtows, in this Letter, on the Emperor's *Divine Wiſdom*, for ſo he ſtyles it, on his exemplary Piety, and extraordinary Zeal for the true Faith; telling him, that, while he was yet a private Man, he had not yielded, as was known by certain Fame, to the beſt Biſhops, in the Obſervance of the Rules, which the Fathers had preſcribed to the Church; and that he did not doubt but the Growth of his Piety had kept Pace with that of his Dignity. How can we account for his thus extolling the Wiſdom, Piety, and Zeal of a Man, who, at this very Time, was perfecuting all who profeſſed the Faith, that was believed at *Rome*

to be the only true Faith; who, before his Acceſſion to the Empire, had frequented ſchiſmatical Aſſemblies, and had even raiſed ſome Diſturbances in the Church, for which *Euphemius* had threatened to cauſe him to be ſhaved, that is, to be ſhut up in a Monastery; and would not conſent to his Election till he had promiſed, upon Oath, to take the Decree of *Chalcedon* for the Rule of his Faith, and given him that Promiſe, in his own Hand-writing, to be lodged in the Archives of the Church (1)? Was the Pope unacquainted with Tranſactions, which the whole World knew? Or did he hope by ſuch Commendations to flatter the Emperor into a Compliance with his Requeſt?

(1) Theod. Leſt. p. 58. Evagr. l. 3. c. 12. Viſt. Tun. in chron.

the Doctrine of the *Two Natures*, while a Third anathematized the *Henoticon*, as well as the Decree of *Chalcedon*, and all, who held either. *Anastasius* therefore earnestly intreats the Emperor to employ his Wisdom, his *Divine Admonitions*, and the Authority, with which it has pleased God to vest him, *as his Vicar upon Earth*, in bringing back that Church to the Unity of the Faith ^h.

Year of,
Christ 497.

With this Letter, written in a Style so very different from that which latter Popes have used to the Emperors, and so exactly like that they have assumed to themselves, the Legates set out for *Constantinople*, in the Beginning of the present Year 497. and with them *Festus* the Patrician, dispatched by King *Theodoric*, upon some Affairs of State, to that Court. On their Arrival at *Constantinople* they were all received with particular Marks of Respect and Esteem by the Emperor, who expressed great Satisfaction at his finding the new Pope so well disposed, and so sincerely inclined to a Reconciliation. However, as he was determined not to suffer the Name of *Acacius* to be omitted in the Diptychs, lest the Bishops of *Rome* should thence take Occasion to triumph over those of the Imperial City, he would not hear the Legates on that Subject; but had several private Conferences with *Festus*, whom he found better acquainted with the Pope's real Sentiments, than the Legates themselves. To him he represented, that as it was, by the Pope's own Confession, a Matter of very small Moment, whether the Name of *Acacius* was mentioned or omitted at the Altar, it reflected no small Disgrace on the Christian Name, to see one Half of the Christians divided from, nay, at open Enmity, and declared War, with the other, for what was deemed by both a mere Trifle, while they all owned mutual Charity, and brotherly Love, to be the Foundation of every Virtue, and to have been more warmly recommended than any other Virtue by the divine Founder of the Religion they professed; that it was not the Honour of the See of *Rome*, or of the See of *Constantinople*, but of the Christian Religion, that was at Stake; that, not to perpetuate so fatal a Division, the one ought to yield to the other, and the only Subject of Contention should be, which should yield the first to the other; that, in his Opinion indeed, the *Roman* See ought to yield, since by that See the War was begun, and the Mischiefs occasioned by so destructive a War could by no other means be better

The Legates
are well re-
ceived by the
Emperor.

Who chuses
rather to
confer with
the Patrician
Festus, than
with them.

He is for a
Reconcilia-
tion, but
thinks Rome
ought to yield.

^h Concil. ibid.

Year of
Chrift 497.

Festus takes
upon him to
persuade the
Pope to yield,
and to receive
the Heno-
ticon.

The Pope
disposed to
yield.

He places
greater Con-
fidence in
Festus than
in his own
Legates.

atoned for. *Festus* seems to have been intirely of the Emperor's Opinion; and therefore, as he was well apprised of the good Disposition of the Pope, and his sincere Desire of Peace, he privately promised to persuade him, on his Return to *Rome*, not only to connive at the Name of *Acacius* being kept in the Diptychs, but even to receive and sign the *Henoticon*¹. And indeed, if what is said of this Pope, by the *Bibliothecarian*, be true, *viz.* That, at this very Time, he admitted to his Communion a Deacon of *Theffalonica*, named *Photinus*, most zealously attached to the Memory of *Acacius*^k, it is not to be doubted but *Festus* would have made his Promise good, at least with respect to the Name of the Bishop. I am sensible, that the Evidence of the *Bibliothecarian* ought not to be rashly admitted. But from the whole Conduct of this good Pope it is manifest, that he had nothing so much at Heart as to put an End to the present Troubles, almost upon any Terms; and, on the other hand, it is certain, that the above-mentioned Deacon was dispatched at this very Time to *Rome*, by *Andrew* of *Theffalonica*, whom *Gelasius* had excluded from his Communion, because he would not condemn *Acacius*; and that he was well received by the Pope^l. *Baronius* himself owns this *Aspersio* to have been cast on the Memory of the Pope, soon after his Decease. He calls it an *Aspersio*, because it is, according to his Principles, aspersing a Pope, to say, that to heal a Schism, and save the Church from impending Ruin, he abated, in the least, of the Pretensions of his See, or departed from the Measures, however dangerous or prejudicial, which his Predecessors had pursued. Upon the Whole, the *Bibliothecarian* was better informed of this, than he seems to have been of most other distant Transactions. And what he adds is highly probable, *viz.* That the Pope had resolved with himself to suffer the Name of *Acacius* to be kept in the Diptychs, if he could by no other means bring back the *Greeks* to the Communion of *Rome*^m. This Resolution, however secret, he must have communicated to *Festus*; else that Patrician had never made the Promise he did to the Emperor. And truly the Pope seems to have placed greater Confidence in him than in his own Legates, not caring perhaps to disclose his real Sentiments so freely to them as to him, or apprehending that, as they were Bishops, and consequently not a little

¹ Theoph. p. 123. Theodor. Lect. p. 560. Niceph. l. 16.
in Anaft. ^l Concil. t. 4. p. 1184.

^k Anaft. Biblioth.
^m Anaft. Bib. in Anaft.

prejudiced, though the most moderate he could chuse, against the See of *Constantinople*, and in Favour of the See of *Rome*, they would be more apt to stand upon Punctilio than an unprejudiced Layman, and might for the sake of some Trifle, for some idle Claim or Pretension, obstruct the great Work, for which they were sent. It is not to be doubted, but *Festus* had a private Commission, and private Instructions, from the Pope concerning the present important Affair, though Historians speak of him as only employed by King *Theodoric* in Civil Affairs. For the Emperor, as we have seen, chose to treat with him, and not with the Legates; and the Deputies from the Church of *Alexandria*, in the Memorial, which we shall soon see them present to the Legates, name *Festus* even before them.

Year of
Christ 497.

The *Bibliothecarian* writes, that so much Condescension in the Pope, and particularly his communicating with the *Acacian* Deacon, gave great Offence to the *Roman* Clergyⁿ. No one can doubt but it did, most of the Ecclesiastics of *Rome* being for maintaining, at all Events, the Dignity and Grandeur of a See, in which every low Clerk among them flattered himself then, as they all do now, that he should sit one Day himself. But that they should have carried their Resentment against the good Pope to such a Height, as to separate themselves from his Communion^o, is too remarkable an Event to have escaped the Notice of the contemporary Historians, or to be credited upon the bare Testimony of a Writer of the 9th Century, often guilty of great Mistakes with respect to Facts much less remote from his own Time.

The Conde-
scension of the
Pope gives
Offence to
the Roman
Clergy.

The Arrival of the Legates at *Constantinople*, and the peaceable Disposition of the Pope, were no sooner known at *Alexandria*, than it was determined there, that Deputies should be sent, in the Name of that Church, to negotiate a Reconciliation with *Rome*. The Persons employed on this Occasion were *Dioscorus* and *Cheremon*, the former a Presbyter, and afterwards Bishop of that City, and the latter only a Reader. On their Arrival at *Constantinople* they presented a Memorial to *Festus*, and the Two Legates, thus addressed: *To the most Glorious and most Excellent Patrician Festus, and to the Venerable Bishops Cresconius and Germanus, sent, together with him, on a Legation from the City of Rome to the most Clement and Ami-*

Deputies sent
from the
Church of
Alexandria,
to negotiate a
Reconcilia-
tion with
Rome.
Year of
Christ 498.

ⁿ Anast. ibid.

^o Idem ibid.

Year of
Chriſt 498.

The Contents
of the Memo-
rial, which
they preſent-
ed to the
Legates.

*able Emperor, in Chriſt, Anaſtaſius, Dioſcorus Preſbyter, and Chere-
mon Reader, REſponſales, or Nuncios, of the venerable Church of*
Alexandria. They begin their Memorial with a long Apology, to
juſtify the Conduct of the Church of *Alexandria*, in ſeparating her-
ſelf from the Communion of *Rome*. This Separation was intirely
owing, according to their Account, to a falſe Tranſlation of Pope
Leo's Letter, concerning the Two Natures, done by *Theodoret*, and
plainly containing the blaſphemous Tenet of the wicked *Neftorius*.
From the *Greek* Tranſlation they had judged of the *Latin* Original;
and thence concluding the Errors, which the *Neftorian* Tranſlator
had inſerted, to be the Doctrines of the *Roman* Church, they had
thereupon ſeparated themſelves, as it was their Duty to do, from her
Communion. But having been lately informed by the Deacon *Pho-
tinus*, that the original Letter, which he had ſeen at *Rome*, con-
tained nothing but what was intirely agreeable to the Definitions of
Nice, and that the preſent Biſhop of that City had condemned, in
his Preſence, the Errors which had given Offence to the Church of
Alexandria, the ſaid Church, deſirous of renewing her Communion
with the Catholic Church of the City of *Rome*, had choſen them to
negotiate the ſo long wiſhed for Reconciliation. From this Part of
the Memorial it is manifeſt, as we may obſerve here, by the way,
that the *Egyptians* were utter Strangers to the Infallibility of the
Pope, or the *Roman* Church; nay, that the Pope himſelf was as
great a Stranger to that Prerogative as they. For, if he had pretend-
ed to be infallible, no Man can imagine, that the *Alexandrians* would
have ſuppoſed him fallible, as they plainly do, at the very Time they
were ſtriving to gain his good Will, and in a Memorial artfully cal-
culated for that Purpoſe. We know what kind of Reception ſuch
a Memorial would meet with now, though nothing was then ob-
jected againſt it by either of the Legates.

Their Con-
feſſion of
Faith.

To the Memorial the Deputies added a Confefſion of the Faith
profefſed at that Time by the Church of *Alexandria*. In that Con-
feſſion they received the Definitions of *Nice*, confirmed by the Coun-
cils of *Conſtantinople*, and the firſt of *Ephesus*; acknowledged the
Son of God to be true Man; and ended with anathematizing, ac-
cording to the Charity that prevailed in thoſe Days, *Eutyches*, and
with him all, who held now, or ever had held, in what Place or
Council ſoever, Opinions or Doctrines differing from theirs. The

Legates were not at all pleased with this Confession, no Mention being there made of the Council of *Chalcedon*; and Christ being only acknowledged to be true God, and true Man, without any Declaration whether they believed him to be only of *Two Natures*, or both of and in *Two Natures*. However, they received it, such as it was; and promised to deliver it to the Pope on their Return to *Rome*. But his Holiness, they added, will insist on your erasing the Names of *Dioscorus*, *Elurus*, and *Mongus*, out of the Roll of your Bishops, as a Preliminary to the Peace for which you are suing. The Deputies replied, That, if their Confession of Faith was approved at *Rome*, they would make it appear, that those Three holy Archbishops had held that, and no other Faith; and consequently, that the mentioning or suppressing their Names depended on the Reception; which that Confession should meet with. It is remarkably ridiculous, that, in the End of their Memorial, they tell the Legates, that they have kept a Copy of it by them, to be produced in Judgment on the last Day, should *Rome* neglect to concur with them in re-establishing the Peace of the Catholic Church.

The Legates continued at *Constantinople* till the Month of *September* of the present Year 498. when they set out from that City, together with *Festus*, on their Return to *Italy*. But the Pope died before they reached *Rome*; which was a great Disappointment and Mortification to *Festus*, who, depending on his Inclination to Peace, and the Confidence the Pope reposed in him, had entertained Hopes of seeing the ancient Harmony soon restored between the East and the West, and of being himself instrumental in so great a Work. As *Anastasius* was a Lover of Peace, an Enemy to all Strife and Contention, free from Ambition, now the chief Merit of a Pope, and ready to sacrifice even the Pretensions of his See to the Welfare of the Church, I need not tell the Reader, that he has not been thought worthy of a Place in the Calendar. And it must be owned, the Church could not, without the greatest Inconsistency, have conferred the Honour of Saintship upon him, after she had bestowed it on his Two immediate Predecessors *Gelasius* and *Felix*. For, if it was deemed meritorious in them to have kindled the Flame of Discord by a haughty Behaviour, his striving, by a quite contrary Conduct, to extinguish that Flame, could not be thought meritorious in him.

Year of
Christ 498.

The Legates
not satisfied
with it, but
receive it.

The Pope dies
before the
Return of
his Legates.

Why he has
not been
sainted.

Year of
Christ 498.

*Aspersions
cast on his
Memory.*

Some, and the *Bibliothecarian*, with his Transcriber *Platina*, among the rest, have even endeavoured to blacken his Character, and asperse his Memory, as if he had been cut off by a sudden Death (A), which they style a just Judgment, that he might not have Time to put in Execution the wicked Design he had formed, to the irreparable Prejudice of the Catholic Faith. To read those Authors, one would think, that this good Pope was the most wicked of Men; that he designed nothing less than utterly to extirpate the Christian Religion; and, by turning *Manichee*, or embracing some other detestable Sect, introduce all their Abominations into the Church. But the wicked Design he had formed is reduced, in the End, to this; That he had determined to suffer the Name of *Acacius* to stand among the Names of other Bishops, if he could by no other means heal the Divisions, which had prevailed so long among the Christian Bishops. One would hardly think Men indued with the least Share of common Sense, or in the least acquainted with the Doctrine of the Gospel, capable of entertaining such absurd and antichristian Notions. However, *Baronius* seems to fall in with them, and to think, that *Anastasi* was cut off in the very Beginning of his Pontificate, lest he should, by an unseasonable Condescension, and a mistaken Zeal for the Unity of the Faith, have defeated the Measures, which his Predecessors had so steadily pursued^s; that is, lest it should ever be said, that a Pope had yielded, and, by a Christian Condescension repaired the Mischief which his Predecessors had done. *Anastasi* enjoyed the Pontificate, as *Baronius* observes, a very short time. But had he only cast his Eye on the Catalogue of the Popes, he would have found many there, Threescore at least, who did not enjoy it so long as he, and some of them intirely answering the Character, which the Annalist seems to have drawn to himself, of a good Pope. And might not we with better Reason construe their Death into a Judgment for their Pride and Presumption, than he does that of *Anastasi* for his Christian Condescension and Moderation? But, after all, I will not take upon me to justify the Conduct of *Anasta-*

*His Death
not a Judg-
ment.*

*He is not
free from all
Blame.*

^s Bar. ad ann. 497. n. 28.

(A) *Ferunt divino nutu hominem subito cessitati naturæ obtemperat*; says *Platina*, speaking of the Death of this Pope (1).
morbo correptum interiisse. Sunt qui dicant eum in latrinam effudisse intestina, dum ne-

(1) Plat. in Anast.

sius in every respect, and clear him from all kind of Blame. In his Letter to the Emperor, he owned it to be a Matter of very small Moment, a mere Trifle, whether the Name of *Acacius* was omitted, or mentioned. Why then did he require it at all to be omitted? Why did he delay concluding an Affair of the utmost Importance for the sake of a Trifle?

Year of
Christ 498.

As to the Writings of *Anastasius*, besides the Letter he writ to the Emperor, which I have mentioned above, there is one from him to *Clovis*, King of the *Franks*, congratulating that Prince on his Conversion to the Christian Religion. For *Clovis*, the first Christian King of the *Franks*, was baptized on Christmas-day 496. the very Day, according to some, on which the Pope was ordained†. But neither the Pope nor the Church had great Reason to be proud of the new Convert. He changed his Religion, not his Manners; or, if he changed his Manners, it was for the worse, having been guilty of far more enormous Crimes, or more cruel, treacherous, and unnatural Murders, after his Conversion, than he had ever committed while he was still a Pagan. But he was a zealous Catholic, built some Churches, presented St. *Peter* with a Crown of Gold enriched with precious Stones; and therefore has been highly commended, even as a religious Prince, by almost all the Ecclesiastical Writers of those Times; as if his Zeal for the Faith, and Liberality to the Church, could, in their Opinion, have fully atoned for the most barbarous Assassinations that are recorded in History (A). A French Historian,

Clovis, the first Christian King of the Franks, converted in his Time.

† Flottemanville annal. politic. Ecclef. ad ann. 496. n. 18.

(A) The Royal Profelyte seems to have been but very indifferently instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion. For, we are told, that St. *Remigius*, Bishop of *Rheims*, by whom he was baptized, having preached a Sermon to him, after his Baptism, on the Passion and Sufferings of our Saviour, the King, in hearing him, cried out aloud; *If I had been there with my Franks, that should never have happened* (1).

It was to anoint this King at his Baptism, that the famous Oil is said to have been sent from Heaven, with which the French Kings are now anointed at their

Coronation. But of that Oil no Mention is made by *Gregory of Tours*, a great Believer and Relater of Miracles, in the Account he gives us of the Baptism of *Clovis*: a plain Proof, that, in his Time, the latter End of the 6th Century, that Fable was not yet invented. It was first related by *Hincmar*, Bishop of *Rheims*, who lived Two hundred Years after *Gregory*, and Three hundred after the Time, in which the Miracle is supposed to have happened; but nevertheless he describes it, with all its Circumstances, even the minutest, as if it had happened in his own Time, and he had been present when it happened (2).

(1) Hist. Fran. epit. c. 22.

(2) Hinc. in vit. Remig.

Year of
Christ 498.

His Conver-
sion owing
rather to
Motives of
Policy, than
Religion.

of no mean Character, seems to ascribe the Conversion of that Prince to Motives of Policy, not of Religion; as if he had embraced the Catholic Faith chiefly with a View to engage the Affections of the *Gauls*, whom he had already subdued, and, at the same time, recommend himself to the rest of that Nation, who lived in Subjection to the *Burgundians* and *Goths*, but were not at all pleased with their new Masters, because they professed and countenanced the *Arian* Doctrine ^u (A).

Some Fragments of another Letter, from *Anastasius* to one *Ursicinus*, concerning the Incarnation, have been published by *Baluzius*, in his new Collection of Councils. The Letters of this *Pope* are chiefly made up of Passages out of the Old and New Testament, which are not always properly applied.

ANASTASIUS.

SYMMACHUS,

Fiftieth BISHOP of Rome.

Schism in the
Roman
Church.

THE Death of *Anastasius* was attended with a great Schism in the *Roman* Church. *Symmachus*, a Native of *Sardinia*, the Son of one *Fortunatus*, and Deacon of the *Roman* Church, was chosen in the Basilic of *Constantine*; and, on the same Day, was chosen in the Basilic of *St. Mary, Laurentius*, a *Roman*, and Arch-presbyter of that Church. The Senate, as well as the People and Clergy, was divided on this Occasion, some of the Senators heading the one Party, and some the other. *Laurentius* was powerfully supported by the

^u Mezeray, Abregé Chronol. ad ann. 496.

(A) It is observable, that *Clovis* was, at this Time, the only Catholic Prince in the known World, as the Word *Catholic* was then understood. *Anastasius*, Emperor of the East, was a professed *Eutychian*. *Theodoric*, King of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*; *Alaric*, King of the *Visigoths*, Master of all *Spain*, and of the Third Part of *Gaul*; the Kings of the *Burgundians*, *Swabians*, and *Vandals*, in *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Africa*; were all zealous Followers of *Arius*. As for the other Kings of the *Franks* settled

in *Gaul*, they were still Pagans. *Clovis* was not only the sole Catholic Prince at this Time in the World; but the first King that ever embraced the Catholic Religion; which has procured to the *French* King the Title of the *Most Christian*, and that of the *Eldest Son of the Church*. But were we to compare the Conduct and Actions of *Clovis*, the Catholic, with those of the *Arian* King *Theodoric*, such a Comparison would no-ways redound to the Honour of the Catholic Faith.

Patrician

Year of
Christ 498.

Symmachus
and Lauren-
tius chosen on
the same Day;
which occa-
sions a Civil
War in the
City.

Both recur
to King The-
odoric.

Who adjudg-
es the See to
Symmachus.

The King
summons a
Council.

Patrician *Festus*, who is even said to have bribed, with large Sums, those who chose him, not doubting but he should be able to persuade the new Pope, if his Party prevailed, to receive the *Henoticon*, agreeably to the Promise, which he had made to the Emperor. A civil War being thus kindled within the Walls of the City, Skirmishes happened daily in the Streets; and, as *Paulus Diaconus* expresses it, Murders, Robberies, and other infinite Evils, were, during this Confusion, perpetrated at *Rome*^w. To put an End to these Evils, it was agreed, among the leading Men of both Parties, that the Two Competitors should repair to *Ravenna*, should plead their Cause there before King *Theodoric*, and stand to his Judgment. Unhappy Times! exclaims here *Baronius*, when the High Pontiff was forced to plead his Cause at the Tribunal of an *Arian* Prince^x. But *Theodoric*, tho' an *Arian*, was one of the best, as well as the wisest Princes that ever swayed a Sceptre, was the High Pontiff's Lord and Sovereign, and, as such, had the same Right to decide the Dispute between *Laurentius* and *Symmachus*, as the Emperor *Honorius* had to compose the Difference, that arose in his Time, between *Eulalius* and *Boniface* y. The King received the Two Competitors with the same Marks of Respect and Friendship, heard both with the same Attention and Patience, and, when they had done pleading, ordered him to be put in Possession of the disputed See, who should be found, upon an impartial Inquiry, to have had the greater Number of Votes, or to have been ordained the first. Both these Circumstances concurred in Favour of *Symmachus*, who was thereupon declared lawful Pope, and placed by the King's Order on the Papal Chair^z.

The good King was not satisfied with having put an End, as he believed, to the present Schism, and the Evils attending it: but, desirous to guard against the like Evils for the time to come, he ordered a Council to meet at *Rome*, with a strict Charge to the Bishops who composed it, to make such Regulations as might seem to them, in their Wisdom, capable of preventing all Competitions and Cabals, and effectually restraining the Ambition of aspiring and worldly-minded Men. *Theodoric* knew, without all Doubt, that the external Government of the Church belonged of Right to him; that he had succeeded the *Roman* Emperors in this, as well as in all their other Rights;

^w Paul. Diac. l. 17. Greg. Dial. l. 4. c. 40.
Vol. I. p. 360.

^x Bar. ad ann. 498.

^y See

^z Theod. Lect. l. 2. Niceph. l. 17. c. 36.

Year of
Christ 498.

Regulations
made by this
Council con-
cerning the
Election of
the Bishop of
Rome.

Year of
Christ 499.

and consequently, that he could, after their Example, enact such Laws relating to the Ecclesiastical Polity, as he thought the most conducive to the public Good. But such was the Moderation of that Prince, such the Regard he had for the Clergy, the Catholic Clergy, that he chose rather to lend, in a manner, his Power to them, than exercise it himself. The Council met, pursuant to the King's Order, on the First of *March* 499. when the following Regulations were proposed by *Symmachus*, and unanimously agreed to by the 72 Bishops, who composed that Assembly. 1. That, if any Presbyter, Deacon, or Clerk, should, in the Pope's Life-time, and without his Knowledge, presume to engage his Vote, against a new Election, by Word of Mouth, by Oath, or in Writing, he should be excommunicated and deposed. 2. That if the Pope should die suddenly, and not have Time to give any Directions concerning the Election of his Successor (A), he should be deemed lawfully chosen, who had either the whole Body, or the major Part of the Clergy on his Side. This was confining the Election of the Pope to the Clergy, and excluding the Laity from having any Share in the Choice of their Bishop; at least rendering their Concurrence unnecessary, and quite insignificant. 3. By the present Council, Rewards were promised to such as should discover the Intrigues, Cabals, or Designs, that might thenceforth be privately carried on by ambitious Men, in Defiance of the Regulations now agreed to. This Decree was signed by 72 Bishops, 67 Presbyters, and Five Deacons. Among the Presbyters *Celivus Laurentius*, the Competitor of *Symmachus*, signed the first^a.

The Quarrel
between the
Bishops of
Arles and
Vienna re-
vived.

The old Quarrel between the Bishops of *Arles* and *Vienna*, about Jurisdiction, was, it seems, revived in the Time of *Anastasius*; and that Pope had favoured the latter. The Bishop of *Arles*, therefore, no sooner heard of the Election of *Symmachus*, than he applied to

^a Concil. t. 4. p. 1312. Theod. Lect. l. 2.

(A) It was customary for the Pope to name, on his Death-bed, the Person, whom he thought the best qualified to succeed him, and recommend him to the People and Clergy. This Custom obtained not only at *Rome*, but in many other Places; and great Regard was every-where paid to the Recommendation of the dying Bi-

shop. *Baronius* observes, that the Popes used to recommend; but that none, besides *St. Peter*, ever presumed to appoint his Successor (1). I see no Reason why they should not: if they inherited all *St. Peter's* Power, they could not think it a Crime to do what he had done.

(1) Bar. ad ann. 499. n. 2.

him, representing the Regulations made by his Predecessor, as Innovations utterly inconsistent with the Decisions of *Leo*. *Symmachus* answered him by a Letter, dated the 29th of *September 499*. and, in that Letter, declared all *Anastasius* had done to the Prejudice of the See of *Arles*, to be null, because no Bishop, says he, has a Power to make Regulations repugnant to those which his Predecessors have made. A Doctrine, to which *Anastasius* was a Stranger; and therefore did, says *Symmachus*, what he *ought not to have done, let the Necessity be ever so urgent* (*quod non oportebat sub qualibet necessitate*). But to that Doctrine *Boniface*, and *Leo* himself, were as great Strangers as *Anastasius*, even with respect to the Regulations concerning the Pretensions of the Two Rival Sees of *Arles* and *Vienne*. For both those Popes revoked, and the latter by a more equitable Sentence, as he declared, the extravagant Privileges, which, to the Prejudice of the See of *Vienne*, had been granted by their Predecessor *Zosimus* to that of *Arles*^b. It is now, notwithstanding the Declaration of *Symmachus*, the current Doctrine maintained by all true Papists, and followed, in Practice, by the Popes themselves, that the sitting Pope may abrogate every Decree made by those who sat before him; nay, if he pleases, all their Regulations, Statutes, and Laws. This Doctrine they ground on what they lay down as a first Principle, That the Pope is above all *Laws*; that no Law can be binding with respect to him, to whom an unlimited Power was granted of loosening or binding whatever he thought fit to loosen or bind. The only Person to whom, in their Opinion, the Pope can be said to be subject, is his Confessor^c. For the Pope, though infallible, has not yet been thought impeccable; and consequently has as much Occasion for a Confessor, as any other Sinner. But the Confessor, says *Bellarmino*, acts only as an Instrument in the Hand of God; and therefore the Obedience, which the Pope is bound to yield to him, is in Truth, yielded to God alone^d. Thus does he, at once, absolutely overfet, by his Method of Reasoning, what he had, with infinite Labour and Pains, been striving to establish, the *Papal Independency on every human Creature*. For if the Pope is obliged to yield Obedience to his Confessor, because his Confessor acts as an Instrument in the Hand of God; he was, for the same Reason, obliged to yield Obedience to the Temporal Princes, before he was himself a Tem-

Year of
Christ 499.

Symmachus
annuls what
his Predecessor
had done
in favour of
the latter.

The Reason
he alleges for
so doing, false
in the Opinion
of the Popes
themselves.

The Pope sub-
ject to tempo-
ral Princes,
before he was
himself a tem-
poral Prince.

^a See Vol. I. p. 364.
ibid.

^c Vide Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. 2. c. 19.

^d Bellar.

Year of
Christ 499.

Symmachus
will have all
Popes to ad-
here to the
Laws and
Measures of
their Prede-
cessors.

poral Prince, since they acted not only as Instruments in the Hand of God, but, by the Pope's own Confession, as *God's Vicars upon Earth*.

The Pope, in his Letter to the Bishop of *Arles*, gives another Reason why the Privileges, granted by his Predecessor to the See of *Vienna*, should be revoked; *viz.* because it is a Matter of the utmost Importance to the Christian Religion, that the Bishops, especially the Bishops of *Rome*, who are the Vicars of the most blessed *Peter*, should agree in their Opinion and Judgment of Things; that the one should not abrogate, upon any Consideration, what the other has established; but that all, who come after, should steadily adhere to the Laws, that have been made by those who preceded. That it was a Maxim with most of the Popes, to maintain, right or wrong, what their Predecessors had done, without being under any Concern about the Consequences, is what I have had frequent Occasion to observe in the Course of this History. But nevertheless we are obliged to *Symmachus* for having so ingenuously owned it. There is in this Letter another Notion worthy of Notice. The Pope there compares the Priesthood to the Trinity. For as there is a Trinity of Persons, says he, and only One Godhead, One undivided Power; so there are many Bishops, but only one Priesthood. From thence he concludes, that Bishops should all act with One Mind, One Heart, and One Will. But that Bishops all have, or originally had, the same Power, had been, perhaps, a more natural Inference from the Comparison; if it would hold in any respect.

The Pope is
charged with
several
Crimes.

Year of
Christ 500.

The War re-
kindled in
Rome, and
dreadful Dis-
orders com-
mitted.

Symmachus was soon diverted from attending to the Affairs of the Churches abroad, by the Disturbances, that, in the Beginning of the present Year 500. were revived with more Violence than ever at Home. The Pope was charged with several heinous Crimes by the Patrician *Festus*, and a Senator, named *Probinus*, both zealous Partisans of *Laurentius*; and Witnesses were sent to make the Charge good, before the King, at *Ravenna*. This gave Occasion to the rekindling of the War between the Two Parties in *Rome*; and several Priests, many Clerks, and a great Number of Citizens, fell daily in the Battles, that were fought in the different Parts of the City. No Regard was shewn, by either Party, to Rank or Dignity; and not even the sacred Virgins were spared by the enraged Multi-

• Paul. Diac. l. 4. c. 40. Niceph. l. 6. c. 35.

tude, in their Fury. *Ennodius*, a notorious Flatterer of the Popes, who lived at this time, supposes all those, who died in the Cause of *Symmachus*, to have been inrolled in the Register of the Court of Heaven †, though guilty of the same Excesses as those are said to have been, who died in the Cause of *Laurentius*. *Baronius*, we may be sure, falls in with him. The most inveterate Enemy *Symmachus* had, was one *Paschasius*, Deacon of the Roman Church, and a great Saint. Indeed the Saints of the *Romish* Calendar, generally speaking, were the worst of Enemies, the most implacable, and, as they commonly had the Mob at their Beck, the most to be dreaded. *Paschasius* could never be prevailed upon to abandon *Laurentius*; and great Part of the Populace, believing him to be true Pope, whom a Man of *Paschasius's* Character acknowledged for such, could never be persuaded to own any other, so long as *Paschasius* lived ‡. But the Saint, if we may believe Pope *Gregory the Great*, paid dear for his Obstinacy, after his Death (A).

*Paschasius, a
great Saint,
sides with
Laurentius.*

It

† Ennod. in Apol.

‡ Greg. dialog. l. 4. c. 40.

(A) *Paschasius* was, according to the Character Pope *Gregory* has drawn of him, a Man of extraordinary Sanctity, intirely given to Works of Charity, a Cherisher of the Poor, and Despiser of himself. But, in the Dispute between *Symmachus* and *Laurentius*, he stood by the latter, says the Pope; and, not yielding when the others had all yielded, continued in the same Mind to the Day of his Death. He died, adds *Gregory*, in the Time of *Symmachus*; and a Demoniac was delivered by only touching the Dalmatic, that covered his Coffin. Long after his Death *Germanus of Copua* being come to *Angulum*, to use, as had been prescribed to him by the Physicians, the hot Baths of that Place; at his first entering them, who should he see standing there, in the midst of the hot Steam, but the Deacon *Paschasius*? The Bishop, surprised and terrified at such a strange Sight, asked the Deacon what Business he had there? Alas! answered he I am confined to this painful Place for no other Fault, but that of siding with *Laurentius* against *Symmachus*. But pray for me, I intreat you; and if you do not find me here on your Return, you may con-

clude, that your Prayer has been heard. The holy Man prayed, and returned a few Days after; but the Deacon was gone; and he saw him no more. It was not out of Malice, continues the Pope, but Ignorance, that he sinned; and therefore he could be cleansed from his Sin, even after his Death. His plentiful Alms procured him his Pardon, when there was no more room for meritorious Works (1). *Baronius* betrays here a strong Inclination to contradict the Pope, that he may have the Satisfaction of damning the poor Deacon, with all his good Works, because he did not own *Symmachus* to have been lawfully chosen. The obstinate Deacon, says he, lived separated from the Church (that is, from the Pope, who to him is the whole Church); and in this all agree, that none, who live separated from the Church upon Earth, can be admitted into Heaven. This is pleading hard for his Damnation. But, on the other hand, not daring to disbelieve or question even an old Woman's Story, when gravely related by a Pope, he owns *Paschasius* to have been saved, because he repented, and died in the Communion of *Symmachus*; without which all his good

(1) Greg. dialog. l. 4. c. 40.

Year of
Christ 500.

The Parti-
sans of Lau-
rentius recur
to the King,
and demand
a Visitor.

It was now no longer common Enmity, but Rage and Madness, that armed the Two Parties against each other; and *Rome*, perhaps, had never seen, in the Election of her Pagan Magistrates, such Scenes of Horror as she now beheld, in the Election of her Christian Bishop. The Senators therefore, *Probinus* and *Festus*, dispatched, in the End, an Express to the King at *Ravenna*, acquainting him with the Murders, and other Excesses, that were daily committed, with Impunity, not only in the Streets, but in the Churches themselves; and, at the same time, intreating him to send them a Visitor, with an unlimited Power, to try *Symmachus* on the Indictment, that was lodged against him, and to govern the *Roman* Churches, as if the See were vacant, till his Innocence was made to appear. This they proposed to the King as the most effectual Means, that occurred to them, of saving the Lives of Thousands of Citizens, and the City itself from utter Ruin. These Senators, at least, as we may observe by the way, owned the King to be the Head of the Church, and to be vested as such, though a Heretic, with a Power not only to try, but to condemn, and depose the Pope himself, were he found unworthy of the Papal Dignity. The King approved the Expedient, which the Senators suggested; named *Peter*, Bishop of *Altino*, Visitor of the *Roman* Church; and sent him to *Rome*, with that Character, and the Powers attending it. But that Prelate proved, very unluckily, a violent Party-man, intirely addicted to the Cause of *Laurentius*, and an avowed Enemy to his Rival *Symmachus*. Instead therefore of waiting on the latter, at his Arrival in the City, pursuant to the Instructions the King had given him, he deprived him of the Administration before he had either heard or seen him, and took Possession of all the Effects belonging to the Church. Thus, says *Ennodius* the Pope's Panegyrist, was he, who supported the Poor, reduced himself to the most abject and mean State of Poverty. Thus was *Slavery* seen in *Dominion*, and *Dominion* in *Slavery*.

The King
complies with
their Request.

The Visitor
heightens the
Animosities
with his rash
Conduct.

▲ *Ennod.* in Apolog.

Works would have stood him in no stead. But when did he repent? On the Day of his Death, says the Annalist, Pope *Gregory* telling us, in express Terms, that *Paschasius* stood by *Laurentius*, and continued in

that Mind till the Day of his Death, which plainly implies, that he changed his Mind on that Day. An Interpretation worthy, indeed, of *Baronius*, but unworthy of an Answer (2).

(2) *Bar.* ad ann. 498. p. 528, D.

The

The Visitor, instead of allaying, heightened the Animosities, with his rash and precipitate Conduct. The Partisans of *Symmachus*, with the Senator *Fausus* at their Head, grew quite outrageous; and the Friends of *Laurentius* were not at all backward in retaliating upon them the Outrages they committed. The good King therefore, greatly affected with the melancholy Accounts that were daily transmitted to him by his Officers in the City, and quite at a loss what Remedy he should next apply to the raging Evil, resolved in the End (so much had he the Welfare of his Subjects at Heart) to repair to Rome in Person, not doubting but his Presence would keep both Parties in Awe, and put an End, since nothing else could, to so destructive a War. This Resolution he is said to have taken the more readily, as he had never yet seen that once so famous Metropolis of the World, now the Metropolis of his new Kingdom. His Intention was no sooner known at Rome, than the Rage of the Parties began to subside; Hostilities ceased, and the only Emulation that now prevailed was, who should, by the most distinguishing Marks of Affection and Duty, testify their Gratitude to so benevolent a Prince. As he approached the City, he was met by the Senate, by the Pope, who had not yet set up for the Sovereign of Princes, by the Clergy, and by numberless Crouds of the People. He made his Entry, amidst the loud Acclamations of the Multitude, with such Pomp and Magnificence as Rome had not seen for many Ages. He was welcomed in the Senate, by the famous *Baetius*, who, on that Occasion, made an eloquent Speech, setting forth the eminent Virtues of the Prince, and the Happiness of the People, who had the good Fortune to live under his mild Administration. From the Senate he proceeded to the Circus, and there, in a Speech to the People, expressed his sincere Desire of their Welfare, exhorted them to Peace and Concord, confirmed all the Privileges that had ever been granted them by the Emperors, and assured them of his Protection and Favour. He continued Six Months at Rome, and during that Time diverted the People with magnificent Sports, gave frequent Entertainments to the Senate, heard the Complaints of all who applied to him, and redressed their Grievances, when he found their Complaints to be just. At his Departure he ordered a Hundred thousand Bushels of Corn to be distributed yearly among the Poor of the City; and appointed a large Sum to be paid, likewise yearly, out of the Exchequer, to keep the Walls in Repair, and other decayed Buildings. Before he

Year of
Christ 500.

The King resolves to repair to Rome in Person.

How received there by the People and Clergy.

His obliging Behaviour and Generosity to all.

set

set out, on his Return to *Ravenna*, he took his Leave of the Senate, and on that Occasion expressed a great Desire to fix his Residence at *Rome*: But your Safety, he added, and that of the State, oblige me to reside, as my Predecessors have done, at *Ravenna*, being there near at hand, and ready to stop the Barbarians, who on that Side only can break into my Kingdom, and disturb that Peace, which I have spared no Pains to procure you, and sincerely wish you, and the rest of my Subjects, may long enjoy ².

*The Happi-
ness of Italy
under Theo-
doric.*

The high Commendations, which the contemporary Writers, tho' zealous Catholics, and some of them now honoured as Saints, have bestowed on *Theodoric*, though a Follower of *Arius*, are a convincing Proof, that he made good what he promised to the Natives of *Italy*, when he first took upon him the Title of King of that Country; *viz.* That his Conduct should be such as to make them all wish they had come sooner under the Government of the *Goths*. He retained the same Laws, the same Magistrates, the same Polity, and the same Distribution of Provinces, that had been established by his Predecessors the Emperors; nay, and obliged the *Goths* themselves, who dwelt in *Italy*, to conform to the same Laws and Polity; which was obliging the Conquerors to submit to the Laws of the Conquered. He left to the *Goths* some of their own Laws; but by those Laws were only decided Suits and Disputes between *Goth* and *Goth*; all other Suits, whether between *Romans* and *Romans*, or *Romans* and *Goths*, being determined by the *Roman* Laws only. The good King did not impose a single new Tax or Tribute on the People, during the whole Time of his long Reign; but contented himself with those that had been levied by the Emperors; with this Difference, that he was more ready than the best of them had ever been, to remit them on Occasion of any public Calamity; saying, it was better that one should suffer than many; that public Calamities were sent to punish the Sins of the Prince, as well as those of the People; and that where the Guilt was common, the Punishment too ought to be common ². He left every Man in the full Enjoyment of his antient Property; and, not satisfied with appointing Men of great Learning, and unblemished Characters, to administer Justice, he often heard Causes himself; and, in giving Sentence, was never known to have swerved from the strictest Laws and Rules of

² Anony. Val. Ennod. de Theod. et in Apolog. Goth. Cassiodor. yar. l. 4. ep. 50. et l. 2. ep. 37.

² Grot. in Proleg. ad hist.

Symm.

BISHOPS of Rome.

257

Year of
Christ 500.

He grants
full Liberty
to the Goths,
of professing
the Catholic
Faith.

His Concern
for the Wel-
fare of the
Church.

The Arian
Goths Pat-
terns of every
Christian
Virtue.

Equity ^b. As to Religion, *Theodoric* held, as the *Goths* all did, the Tenets of *Arius*, that Nation having been first instructed in the Christian Religion by *Arian* Teachers, sent them by the Emperor *Valens*. But he allowed his Subjects to profess, without Molestation, the Faith of *Nice*; nay, and gave full Liberty to the *Goths* themselves to renounce, if they thought it more pleasing to God, the Doctrine of *Arius*, and embrace, in its room, the Catholic Faith. For granting this Liberty, as he was himself an *Arian*, he is as much commended by the Catholic Writers, as he would have been censured by them, had he been a Catholic, and allowed his Subjects to abjure, if they thought that more pleasing to God, the Catholic Faith, and embrace in its stead, the Doctrine of *Arius*. To this generous Toleration in *Theodoric* was intirely owing the profound Tranquillity, which the Church enjoyed at this time in *Italy*, while a general Confusion reigned in the East, because the Emperor would oblige his Subjects to profess the Doctrine which he professed, and, when he thought fit to change his Opinion, to change theirs together with him. *Theodoric* did not, it seems, think the Difference, in point of Doctrine, between the *Arians* and Catholics would justify his disturbing the Peace of his Subjects about it. No Catholic Prince ever shewed greater Concern for the Welfare of the Church, than this *Goth*, this *Stranger*, *Barbarian*, *Heretic*, *Arian*, as *Baronius* is pleased to style him. None ever took more Care to provide her with good Governors, no one having been preferred, in his Time, to the Episcopal Dignity, as *Cassiodorus* assures us, but Men of known Probity, and worthy of the Rank to which they were raised. As *Theodoric* was, according to *Ennodius*, on account of his Moderation, Temperance, Chastity, which that Writer calls sacerdotal Modesty, and his other eminent Virtues, the Pattern of a perfect King; so were the *Goths*, in his Reign, true Patterns of every Christian Virtue, more especially of Chastity. What the Romans, that is, the Natives of *Italy*, who were still called *Romans*, have polluted with Fornication, says *Salvianus* ^d, the Barbarians have purified with their Chastity. We, who are good Catholics, love Uncleannefs; they, who are Heretics, abhor and detest it; we hate Purity, and avoid it; they admire and embrace it. A morti-

^b Cassiodor. l. 8. ep. 14. et l. 9. ep. 15. Salvian. de gubern. Dei, l. 5. l. 8. ep. 14.

^d Salvi.n. l. 5. de gubern. Dei.

^c Cassiod.

Year of
Christ 500.

fying Comparison to the Catholics of those Days; the rather, as it was made by a Catholic Bishop (A).

It

(A) The only thing the Enemies of *Theodoric* have been able to lay to his Charge, is the Death of the famous *Boetius*, and his Father-in-law *Symmachus*, whom he is said to have sentenced to Death, and caused to be executed, as guilty of High Treason, upon the Deposition of Persons known by all, and by himself, to be Men of infamous Characters. He behaved, it must be owned, on that Occasion, very differently from what he had done on all others. But, if we attend to the Circumstances and State of Affairs at that Time, we shall not perhaps find him to have been quite so guilty as some have endeavoured to make him appear. For, in the first place, he did not condemn the Two Senators upon the Deposition of those infamous Men, as is generally supposed; but only confined them to the City of *Pavia*, to prevent them, by that means, from putting their treasonable Designs in Execution, if they had formed any. It was during his Confinement that *Boetius* wrote his excellent Book *De Consolatione*. In the mean time the Enemies they both had at Court, especially *Boetius*, who till that time had been the chief Favourite there, spared no Pains to prejudice the King against them, as Men of great Interest and Power in the Senate, extremely popular, and, at the same time, disaffected to his Person and Government. The King was advanced in Years, being then in the 72d of his Age, and, as old Kings often are, grown jealous of his Power. His Grandson *Athalaric*, whom he had appointed to succeed him, was yet a Child; and his Daughter, *Amalasuntha*, the Mother of that Child, the only Person who could be safely trusted with the Administration, during a Minority. In these Circumstances they persuaded the King, that he could by no other means secure the Crown to young *Athalaric*, and prevent the Disturbances which might be raised during his Minority, but by removing those out of the way, who were alone capable of

raising them. Thus was the fatal Sentence extorted at last; but it was no sooner put in Execution, than the King, reflecting coolly on his rash Conduct, for such it certainly was, and thereupon apprehending that the Death of the supposed Criminals might be rather owing to the Jealousy of their Enemies and Rivals at Court, than to any Guilt or Demerit of their own, was affected with such Sorrow, that it may be said to have equalled the Injustice of the Sentence; nay, his Grief was so great, according to *Procopius*, a Writer not at all favourable to the *Goths*, that it in a manner distracted him, and he did not long outlive those whom he had so unjustly put to Death; that being, as the Historian adds, the first and last Wrong any of his Subjects had ever received at his Hands (1). Some have attempted to make *Boetius* a Martyr, as if the Treason, of which he was arraigned, had served only as a Pretence with the *Arian* King, who wanted to condemn him for the Book he wrote on the Trinity, and inscribed to *Symmachus*. But nothing is more certain, than that *Theodoric* favoured the Orthodox no less than those of his own Persuasion, and allowed to all full Liberty of professing which of the Two Opinions they thought best. Besides, the Religion of *Boetius* was rather *Platonic* than Christian, as *Grotius* well observes; and the Treatise he wrote favours more of the Doctrine of that Philosopher, than it does of the Religion of Christ (2). Had *Theodoric* been a Catholic, the Death of *Boetius* would, probably, have been overlooked, or excused, if not justified, by those very Writers, who have taken most Pains to exaggerate the Injustice of that Sentence. *Clotius* was guilty, after his Conversion, of the most enormous Excesses of Injustice and Cruelty, as I have observed above; and yet, as he was a Catholic, those very Excesses have not only been excused by the Ecclesiastical Writers, who flourished at that time, but impiously represented, by St. *Gregory of Tours*, as

(1) *Procop. hist. Goth. p. 232.*

(2) *Grot. in Proleg. ad hist. Goth.*

It was either during his Stay in the City, or soon after his Return to *Ravenna*, that *Theodoric* summoned all the Bishops in his Dominions to meet at *Rome*, in order to examine the Charge brought against *Symmachus*. The Pope indeed had been accused at his Tribunal; but the King chose rather to have him tried by an Assembly of Bishops, than to try him himself, not being so well acquainted as they with the Canons and Laws of the Church. In Compliance with the King's Order, the Bishops repaired to *Rome*, from all Parts of *Italy*, and met, for the First time, in the Month of *July* of the Year 501. when the Pope, presenting himself before them, desired that, before any thing else was transacted, the Visitor, who had been appointed contrary to the Canons, might be removed, and the Effects restored to him, which belonged to the Church, and had been seized by the Visitor. The Bishops were inclined to favour the Pope, and comply with his Demand; but the King, whom they first consulted by Deputies, sent for that Purpose to *Ravenna*, would not allow any thing to be done in his favour, till he had cleared himself from the Crimes laid to his Charge. Upon the Return therefore of the Deputies the Bishops met again, on the 1st of *September*, with a Design to examine the Charge, and hear both the Pope, and those who accused him. To their Judgment *Symmachus* pretended to submit; and accordingly set out from the Church of *St. Peter*, for the Palace of *Sefforius*, where the Bishops were assembled; but attended and guarded by such Crouds, as were capable of awing the Judges, as well as the Witnesses. Of this the Enemies of *Symmachus* were aware; and therefore endeavoured to disperse them; but, meeting with Resistance, a Battle ensued, in which some were killed on both Sides, and many wounded. Among the latter was the Pope himself; and he would hardly have escaped with his Life, had not Three of the King's Officers hastened to his Rescue, and guarded him back, amidst Showers of Stones, to the Church of *St. Peter*^k. The Danger to which he found himself exposed on this Occasion, he pleaded as an Excuse for not appearing before the

Year of
Christ 500.

*Theodoric
assembles a
Council, to
try the Pope.*

Year of
Christ 501.

*A Battle be-
tween the
Friends of
Laurentius
and Symma-
chus.
Symmachus
wounded.*

^k Concil. t. 4. p. 1326.

Actions pleasing to God (3); and in the same Light, perhaps, would the Death of *Boetius* and *Symmachus* have been set forth by the Catholic Writers, had *Theodoric* been a Catholic, and as generous as *Clotaris* to the Church, and the Clergy.

(3) Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 39, 40.

L 1 2

Council,

Year of
Christ 501.

*He pleads the
Danger he
was in, and
refuses to
appear.*

*The Bishops
and the King
receive the
Excuse.*

*He is ac-
quitted by the
Council.*

*The Friends
of Lauren-
tius protest
against the
Decree of the
Council.*

Council, though Three times summoned; and the Bishops, most of them being favourable to him, were not only satisfied with that Excuse, but sent Deputies to inform the King of what had passed, and at the same time to represent to him, that the Pope could not venture abroad, without endangering his Life; that his Enemies were more than ever incensed against him, and only wanted an Opportunity of treating him as they had already treated many of his Friends; that in these Circumstances the King indeed might by his Authority, but they could not by the Canons and Laws of the Church, oblige him to appear before them. The King answered, that the Council knew best what they could, and what they could not do; that as for himself, he would not meddle with Ecclesiastical Matters, but left them to be settled by the holy Bishops, to whose Judgment and Decisions he should always pay the greatest Regard; that, with respect to the Cause of *Symmachus*, he had assembled them to judge it; but yet left them at full Liberty to judge it, or not, provided they could by any other means put a Stop to the present Calamities, and restore the wished-for Tranquillity to the City of *Rome*¹. With this Answer the Deputies returned; and, upon their Return, the Bishops assembled the Third and last Time, on the 21st, or, as we read in some Manuscripts, on the 13th of *October*. In that Session, after a long and warm Debate between the Friends of *Symmachus*, and those of *Laurentius*, a very remarkable Decree was issued, and signed by the former, 72 in Number. For, by that Decree, they not only acquitted *Symmachus* from all the Crimes laid to his Charge, without so much as hearing those who accused him, but commanded all, on Pain of Excommunication, to acquiesce in their Judgment, to submit to the Authority of *Symmachus*, and acknowledge him, now that he was absolved in the Sight of Men, whether guilty or innocent in the Sight of God, for lawful Bishop of the holy City of *Rome*^m. But those of the opposite Party were so far from acquiescing in such a Sentence, that, on the contrary, they published a Protest, or Manifesto, against the *Synod*, as they styled it, of the incongruous *Ab-solution*, setting forth the Reasons that had induced them to disagree with their Brethren, and made them still look upon *Symmachus* as guilty, notwithstanding the Judgment given by the major Part in his favour. These were, 1. Because most of the Bishops, who assisted at

¹ Concil. ibid. ^m Concil. ibid. p. 1340.

the Council, were evidently byassed in his favour, and came, as was well known, with a Design to absolve him, whether guilty or innocent. 2. Because his Accusers had not been heard; and as no Judge could condemn a Man without hearing him, so none could absolve him without hearing those who accused him. 3. Because the Pope had, under various Pretences, refused to appear before his Judges, though Four times summoned; and a Person arraigned, who refuses to appear, when lawfully summoned, ought rather to be condemned than absolved.

Year of
Christ 501.

It was on this Occasion that the wild Notions were first broached, which now prevail, concerning the Independency of the Pope upon Councils. For the Friends of *Symmachus*, apprehending he might be found guilty, if fairly tried, and therefore unwilling to try him, pretended, in the Council, that *no Assembly of Bishops had a Power to judge the Pope*; and that *he was accountable for his Actions to God alone*. These Notions, though now received and maintained, in a manner, as Articles of Faith, by all true Papists, appeared then, that is, in the Beginning of the Sixth Century, so very absurd, that their having been advanced in the present Council was alleged, by the Bishops of the opposite Party, as an Argument to convince the World, that such a Council could be of no Authority, nor could it deserve any kind of Regard. Was not the present Council, say they in their Manifesto, assembled to judge the Pope? Did not those very Men, who will not allow any Assembly of Bishops to have the Power of judging the Pope, summon him to appear before them, in order to be judged? Should the Pope be guilty of the most enormous Excesses, is no Man, no Assembly of Men, to reprove, censure, or controul him? Has he, among the other Privileges derived to him from *St. Peter*, that of committing all Crimes with Impunity? *Ennodius*, afterwards Bishop of *Pavia*, undertook to answer these troublesome Queries, but with what Success I shall leave the Reader to judge. He allows a Council to have the Power of judging the Pope, when the Pope, of his own Accord, submits to be judged by it; which, he says, was the present Case. But, in that Particular, he disagrees with the Popish Divines of the later Ages. For, according to them, the judging of the Pope is reserved, by Divine Right, to God alone; and hence it follows, that as the Pope cannot re-

*The Notions
of the Pope's
Independency
on Councils
first broach'd.*

*Unanswer-
ably confuted
as soon as
broached.*

*Disagree-
ment between
the antient
and modern
Flatterers of
the Popes.*

Year of
Christ 501.

nounce what he holds by Divine Right, he cannot consent to be judged by any but God^o. As *Ennodius* was a Stranger to that Right, he might have let us know by what other the Pope was exempted from being judged, without his Consent, by a Council. As to the other Question, the Apologist, exceeding all Bounds of Modesty, will not allow, that, with respect to the Pope, there ever can be room for Reproof, Censure, or Controul; for *the Papal Dignity*, says he, *either finds or makes Saints, all who are raised to it*. It seems he thought it less absurd to make the Pope impeccable, than to own, that he might be guilty of as great Excesses as other Men; and nevertheless that no Power upon Earth could restrain or controul him. But that he is not impeccable, long Experience has taught us; and therefore the modern Flatterers of the Popes have found themselves obliged to abandon *Ennodius*, and maintain what, to that Writer, appeared more absurd even than the Papal Impeccability; *viz.* that the Pope, as the Successor of St. *Peter*, and God's Vicar upon Earth, may abandon himself to all manner of Wickedness with Impunity, and without Controul. Should he attempt to destroy the Church, we are indeed, in that Case, allowed, by *Bellarmino*, to remonstrate, *with due Reverence and Respect*, against such an Attempt, *modestly* to reprove him; nay, and to repel Force by Force, could the Church by no other means be saved from Ruin; but in no other Case must we presume to find fault with his Holiness, or resist him^p. To suppose such an unlimited and uncontrollable Power of doing Evil to be of God's Appointment, is absolute Blasphemy.

The Notion of
the Pope's In-
dependency
broached at
this time, and
not before.

Some Writers, unwilling to own the Opinion, that the Pope could be judged by none but God, to be of so early a Date as the Sixth Century, have taken a great deal of Pains to interpret the Words of *Ennodius* in a very different Sense^q. But they are too plain and explicit to admit of any other: *God was willing*, says he, *that the Causes of other Men should be determined by Men; but, as for the Bishop of the Roman See, he has, without Question, reserved him to his own Judgment*^r (A).

^o Vide Bellar. de sum. Pont. l. 2. c. 18.
noy. t. I. ep. 9.

^r Ennod. in apol.

^p Bellar. ubi supra.

^q See De Lan-

(A) *Aliorum hominum causas Deus voluit per homines terminari; sed Romanæ sedis præfulem suo, sine quæstione, reservavit arbitrio.*

The Beginning of the Sixth Century is no early Date ; many false and heretical Doctrines, many unwarrantable and idolatrous Practices, had begun to prevail in the Church long before that Time ; and the Popish Writers, sensible that the Doctrine of the Papal Independency upon Councils might be justly deemed a Novelty, had it never been heard of till then, pretend it to have been defined by a Grand Council in the Second, consisting of no fewer than 300 Bishops, brought down by them from the Clouds, for that Purpose ^r. However, that Opinion was not first broached by *Ennodius*, as is generally supposed. It was first started by the Friends of *Symmachus*, in this Council, to serve a present Purpose, to justify their absolving him without a Tryal. The Friends of *Laurentius* protested against it ; and it was in Answer to their Protest, and to maintain what the Council had advanced, that *Ennodius* wrote his Apology (A).

Year of
Christ 501.

Symmachus, being absolved in the manner I have related, and restored to his Authority both within and without the City (B), began anew to exercise the Functions of his Office, and the following Year 502. held a great Council at *Rome*, consisting of 80 Bishops, 37 Presbyters, and Four Deacons. In this Council was read, examined, and declared null, the Law, which had been made a few Years before by the *Præfectus Prætorio, Basilus*, in the Name of *Odoacer*, then Master of *Italy* ^t. By that Law the Election of a new Bishop of *Rome* was not to be made without the Knowledge, Consent, and Approbation of the Sovereign ; and the Bishop, as well as the other Ministers, were restrained from alienating the Estates that

The Law
made by Odo-
acer, concern-
ing the Ele-
ction of the
Pope, and
against Ali-
enations, re-
voked.
Year of
Christ 502.

^r See Vol. I. p. 81, & seq.

^t See above, p. 193.

(A) It is observable, that, little more than a Century before the Time of *Symmachus*, the Bishops of *Italy*, however partial to, and depending upon, the Pope, were so far from exempting him from the Jurisdiction of a Council, or pretending he could be judged by none but God, that, on the contrary, being assembled in Council at *Rome* in the Year 378. they presented a Petition to the Emperor *Gratian*, as I have related elsewhere (1), begging it as a Favour, that the Bishop of *Rome* might not be judged by the Civil Magistrate, but either by a Council, or by the Emperor himself. They did not therefore

know then, that the Pope was to be judged by God alone. And if they did not know it then, that is, in the End of the 4th Century, by what new Revelation was it discovered to them in the Beginning of the 6th ?

(B) The Words of the Sentence were ; According to the Command of the Prince, who gives us this Power, we restore him (the Pope) to all Authority, both within and without the City (2). This was owning the Power of absolving the Pope to be derived to them from the King ; and, consequently, the King to be above the Pope ; and to be, though an *Arian*, the supreme Head of the Church, in his own Dominions.

(1) See Vol. I. p. 213.

(2) Concil. t. 4. p. 1340.

belonged

Year of
Christ 502.

*Why revoked,
with respect
to the Election
of the Pope.*

*In the Times
of the Goths
no Bishops
chosen in Ita-
ly, without
the Approba-
tion of the
Sovereign.*

*In the East
Bishops often
nominated by
the Emperors.*

belonged to the Church. The first of these Regulations was made, at the earnest Request of Pope *Simplicius*, on his Death bed; and the Second was thought necessary to prevent the Ecclesiastics from enriching themselves at the Expence of the Poor. What induced the Bishops of the present Council to declare both these Regulations null, was, with respect to the First, because, if no Bishops were to be chosen without the Consent and Approbation of the Sovereign, the Sovereign would thereby become the absolute Master of all Elections; which is there declared derogatory from the undoubted Right of the Bishops, and the Clergy. Not a Word of the People, though, not many Years before, their Concurrence was thought so necessary, that Pope *Leo* pretended the Ordination of a Bishop to be null, who had neither been proposed nor approved by them^w. In the earliest Ages of Christianity, when the Princes were yet Pagans, and more inclined to destroy than promote the true Faith, the People and Clergy chose, and indeed were obliged to chuse, their own Ministers. At this Practice the Emperors connived, after they had embraced the Christian Religion, so long as Elections were quietly carried on; but when they began to be attended with Seditions, and popular Tumults, which endangered the Tranquillity of the State, and often ended in Violence and Bloodshed, the Princes, who till then had little concerned themselves with the Choice of the Ministry, thought it high Time to interpose their Authority. In *Italy* the *Gothic* Princes left the Elections to the People and Clergy; but, adhering to the Law of *Odoacer*, would suffer none to be ordained without their Approbation. The approving or confirming of those, who were chosen for the Sees of *Rome*, *Ravenna*, and *Milan*, they reserved to themselves; but the confirming of others they left to their Ministers, who were to be present at all Elections, in order to prevent Disturbances, and awe, with their Presence, the riotous Mob. In the East the Emperors not only made several Laws for the better regulating of Elections; but when great Disputes and Disturbances were apprehended, they even nominated the Person themselves, without consulting either the People or Clergy. Thus was *Nestarius* appointed Bishop of *Constantinople* by *Theodosius* the Elder; *Nestorius* and *Proclus* by *Theodosius* the Younger; and many other Instances of the like Nature occur in History^x. And it is to be observed, that none of the

^w Leo, ep. 12. ad Anast. Thessalon.
Marca de Concord. l. 8. c. 9.

^x Soz. l. 7. c. 8. Socrat. l. 7. c. 29. et c. 40.

rs, who lived in those Days, ever questioned the Emperor's even of nominating whom he pleased; which they certainly I have done, as they were of all Men the most tenacious of Rights, had they apprehended such a Right to be lodged in and not in the Sovereign. They objected indeed against *Nectarius*, as a Person not duly qualified for so eminent a Station, he yet a Catechumen. But the Emperor persisting in his Choice, yielded; and the Person, whom he had named, was, at the same baptized and ordained *y*. The Law of *Odoacer*, tho' declared in the Council held by *Symmachus* this Year at *Rome*, was only adopted by the *Gothic* Kings, his Successors in the Kingdom of *Italy*, but by those too of *Gaul* and *Spain*; nay, and by Catholic Emperors of the East, at least, with respect to the Pope, they had driven out the *Goths*, and united that Kingdom to Empire. For so late as the very Latter-end of the 6th Century, *The Pope* Pope, by what Majority soever chosen, was not thought to be *not lawful* and lawful Pope, till his Election was approved and confirmed *Pope till his Election was confirmed by the Emperor.* the Emperor. Hence *Gregory* the Great, chosen in 590. but declined that Dignity, wrote to the Emperor *Mauritius*, in-
ing him to refuse his Consent, that the Electors might thereby obliged to lay aside all Thoughts of him, and chuse another *z*. till the Emperor's Confirmation was obtained, the Person chosen not even styled *Bishop*, but *Elect*, and still yielded the first Place in the Church to the Arch-priest.

z to the other Article of the above-mentioned Law, forbidding *Why the Law* Estates of the Church to be alienated, it was judged by the *of Odoacer,* Council good in itself, but, at the same time, declared null, be- *with respect* *to the Aliena-* *tions, declar-* *ed null.* *made by a Layman*; and the Laity were not to meddle, nor ways concern themselves, with the Estates or Goods of the Church. Here the Council, in order to exclude the Laity from having Share in the Administration or Disposal of the Estates and Goods of the Church, confines the Church to the Clergy alone. But by Church was meant, in the primitive Times, the whole Congregation of the Faithful; and to the whole Congregation of the Faith-
What was *given to the* *Church, was* *given to the* *whole Con-* *gregation of* *the Faithful.* *was* thought to belong whatever was given or bequeathed to the Church. Why then were not the Laity as well as the Clergy to con- themselves with the Goods, that belonged to them, as well as

y Soz. ibid.

z Jo. Dia. in vit. Greg. l. 3. c. 29.

Year of
Christ 502.

*Alienations,
when first
forbidden,
and why.*

*No Alima-
tions allowed
now, but up-
on an evident
Advantage.*

to the Clergy? Besides, the Estates of the Church were destined to maintain the Poor, the helpless Orphans, and indigent Widows, as well as the Clergy. Hence it follows, that the Laity, at least the Civil Magistrate, or the Sovereign, had a Power to make such Laws as they thought expedient or necessary, to prevent the Waste of such Estates, and restrain the Clergy from alienating them, and enriching themselves with the Patrimony of the Poor, who would thereby either be left quite destitute, or be turned over again to the Laity. The Bishops, after the Administration of the Goods that belonged to the Church, was committed to them, were at full Liberty not only to dispose of the Revenues, but to sell or alienate the Estates themselves, for the Maintenance of the Ministers of the Altar; and the Relief of the Poor; and that Liberty they enjoyed till the Year 470, when the Abuses, which began to prevail in the Church of *Constantinople*, obliged the Emperor *Leo* to forbid all Sorts of Alienations in that Church*. Thirteen Years after, *Odoacer*, moved, no doubt, by the same Reasons as *Leo* was, made the like Prohibition with respect to the *Roman Church*. The Law of *Leo* was extended by the present Emperor *Anastasius*, and about this very Time, to all the Churches subject to the See of *Constantinople*†; and the Emperor *Justinian*, in 535. made a general Edict, comprehending all the Churches within the Limits of the Empire, by which Alienations were forbidden, upon any Considerations whatever, unless it were to support the Poor in Times of Famine, or to redeem from Slavery the Christian Captives; and in either of these Cases *St. Ambrose* thought it incumbent on the Clergy not only to part with their Estates, but even with the sacred Utenfils, and consecrated Vessels‡. But neither was excepted in the many Canons, that in Process of Time were made by the Councils against Alienations; which are therefore now understood to be forbidden, let the Necessity be ever so urgent, *unless upon an evident Advantage*; that is, an evident Injustice, which some conscientious Canonists have defined to be a Third Part, and others a Fourth, of the Value. It is deemed in the Church of *Rome* the highest Christian Perfection for a Man to *sell his Possessions and Goods, and give to the Poor*. But, in the mean time, she will not herself part with a single Possession, unless she gains by the Bargain, to give to the Poor, however distressed. Thus the

* Cod. 14. de sacrasanct. Eccles. S. Thom. 2^a. 2^{ae}. quest. 185.

† Cod. de sacrasanct. Eccles. leg. 17.

‡ Vide

Laws against Alienations, which were begun in favour of the Laity, ^{Year of} against the Clergy, are now turned, in favour of the Clergy, against ^{Christ 502.} the Laity.

The present Council, having abrogated the Law of *Odoacer*, because made without due Authority, issued another to the same Effect, forbidding the Bishop, and other Ministers of the *Roman Church*; to alienate the Goods of the said Church, declaring such Contracts void and null, and excommunicating all, who should consent or agree to them. They did not, it seems, know, that the Pope was above all Controll; that he was to be governed by no other Law but his own Will; and consequently that no Council, though consisting of all the Bishops of the Earth, could make Canons, that were binding with respect to him, much less a national Council: nay, the Pope himself seems to have been yet unacquainted with his paramount Authority, since he did not object against that Decree, but signed it with the rest.

In the mean time the Emperor *Anastasius*, who had employed all his Interest at *Rome* in behalf of *Laurentius*, being informed that the opposite Party had prevailed in the End, and that *Symmachus* was in quiet Possession of the disputed See, was so piqued at his Disappointment, that, forgetful of his Dignity, he wrote an Invektive against the new Pope, which we may justly style a Libel. His Libel the Pope answered by another, under the Title of *An Apology*, addressed to him in a very different Style from that which his Predecessors had used in addressing the Emperors. *Anastasius* had reproached him with his unlawful and uncanonical Election; had charged him with *Manicheism*; and upbraided him with Arrogance in presuming even to excommunicate an Emperor. The Pope replied, That the Validity of his Election had never been questioned, had he been more favourable to the Memory of *Acacius*, or less zealous for the Catholic Faith. The Charge of *Manicheism* he retorts against the Emperor; and, besides, taxes him with countenancing Heretics of all Denominations, and wreaking his Vengeance on those alone, whom alone he ought to protect. As to his having excommunicated the Emperor, he declares, that he has no otherwise excommunicated him, than by excommunicating *Acacius*, as his Predecessors had done, and all who communicated with his Memory. *We do*

• Concil. t. 4. p. 1266.

Year of
Christ 502.
The Pope did
not excommu-
nicate the
Emperor.

He prefers
the Episcopal
to the Impe-
rial Dignity.

The Apology
of Ennodius
approved by
the Pope,
and a Coun-
cil.

Year of
Christ 503.

not excommunicate you, says he, but Acacius. *Withdraw from him, and you withdraw from his Excommunication. If you continue to communicate with his Memory, we do not excommunicate you; you excommunicate yourself*^d (A). He treats the Emperor, throughout the whole Apology, or rather Libel, with the utmost Contempt; he has even the Assurance to tell him, that the Successor of St. Peter is, at least, as great as an Emperor; and his saying no more was, according to *Baronius*^e, owing to his Modesty. He compares the Episcopal with the Imperial Dignity; and concludes a Bishop to be as much above an Emperor, as the heavenly Things, which the Bishop administers and dispenses, are above all the Trash of the Earth, which alone the greatest among the Emperors have a Power to dispose of. He pretends, by the *higher Powers*, to be meant the spiritual Powers; and that to them chiefly every Soul ought to be subject. He reminds the Emperor, that, after all, he is but a Man; that his Laws are to be obeyed no farther than they are agreeable to the Laws of God; exhorts him to honour God in his Ministers, that they, in their Turn, might honour God in him; and concludes with advising him to separate himself from the Enemies of the Church, and the true Faith, and steadily adhere to the See of St. Peter^f.

The following Year 503. the Pope held another Council at *Rome*, to confirm the Acts of the Council that had absolved him, and restored him to his Dignity. To the Bishops of that Assembly, who were all *Italians*, was read the Apology of *Ennodius*, which I have mentioned

^d Concil. t. 4. p. 1296, et seq. p. 1297—1299.

^e Bar. ad ann. 503. n. 24.

^f Concil. ib.

(A) *We do not excommunicate you*, says the Pope; but *Baronius* maintains, that the Pope did excommunicate him. It is certain, says the Annalist, that the Cause of the heretical Emperor being examined in the Council, meaning the Council held in 502. the Pope excommunicated the impious *Anastasius*, with the unanimous Consent of all the Bishops, who composed that Assembly (1). To prove this he alleges the very Passage that evidently proves the contrary; the very Words of the Pope declaring, that he had not excommunicated the Emperor; but by the leaving out of one Letter only,

so altered as to make him declare, that he had. The Words are; *Dicis quod, mecum conspirante Senatu, excommunicaverim te. Ista quidem NEGŌ, sed rationabiliter factum a decessoribus meis sine dubio subsequor* (2). You say, that I excommunicated you by the joint Consent of the Senate. That indeed I DENY; but I certainly follow what was, with good Reason, done by my Predecessors. *Baronius*, instead of *ista quidem NEGŌ*, that indeed I deny; reads *ista quidem ego*, that indeed I did; So that, according to him, the Passage must be thus understood; You say, that I excommunicated

(1) Bar. ad ann. 502. n. 30.

(2) Concil. t. 4. p. 1298.

mentioned above; a Piece filled perhaps with more fulsome Flattery, with more false and absurd Maxims, than any that has been published since that Time. However, the Bishops, lost to all Sense of Shame, not only extolled it with the highest Commendations, as it were, in Emulation of one another, but ordered it to be inserted among the Acts of the Council, and to be deemed of as much Authority as the Council itself, or any Decree made by the Council. The Pope, not satisfied with that Mark of Honour, the greatest that had been yet bestowed on any Work, commanded it, with the unanimous Consent of the Bishops, to be placed among the Decrees of the Apostolic See, and to be held by all as one of them &c.

Year of
Christ 503.

The following Year 504. another Council was held at Rome, and a Decree made, at the Motion of the Pope, anathematizing, and excluding from the Communion of the Faithful, all who had seized, or for the future should seize, hold, or appropriate to themselves, the Goods or Estates of the Church: and this Decree was declared to extend even to those who held such Estates by Grants from the Crown^b.

Another
Council held
at Rome,
and all ex-
communicat-
ed by it, who
should seize
the Estates of
the Church.

Year of
Christ 504.

Great Dis-
turbances in
the East.

As to the Affairs of the East, all was there in the utmost Confusion; and the Disturbances in the Church were attended with no less Disturbances in the State. The Emperor, not satisfied with obliging the Bishops to receive the *Henoticon*, which they all did to a Man, required them besides to anathematize the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Doctrine of the Two Natures. With this Order *Macedonius* of *Constantinople* refused to comply; and the Emperor, having attempted in vain to gain him over to the *Eutychian* Party, resolved, at last, to proceed to Violence, and drive him from his See: But the Bishop had the Mob on his Side; and the Mob, ever zealous for the Church, or for what they call the Church, no sooner heard of the Emperor's Resolution, than, rising, in Defence of the true Faith, with the Superiors of the orthodox Monks at their Head, they surrounded the Imperial Palace, and, threatening to set Fire to it, cried aloud for another Emperor; for a Catholic, in the room of a Heretic; for a Christian, instead of a *Manichee*. The Emperor en-

The Mob rise
in Constan-
tinople, in
Defence of
the Two
Natures.

^a Concil. t. 4. p. 1364.

^b Concil. t. 4. p. 1390.

you, &c. That I did, indeed; but I follow what was done by my Predecessors, that is, I do what my Predecessors have done before me: and yet the Annalist does not

even pretend the Emperor to have been excommunicated by any of the Predecessors of *Symmachus*.

devoured

Year of
Christ 504.
Macedonius,
the orthodox
Bishop,
driven out by
the Emperor;
and Timo-
theus, an
Eutychian,
placed in his
room.

deavoured to appease them; but the Tumult increasing, and the Multitude growing more and more outrageous, he was in the End obliged to send for *Macedonius*, to be publicly reconciled with him, and solemnly promise, that he never would hurt him^b. But he did not think himself bound to stand to a Promise which had been thus extorted; and not long after *Macedonius* was seized, in the Night, by his Order, and conveyed to *Chalcedon*. The next Morning the Mob and the Monks, missing their Bishop, attempted to rise; but were prevented from assembling, by the numerous Bodies of Troops which the Emperor had caused to be placed in the different Streets of the Cityⁱ. In the room of *Macedonius* was named by the Emperor, and installed, the very next Day, one *Timotheus*, Presbyter of that Church, who, to testify his Gratitude to *Anastasius*, began his Episcopacy with anathematizing, in an Assembly of Bishops, convened for that Purpose, the Council of *Chalcedon*, and separating himself from all who did not anathematize with him the Doctrine of that Council.

The Emperor
attempts an
Alteration in
the public
Service.

The Emperor, having now the Patriarch on his Side, undertook, at whose Instigation is not well known, to make an Alteration in the public Service of the Church. The Alteration was of no Consequence in itself; but it supplied the leading Men of the Catholic Party with a plausible Pretence to stir up the Populace, and revenge, by their means, the Deposition and Exile of their late Bishop, now confined to *Euchaita*, an inhospitable Place in the Province of *Pontus*. The Alteration was made in the *Trisagion* (A), *Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have Mercy upon us*; which was used by the Church to declare her Faith in the Trinity (B). With these

^a Theod. Lect. p. 562. Theophan. p. 132.
p. 133. Evagr. l. 3. c. 32.

^b Theod. Lect. p. 563. Theoph.

(A) This Hymn was called the *Trisagion*, because the Word *Holy* is thrice repeated. Its original Form was, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, Heaven and Earth are full of thy Glory, who art blessed for ever. Amen.* Thus it is in the Constitutions (1); and thus it was sung, according to *Chrysostom* (2), by the Seraphims in *Isaiab*. However, the Church thought fit to change that Form into this, *Holy God,*

Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have Mercy upon us: And in this Form it was used by the Fathers of *Chalcedon*, in the Condemnation of *Dioscorus* (3). This Change is supposed to have been made by *Proclus*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, in 446. and to have been approved, if not suggested, by the Emperor *Theodosius* the younger.

(B) The Words *Holy God* were applied to the Father, *Holy Mighty* to the Son,

(1) Const. l. 8. c. 12. (2) Chrys. Hom. 6. in Seraph.
Act. 1. Damascen. de Orthod. fide, l. 3. c. 10.

(3) Concil. Chal.

these Words only it was sung in all the Churches of the East, till the Year 477. when the famous *Petrus Fullo*, while he was Bishop of *Antioch*, caused the following Words to be added to it, *Who wast crucified for us*; with a Design, as was pretended, of introducing the Heresy of the *Theopaschites*; who held, or rather were said by their Adversaries to hold, that the Divine Nature, and consequently the whole Trinity, had suffered on the Cross. With the same Design was the Emperor now charged; and there wanted no more to alarm the Populace, and kindle a War between the Two Parties; within the Walls of the City, both affecting in all public Places to sing the *Trisagion*, the *Eutychians* with, and the Orthodox without, the Addition. From singing they came generally to Blows; and many Battles were fought, not only in the Streets, and the Squares; but in the Churches themselves, where the Service seldom ended without Bloodshed and Murders. The Parties were pretty well matched; the *Eutychians* having the Soldiery on their Side, with the great Men at Court, and all their Dependents; and the Orthodox the far greater Part of the Populace. The Monks, who were very numerous in *Constantinople*, had kept for some time quiet in their Cells. But the Two Parties being furiously engaged, on a Day of public Thanksgiving, while the one sung the *Eutychian Trisagion* (for so it was called, with the Addition), and the other the Orthodox, an Army of Monks unexpectedly appeared, armed with Clubs and Stones, and singing, as they advanced, *Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have Mercy upon us*. The Orthodox were almost overpowered; and ready to give Ground; but, resuming their Courage, at the Appearance of such an Army come to their Relief, they fell upon their Adversaries with fresh Fury, and, in Conjunction with the Monks, put them to Flight, and pursued them all over the City, massacring, without Mercy, every *Eutychian*, who had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands. By this Victory the Orthodox Party became absolute Masters of the City, and there was no kind of Cruelty

Year of
Christ 504.

Which occasions great
Disturbances
at Constantinople.

The Orthodox prevail,
with the Assistance of the
Monks.

and *Holy Immortal* to the *Holy Ghost* (4). As *Fullo* was suspected of having added the above-mentioned Words, in order to introduce the Opinion of the *Theopaschites*, that no room might be left for that Heresy, *Calendion*, the Successor of *Fullo* in the See of *Antioch*, placed the Words,

Christ our King, before those which his Predecessor had added (5). It had been well for the Christian Religion, that they had all contented themselves with the Words of the Scripture, without presuming to add to them any of their own.

(4) Damascen. ubi supra.

(5) Theodor. Lect. 1. 2. p. 566.

Year of
Christ 504.

The Euty-
chians mas-
sacred with-
out Mercy.

The Emperor
withdraws
from the City.

Returns, and
appeases the
People.

which they did not commit. They chose the great Square of *Constantine* for their Place of Arms, and, having caused the Keys of the City to be brought thither, with the Standards and Colours of the Troops, they detached Parties into the different Quarters of the Town, with Orders to murder, without Distinction of Rank or Sex, all who had joined the Emperor *in making War on the Trinity*, to pillage, and pull down, or burn their Houses, and spare none who did not anathematize the impious Addition, and all who approved it. This Order produced a general Massacre; for it was executed with a Cruelty hardly to be conceived; and in the Space of Three Days Ten thousand *Eutychians* were inhumanly murdered; their Houses were plundered and burnt, and with them great Part of the City. They wreaked chiefly their Vengeance on the Friends and Favourites of the Emperor, and, among the rest, on a harmless Hermit, and a sacred Virgin, whom *Anastasius* had in great Veneration, and frequently consulted. Them therefore they not only murdered in a most barbarous manner, but, tying their Bodies together, they dragged them through the chief Streets of the City, singing, in the mean time, as they did in all the Disorders they committed, the Orthodox *Trisagion*, and crying aloud, *Thus may all perish, who favour the Enemy of the Trinity*, meaning the Emperor, or are favoured by him!

Anastasius, alarmed at their Death, and the unheard-of Cruelties that were daily practised on his other Friends by the enraged Multitude, thought it adviseable to quit the City, and withdraw from their Fury, lest the Fate of his Friends should prove, in the End, to be his own. He withdrew accordingly, and lay concealed in the Neighbourhood of *Constantinople*, till News was brought him, that, in his Absence, they had torn all his Pictures, pulled down his Statues, and, construing his Flight into a Resignation, were ready to proclaim another Emperor in his room. In that Extremity, the only means that occurred to him of saving both his Life, and the Empire, was to return to the City, to shew himself to the Populace in the Quality of a Suppliant, and, by pretending to yield and submit, try to appease their Anger, and raise their Compassion. With this View he left the Place of his Retirement, and, repairing to the City, appeared unexpectedly in the *Circus*, like a private Person, without the Crown, or any other Ensigns of Empire. The Populace no sooner heard that the Emperor was in the Circus, than, quitting their Camp,

Camp, in the Square of *Constantine*, they marched thither, in a kind of Procession, singing, as usual, the Orthodox *Trisagion*, with a Cross, and the Book of the Gospels, carried before them, as if Sedition, Rebellion, and the most enormous Disorders and Cruelties, were authorized by that Book, by the Gospel of Peace. Upon their Arrival, the Emperor caused it to be proclaimed by the Heralds, that, since his good People did not approve of his Conduct, he was ready to quit the Empire, and desired they would name the Person to whom he should resign it. The Multitude demanded, with loud Cries, that, in the First place, *Marinus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and *Plato*, Governor of the City, might be thrown to the wild Beasts, as the chief Authors of the present Disturbances. The Emperor promised, upon Oath, to punish them according to their Deserts, to redress the Grievances, which his loving Subjects had but too much Reason to complain of, and to take care, that in time to come, if they thought fit to continue him in Power, no room should be left for the like, or any other Complaints. The Populace, tho' incensed against the Emperor beyond Expression, had begun to relent, at only seeing him without the Badges of his Dignity; and now his Speech, though he had so often deceived them, softened them to such a Degree, that, Compassion taking place of Revenge, they broke out, all at once, into loud Acclamations, desired him, with one Voice, to resume the Diadem, wished him a long and prosperous Reign, and promising to put an End to the present Troubles, and to raise none for the future, they returned, all quiet, and satisfied, to their different Habitations and Callings ^k.

Constantinople was not the only City that felt the dreadful Effects of the Zeal of the Populace for what they called the Church, and the Orthodox Faith. At *Antioch* the old Quarrel was revived concerning the Nature of Christ, and the whole City divided into Two opposite Parties or Factions. The one maintained Christ to be *of one and in Two Natures*, while the other allowed him to be *of*, but would not admit him to be *in Two Natures*. The Populace on either Side were wrought up, by their Leaders, to a Pitch of Madness and Fury against each other, not sparing either Friends or Relations, whom they only suspected to differ in Opinion from themselves. But the Orthodox, that is, the Sticklers for the *of* and the *in*,

Year of
Christ 504.

The Euty-
chians *fare*
no better at
Antioch.

^k Evagr. l. 3. c. 44. Theoph. an. p. 136. Cedren. p. 360. Zonar. p. 44. Marc. Chron. Alex.

The History of the POPES, or Symm.

prevailed in the End; and how cruelly they used their Victory, the *Orontes* bears Witness, says the Historian, the *Orontes* quite choked up with the Bodies of the *Eutychians* they slew, without Distinction or Mercy¹. What would the Pagans have thought of the Christian Religion, had such mortal Feuds prevailed in their time, among those who professed it! So destructive a War between Christians and Christians would have supplied them with more copious Matter for reproachful Reflections, for Sarcasm and Satire, than that, which one of their Poets^m has so well described between the Inhabitants of *Ombos* and *Tentyris*, in order to expose to Ridicule and Contempt both their Religion and them. The Two rival Cities adored different Deities, and the Deities, whom the one adored, the other abhorred, and sought to destroy; which, in some degree, might excuse, allowing for the Superstition and Ignorance that prevailed in those Days, the irreconcilable Hatred they bore to each other. But the Christians adored the same God; frequented the same Places of Worship; and only disagreed about Words and Sounds, the Meaning of which, if they had any Meaning, neither Party well understood, nor even pretended to understand. The Union of the Two Natures they called an *ineffable Mystery*, that is, a Mystery which could not be expressed; and yet massacred all who did not agree with their Way of expressing it. The adding of those Words to the *Trisagion*, *Who wast crucified for us*, occasioned the dreadful Disorders we have seen at *Constantinople*. And yet that Addition, when it came afterwards to be coolly examined, was found to be orthodox, and was received as such, with one Consent, by all the Churches in the East, except that of *Constantinople*, which continued to reject it, for no other Reason but because it was there rejected at first. As for Heresy, it was so far from implying any, that *Avitus*, Metropolitan of *Vienne* in *Gaul*, who flourished at this time, and was one of the most learned Men of the Age, in his Account of the Massacre at *Constantinople*, mistakes the *Eutychians* for the Orthodox, and the Orthodox for the *Eutychians*. For he supposes the disputed Words to be the original Words of the *Trisagion*, and the Two Parties to have quarrelled because the *Eutychians* would, and the Orthodox would not, suppress themⁿ. The good Bishop, being at a great Distance, was misinformed; and, from the Subject of the Dispute, could not well know

They quarrel only about Words, and in the End all agree.

¹ Evagr. l. 3. c. 32. See P. Doucin. Hist. du Nestorianism. l. 3. c. 320. ^m Juvenal. Satir. 15. ⁿ Avit. ep. 3. p. 20. which

which was the *Eutychian*, and which the Orthodox Party. But when he and his Brethren in the West understood, that the above-mentioned Words had been added, not by the Orthodox, but the *Eutychians*, they all agreed in condemning what they had approved before, and approving what they had condemned; a plain Indication, that they were swayed merely by Party-Zeal, and determined to disapprove, right or wrong, whatever the opposite Party should recommend or approve.

In the East the Orthodox Bishops, shocked at the Disorders that were daily committed by the contending Parties, not only at *Antioch* and *Constantinople*, but in most other Cities of the Empire, and not able to restrain the Fury of the Populace, resolved in the End to recur to the Pope, and implore his Assistance; the rather, as the Emperor, forgetful of his Promise, had begun anew to persecute, and, under various Pretences, drive from their Sees, all who did not anathematize the Council of *Chalcedon*. They wrote therefore a long Letter to *Symmachus*, laying before him the unhappy State of the Catholic Faith in the East, acquainting him with the Evils which many of them had suffered, and they had all Reason to apprehend from the Emperor, for their inviolable Attachment to the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*, and earnestly intreating him to allow them, in their Distress, the Comfort of being admitted to the Communion of the Successor of St. *Peter*, and being owned by him, and their other Brethren in the West, for true Members of that Church, which they had hitherto defended, and continued to defend, at the Peril of their Lives. As for their keeping the Name of *Acacius* in the Diptychs, they conjured the Pope not to insist on their erasing it, at least for the present, since that would inevitably occasion a Division among the Orthodox themselves; and the least Division or Misunderstanding among them would prove fatal, at so critical a Juncture, to the Catholic Interest all over the East. They ended their Letter with a Confession of Faith, declaring, that they anathematized both *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*; that they received the Decree of *Chalcedon*, with the Letter of *Leo*, concerning the Two Natures; and intirely agreed in their Belief with the *Roman*, and all other Churches in the West. But their agreeing in Belief stood them in no stead, so long as they continued to mention at the Altar the Name of a Man whom the

Year of
Christ 504.

The Ortho-
dox Bishops
recur to the
Pope.
Year of
Christ 512.

Year of
Christ 512.

Who does not
even conde-
scend to an-
swer their
Letter.

They recur to
their Bre-
thren in Gaul.

The Arian
King of the
Burgundians
writes to the
Emperor in
their Behalf.

Apostolic See had condemned and deposed. *Symmachus* allowed their Faith to be intirely Orthodox; but, at the same time, was so provoked at their refusing to *obey the Decrees of St. Peter*, nay, and pretending to *justify their Disobedience*, that he would not even return an Answer to their Letter. He acted therein agreeably to the Declaration he had made the Year before, in a Letter which he wrote to the Bishops of *Illyricum*; viz. That, treading in the Footsteps of his holy Predecessors, he was unalterably determined to receive none to his Communion, who did not previously anathematize *Acacius*, and all who communicated with his Memory; and consequently that it was in vain for those who refused to comply with that Condition, to recur to him, or expect any kind of Relief from his See, since they had rendered themselves, by their Obstinacy, altogether unworthy of his Care and Protection^p. This *Baronius* calls an inflexible Zeal, in the Holy Pontiff, for the Catholic Faith; though he could not but know, that the Holy Pontiff was insisting on Terms which the Bishops could not agree to, without exposing the Catholic Faith to the utmost Danger; and, consequently, that, in them, it was *inflexible Zeal* not to comply, and, in him, an inflexible and criminal Obstinacy to require their Compliance.

It was not to the Pope alone that the Eastern Bishops had recourse in their Distress; they applied, at the same time, to the Catholic Bishops in *Gaul*, and probably to those of the other Provinces in the West. What Reception their Letters met with from their Brethren, I find no-where recorded. But *Gundebald*, the *Arian* King of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*, hearing, on that Occasion, of the Persecution they suffered, for the sake of their Faith, and pitying their Condition, thought himself bound, in common Humanity, to employ his good Offices in their Behalf. As there reigned therefore, at that time, an intire Harmony between the Kings of the *Burgundians* and the Emperors of the East, *Gundebald* not only wrote to *Anastasius*, recommending the persecuted Bishops to his Favour, but ordered *Avitus* of *Vienne*, whom he held in great Esteem for his Piety and Learning, to collect, from Scripture, such Passages as he thought the most proper to prove the Catholic, and confute the *Eutychian* Doctrine, in order to be sent to the Emperor; and dispersed all over the East^q. It was in Compliance with this Order

^p Concil. ibid. p. 1303.

^q Avit. ep. 2. p. 7.

that *Aquinas* wrote his Treatise on the Incarnation; a Work greatly commended by all the Antients, especially by *Gregory of Tours*.
 Thus was the Defence of the Catholic Cause, when abandoned by the Pope, on a mere Punctilio, zealously undertaken by an *Arian* Prince. It is true the Endeavours of the good King were not attended with the Success he expected, the Emperor being highly provoked against the Orthodox for the Disorders they had lately committed, and the opposite Parties too exasperated against each other, to hearken either to Scripture or Reason. However it was no small Encouragement and Satisfaction to the Orthodox Prelates, under Persecution, to find, that they were thought worthy of Relief and Compassion, even by a Heretic, while they were judged by the Pope, unaffected with their Sufferings, unworthy of both, and, as such, left by him, without Resource, to the Mercy of their Enemies.

Symmachus concerned himself no more with the Affairs of the East; but, leaving the Orthodox there to shift for themselves, in the best manner they could, applied himself to the restoring of the Ecclesiastical Discipline in the West, which, during the long Wars between the Barbarians and *Romans*, had been utterly neglected, and was almost intirely forgotten in the Provinces most distant from *Rome*. With this View he made several Regulations concerning Ordinations, and the Qualifications of those who were to be ordained, against Alienations, Simony, and the marrying of Virgins, or Widows, who professed Celibacy, and had lived for a considerable Time in that State. He excommunicates those who marry them, though they, weary of that State, and, through human Frailty, repenting they had ever embraced it, should consent to be married*. Such Marriages were not yet deemed null, as they are now, but only unlawful.

The following Year 514. the old Animosities being revived between the Bishops of the Two rival Cities, *Arles* and *Vienne*, about Jurisdiction and Power, the Pope confirmed to the former all the Privileges his See had enjoyed ever since the Time of *Leo*. His Letter to the Bishop of *Arles* is dated the 11th of *July* of the present Year; and he died a few Days after, having governed the *Roman* Church, according to the most probable Opinion, 15 Years, and Eight Months, wanting Four Days. He is said to have been buried in the Church of *St. Peter*; and there his Ashes are believed to re-

Year of
Christ 512.

Some Regula-
tions made by
Symmachus.
Year of
Christ 513.

He confirms
the Privileges
of the See of
Arles.

Year of
Christ 514.

Symmachus
dies, and is
sainted.

* *Greg. Tur. hist. Franc. l. 2. c. 4.*

* *Concil. t. 4. p. 1309.*

ear of
rist 514.

The Cellu-
ni or Syncelli
first intro-
duced in the
West.

Symmachus
probably
guilty of the
Crime laid to
his Charge.

main to this Day, and are yearly exposed, on the 19th of *July*, to public Adoration. But what extraordinary Merit intitled him to so great an Honour, is no easy Matter to determine. He was arraigned, as we have seen, at the Tribunal of King *Theodoric*, as guilty of an enormous Crime, and unworthy of the Dignity to which he was raised. The Writers of those Times have all avoided, and industriously, it seems, specifying the Crime. But it is generally supposed to have been Adultery, or some other Crime of that Nature. For, at this Time, and on this Occasion, a Decree was issued by the Metropolitan of *Milan*, which most of the Metropolitans in the West approved and received, commanding all Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, within the Limits of their respective Jurisdictions, to keep constantly with them, Night and Day, at home and abroad, a Clerk of Reputation and Character, as a Witness of their Actions, and ordering those who were not able to maintain such a Clerk, or Spy on their Conduct, to serve others in that Capacity. These Clerks were called, by the *Latins*, *Camerarii* and *Cellulani*, because they kept Night and Day in the same Cell, or Chamber, with the Persons whose Conduct they watched; and by the *Greeks*, *Syncelli*; for that Custom obtained in the East long before it took place in the West. But whatever was the Crime laid to the Charge of *Symmachus*, his Innocence does not appear so *plainly* and *undeniably* to me, as it does to *Baronius*. Nor did it appear so to King *Theodoric*; else he had cleared him himself, and not ordered, as he did, all the Bishops in his Dominions to assemble in Council, to try a Person, of whose Innocence he was fully satisfied. It is to be observed, that the Council was convened by the King, after he had heard the Evidences, as well as the Pleaders, on both Sides; and consequently, that he did not think the Charge altogether groundless; as *Baronius* is pleased to style it. It is true, he was absolved by a great Majority in the Council, as the Annalist takes care to observe. But that Majority was evidently byassed in his Favour, and acted contrary to the known Laws of Justice. For though they had been assembled on purpose to try him, they absolved him without a Tryal, without so much as hearing those who accused him; and their having thus absolved him may be better alleged as a Proof of his Guilt, than his Innocence. shews at least, that even his Friends were not quite satisfied of his Innocence: For, if they had, they would have been glad to make appear to the World by a fair Tryal, that no room might be

for Slander and Calumny. *Symmachus* himself declined, under various Pretences, appearing before his Judges, though Three times summoned. And what, but his being conscious to himself of his Guilt, could render him so averse to the only Means of clearing himself, and confounding his Enemies?

The *Roman* Church was, it seems, at this time, in a flourishing Condition as to Wealth. For from *Rome* were yearly sent over very considerable Sums into *Africa*, for the Relief of the Catholics there, most cruelly persecuted by *Trafamund*, the *Arian* King of the *Vandals*; nay, *Symmachus* is said not only to have supplied with the Necessaries of Life, but to have maintained, suitably to their Rank, no fewer than 220 Bishops, whom that King had stript of all their Effects, and sent into Exile. He was as charitable to them, as he was uncharitable to the Catholic Bishops in the East; though they all suffered in the same Cause, and some of the latter as much under an *Eutychian*, as the former did under an *Arian* Prince.

ANASTASIUS,
JUSTIN,

HORMISDAS,

THEODORIC
King of Italy.

Fifty-first BISHOP of Rome.

IN the room of *Symmachus* was unanimously chosen, after the Sec had been vacant Seven Days only, *Celius Hormisdas* or *Hormisda*, a Native of *Frusino* in *Campania*, the Son of *Justus*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, and, in the late Schism, one of the most zealous Partisans of *Symmachus* ^u. He was a married Man, and had a Son, whom we shall see, a few Years hence, raised to the Papal Dignity.

He had not been long in Possession of the Sec, when, to his great Joy and Surprize, he received a Letter from the Emperor; though, looking upon him as one out of the Pale of the Church, he had not yet even thought of acquainting him, as was usual, with his Promotion. This extraordinary and unexpected Condescension in the Emperor was not owing to any Regard he had for the new Pope, as he pretended, but merely to Force and Compulsion. For

^u Cassiodor. chron. lib. Pontif.

Year of
Christ 515.

“ sits, and still requires *Timotheus* to be present, tell him, That,
“ among your other Orders, you have some relating to *Timotheus*
“ himself, which you must not disclose in his Presence. This you
“ must unalterably stand to, and avoid entering at all on the Sub-
“ ject of your Legation, till the Emperor command *Timotheus* to
“ withdraw ^a. ”

Terms re-
quired by the
Pope to assist
in Person at
the Council.

To these Instructions the Pope added the Terms on which, and no other, he would assist in Person at the intended Council. These were : I. That, before he left *Rome*, the Emperor should receive, and, by a Declaration under his own Hand, notify to all the Bishops in his Dominions, that he received, the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*. II. That the like Declaration should be made and signed by all the Bishops in the East, in the Presence of the People; and that they should, at the same Time, anathematize *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, *Dioscorus*, *Ælurus*, *Petrus Mongus*, *Petrus Fullo*, *Aca-cius*, and all their Confederates; that is, all who had any-ways dis-obliged the Apostolic See. III. That the Bishops, who communi-cated with the *Roman* Church, and had been deposed or banished on that Account, should be restored to their Sees. IV. That such Bishops as had persecuted the Orthodox, or had been accused of Heresy, should be sent to *Rome* to be judged there ^b. Most exor-bitant Demands! To require that such Bishops as had been arraigned of Heresy in the East, or had persecuted those, who, in the present Schism, had sided with the *Roman* See, should be sent to *Rome* to be tried by that See, is what it had not yet come into the Thoughts of the most assuming Popes to suggest or propose. But *Hormisdas* knew to what Streights *Anastasius* was reduced by his rebellious Subjects of the Orthodox Party; and, taking Advantage of his Dis-tress, raised his Demands accordingly. He did not doubt but the Emperor, to extricate himself out of the present Difficulties, and fix on his Head the tottering Crown, would agree to any Terms.

His Letter to
the Emperor.

Besides these Articles, and the private Instructions, the Pope deli-vered to the Legates a Letter for the Emperor, to acquaint him, that though it was an unprecedented thing to summon the Pope to a Council held out of *Rome* (which it certainly was not, and we have seen several Instances of it in the preceding Centuries); yet he was willing to comply with the Summons, provided the Council

^a Vide Bar. ad ann. 515.

^b Bar. ibid.

of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*, were previously received by all, and the Heretics, meaning *Acacius*, and the others I have mentioned, were by all anathematized and condemned; that is, he was ready to assist at the Council, provided all Points were settled to his Satisfaction before the Council met, for the Settling of which the Council was to meet. The Pope's Letter is dated the 11th of *August* 515. The Legates left *Rome* the next Day, and, meeting with no Obstructions in their Journey, arrived, in a very short time, at *Constantinople*. The Emperor received them with all possible Marks of Distinction: for he was now sincerely desirous of putting an End to the Disturbances of the Church, which he found by Experience to be unavoidably attended with greater Disturbances in the State, and of spending the small Remains of his Life, for he was in the 85th Year of his Age, in Peace and Repose. However, he was startled at the extravagant Demands of the Pope, and remonstrated against them in the strongest Terms, especially against the Anathematizing of *Acacius*, telling the Legates, he did not doubt but that Point would be settled in the Council to the Satisfaction of both Parties, and begging they would not insist on its being settled without the Concurrence of the Bishops. The Legates pleaded the peremptory Orders of the Apostolic See, which they durst not disobey; and the Emperor, finding it was in vain for him to apply to them, wrote himself a most obliging Letter to the Pope, declaring, that he received both the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*, and assuring his Apostleship, that, as the Memory of *Acacius* was greatly revered by the People of *Constantinople*, the suppressing it in the Diptychs would occasion greater Disturbances, than any that had yet happened in that City. He added, that he did not think it right to drive the Living out of the Church on account of the Dead; but submitted his Judgment to the Decision of the Council, which he had appointed to meet.

Year of
Christ 515.

The Legates
well received
at Constantinople.

The Emperor
remonstrates
against the
extravagant
Demands of
the Pope.

The Emperor was not satisfied with only writing to the Pope. He sends a solemn Embassy to Rome. That no room might be left to question his Sincerity, he sent, the following Year, a solemn Embassy to the Apostolic See, employing, on that Occasion, two Persons of great Rank and Distinction; viz. *Theopompus*, Comes *Domefticorum*, or Captain of his Guards, and *Severianus*, Count of the Imperial Consistory, both distinguished.

Year of
Christ 516.

Year of
Christ 516.

Employ Lay-
men, and
why.

Writes by
them to the
Pope, and the
Roman Se-
nate.

The Embaf-
sadors ill re-
ceived at
Rome.

with the Title of *Clarissimus*. He chose two Laymen, not because he thought the Business, on which they were sent, to be of little or no Importance, as a late Writer pretends ^d, angry at the Emperor's reposing greater Confidence in the Laity than in the Clergy; but probably, because he knew the Ecclesiastics to be all strongly byassed to the one Side or the other, and consequently less capable of managing an Affair of that Nature with due Moderation and Temper. The Embassadors were charged to assure the Pope, that their Master was sincerely inclined to a Reconciliation; and to dissuade his Holiness, if by any means they could, from requiring the Name of *Acacius* to be suppressed in the Diptychs, at least till the Council met, since it was chiefly to settle that Point it had been appointed to meet. To the same Purpose the Emperor wrote Two Letters, the one to the Pope, and the other to the *Roman Senate*. In his Letter to the Senate, he intreats them, with great Earnestness, to interpose their good Offices not only with the venerable Pope, but with their most glorious King *Theodoric*, that the Members of both Republics may, after so long a Separation, be again happily united ^e (A).

The Embassadors arrived safe at *Rome*, but met there with a very different Reception from that which the Pope's Legates had met with at *Constantinople*. For *Hormisdas*, highly offended at the Emperor's employing Laymen, and not Ecclesiastics, in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and still more at the Embassadors endeavouring to divert him, pursuant to their Instructions, from insisting on the Name of *Acacius* being struck out of the Diptychs, at least as a preliminary Article to his assisting at the Council, dismissed them after a short Audience, and would see them no more; pretending that they had not been sent to negotiate a Reconciliation, but to defend, even in *Rome*, the *Eutychian* Heresy; nay, and to gain over, if possible, the Pope himself to that Party. He condescended, however, to return by them an Answer to the Emperor's Letter; but it was only to tell him, in a

^d Fleuri Hist. Eccles. l. 31. n. 23.
Rom. Pont.

^e Inter Epist. Hormisd. l. 1. Epist.

(A) His Letter to the Pope was thus directed; *Anastasius Augustus Hormisdæ Papæ, per Theopompum & Severianum VV. CC.*; and thus that to the Senate; *Imperator Cæsar Flavius Anastasius, Pius, Felix, Victor, semper Augustus, Germanicus inclytus, Alemannicus inclytus, Fran-*

cicus inclytus, Sarmaticus inclytus, Pater Patriæ, Proconsulibus, Consulibus, Prætoribus, Tribunis plebis, Senatuque suo salutem dicit. It begins, *Si vos liberique vestri valetis, bene est: Ego exercitusque meus valemus.*

few Words, that he might have saved himself the Trouble of writing to the Senate, since he could not doubt but the Apostolic See was ready to receive, without the Interposition either of the King, or the Senate, and embrace with great Joy, such as returned to the Unity of the Church, provided they first anathematized all Heretics, and all the Abettors of Heresy. He forbore mentioning *Acacius* in particular; but the Senate let the Emperor know, in their Answer to his Letter, that the Name of that Prelate was the only Obstruction to the wished-for Reconciliation; that the Pope peremptorily insisted on its being omitted at the Altar; and that, notwithstanding the sincere and most ardent Desire his Holiness had of completing so great and glorious a Work, he would hearken to no other Terms till that was complied with. With these Letters the Embassadors returned to *Constantinople*; and the Emperor, despairing of ever being able to prevail upon the Pope to moderate his Demands, or even to suffer them to be examined by an Oecumenical Council, thought it was to no Purpose to assemble one. He therefore dismissed the Bishops, about 200 in Number, who were already come to *Heraclea*, countermanded the rest, who were on their Journey to that Place; and, loudly complaining, as he well might, of the unparalleled Obstinacy of the Pope, laid aside all Thoughts of a Reconciliation. However, his thus standing up in Defence of *Acacius*, whose Memory was held in great Veneration at *Constantinople*, reinstated him in the Favour of the People, the Orthodox People, no less offended than he at the Inflexibility of the Pope; insomuch that, presuming on the Affection, and the Gratitude, they shewed him, he divested *Vitalian*, this very Year, of all his Power; and, without the least Disturbance, appointed *Rufinus*, a zealous *Acacian*, to command in his room.

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*His disoblige-
ing Answer
to the Empe-
ror's Letter.*

*He insists on
the Name of
Acacius being
erased.*

*The Emperor
obliged by the
Obstinacy of
the Pope to
lay aside all
Thoughts of a
Reconcilia-
tion.*

*The Pope
sends a Second
Legation into
the East.*

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Christ 517.

The Conduct of *Hormisdas* on this Occasion was displeasing even to those who were the most zealous for the Union. They thought that the Unity of the Church, for which he pretended so much Zeal, being at Stake, he might have gratified the Emperor so far as to have connived at their keeping the Name of *Acacius* in the Diptychs till the Council met, and not obstinately insisted on its being struck out, as a preliminary Article to the Meeting of the Council, or to his assisting at it with the Western Bishops. The Pope, therefore, to justify his Conduct, and at the same time to try anew whether he could not convince the Emperor, and the Bishops in those Parts, of the Reasonableness of his Demand with respect to the Name of *Acacius*, and

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He writes to
the Emperor,
and to many
others:

The Confes-
sion of Faith,
which he re-
quired all to
sign.

and prevail upon them to comply with it, for he was unalterably determined not to yield, resolved to send a second Legation into the East; and on this Occasion too he employed *Ennodius*, who had already given so many Proofs of his inviolable Attachment to the *Roman* See, and with him *Peregrinus* of *Misenum*, a Prelate of great Learning and Address. By them the Pope wrote anew to the Emperor, to the Orthodox Bishops, to the Clergy, Monks, and People of *Constantinople*; nay, and even condescended to write to *Timotheus*, the *Eutychian* Bishop of that City, and to the other Bishops who did not communicate with *Rome*. These Letters were chiefly filled with Invectives against *Acacius*, as a Heretic, as an Abetter of Heresy, as the sole Author of all the Evils that had happened to the Church, as one altogether unworthy of being ranked among the Catholic Bishops; and the Burden of all was, that his Name must not be suffered to remain in the Diptychs^f. With these Letters, the Pope delivered to the Legates a Confession of Faith, to be made, in their Presence, by all who should return to the Communion of *Rome*; and they were strictly enjoined to receive none who did not sign it, without the least Alteration, either in the Sense or the Words. By that Confession they were, 1. To anathematize all Heretics in general, and those in particular, who have been mentioned above, together with *Acacius*. 2. To receive the Council of *Chalcedon*, the Letter of *Leo* on the Incarnation, and all the Letters which that Pope had written on the Christian Religion; tho' most of the Orientals, probably all, were utter Strangers to those Letters, and the Doctrine they contained. 3. They were to declare, that they conformed, and would conform in all Things, to the Apostolic See; that they received all the Constitutions of the *Roman* Church, and would suppress, at the Altar, the Names of those who had died out of the Communion of the Catholic Church, that is (for so it was explained in the Confession), of those, who, at their Death, had disagreed in Opinion with the Apostolic See &c. This was obliging all, who would communicate with *Rome*, to promise an intire Submission and Obedience to the Ordinances of that See, and to own all, who died out of the Communion of *Rome*, to die out of the Communion of the Catholic Church; which, he could not but know, none even of the Orthodox Party would agree to, as Matters then stood.

^f Hormisd. Ep. 11. 17, 18, 19, 20.

^g Apud BAR ad ann. 517. p. 689, 690.

The Emperor heard with great Joy, that the Pope was sending a Second Legation into the East, concluding from thence, that, in the End, he had thought it adviseable to moderate his Demands, at least, so far as to refer the Decision of the Dispute about the Name of *Acacius* to be determined by an Occumenical Council. Dissembling, therefore, the Reception his Embassadors had met with at Rome, he received the Legates in the most obliging Manner, respecting in them the Dignity and Holiness of him who sent them. But when he found, to his great Disappointment, that *Hormisdas* was still inflexible, and unalterably bent on carrying his Point; nay, that instead of abating, he had raised his Demands, he was provoked to such a Degree, that he ordered the Legates forthwith to depart the Palace, charging Two Officers, *Heliodorus* and *Demetrius*, with the Soldiers under their Command, to attend them to a Vessel, and see them conveyed out of his Dominions, without suffering them anywhere to set Foot on Shore. By them, however, he returned an Answer to the Pope's Letter; but it was only to reproach him with Pride, Obstinacy, and Presumption; and to compare his haughty and imperious Behaviour with that of the meek and humble *Jesus*. He closes his Letter with these Words; *We shall give you no further Trouble, it being in vain for us to pray or intreat you, since you are obstinately determined not to hearken to our Prayers and Intreaties: we can bear to be despised and affronted; but we will not be commanded*^b. This Letter is dated the 11th of July 517. The Pope, apprehending, as he well might, that the Emperor would never submit to his Terms, had delivered to the Legates, at their Departure, several Copies of a Protest, which, in that Case, they were to make, and disperse all over the East. The Protest was calculated chiefly to inflame the Mob against the Emperor, and oblige him, by that means, to comply. But the Bishops, to whom the Copies were conveyed by the Monks, the Emissaries of Rome, offended at the unchristian Conduct of the Pope, instead of publishing them, sent them all to *Constantinople*.

The Monks, in several Places, paid dear for their Attachment to Rome, especially in the Province of the *Second Syria*. For, having taken upon them there to preach the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*, *Severus* of *Antioch*, a zealous *Eutychian*, to whose Patriarchal See that Province was subject, sent them to Rome, where they were sacrificed for their Attachment to Rome and the Council of Chalcedon.

^b Inter Hormisd. Epist. post Ep. 20. Vid. Bar. ad ann. 517. p. 693, 694.

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Christ 517.

vince was subject, caused their Monasteries to be set on Fire, and 350 of them to be inhumanly massacred by a Band of Russians, hired for that Purpose. Thus he retaliated on them the Cruelties, which, at their Instigation, had been practised by the Orthodox a few Years before on those of his Party. Of this barbarous Treatment the Monks sent Two of their Body to complain to the Emperor, and implore his Protection. But *Anastasius* looked now upon the Monks, and other Friends of *Rome*, as his avowed Enemies; and therefore, instead of revenging the Death of their slain Brethren, or granting them his Protection, he drove the Deputies, with reproachful Language, from his Presence, and ordered them forthwith to quit the City.

They recur to
the Pope.
Their flattering
Letter to
him.

In this Extremity, the Monks resolved to recur to *Hormisdas*; and dispatched accordingly the same Deputies to *Rome*, with a flattering Letter, in the Form of a Memorial, for the Pope, styling him, in the Address, *the most holy and blessed Patriarch of the whole World*; and intreating him, in the Letter, as *the Successor of the Prince of the Apostles*, as *the Head of all*, to rise up, and manfully exert the Power of loosening and binding, with which he was vested, in Defence of the oppressed Faith, of the blasphemed Fathers, of the every-where anathematized Council of *Chalcedon*. They concluded with recommending themselves to the Protection of his Holiness; and with cursing, in order to earn it, *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, *Dioscorus*, *Petrus Fullo*, *Petrus Mongus*, *Acacius*, and all who presumed to defend themⁱ. This Memorial the Pope answered by a long Letter, addressed not to the Monks only, but to all the Orthodox in the East, exhorting them to adhere steadily to the true Faith, the Faith of *Chalcedon*, and bear with Resignation and Patience the Evils they suffered, till it should please God to relieve them^k.

Anastasius
dies; and
Justin is
raised to the
Empire in his
room.

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They were relieved soon after; for the Pope's Letter was dated the 10th of *February*, and on the 9th of the following *July* died *Anastasius* (A); and *Justin*, then *Præfectus Prætorio*, was proclaimed Emperor

ⁱ Inter Ep. Hormisd. ante Ep. 22.

^k Hormisd. Ep. 21.

(A) Some write, that a violent Storm arising, the Dread and Terror with which he was seized, put an End to his Life (1). Others suppose him to have been killed by a Flash of Lightning (2). He died, according to some (3), in the 88th Year of his Age; according to others, in the 91st (4); having reigned 27 Years, 2 Months, and 29 Days. *Baronius* construes his Death into a Judgment, chiefly for his

(1) Theod. p. 505. Marc. chron. (2) Zonar. p. 47. (3) Theod. Lect. Vict. Tun. (4) Chron. Alex.

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peror in his room (B). This Change in the State was attended with a far greater Change in the Church. The new Emperor, though quite illiterate, was a most zealous Stickler for the Doctrine of the Two Natures, and prejudiced, even to Bigotry, in Favour of the Council of *Chalcedon*. The News of his Promotion was therefore received by the Orthodox, throughout the Empire, with Demonstrations of Joy not to be expressed. On this Occasion the People of *Constantinople* distinguished themselves, by their Zeal for the Catholic Faith, above the rest. For, impatient to see their Adversaries humbled at last, and the impious Heresy of the *Manichees* (for they were made to believe, that the *Eutychians* and the *Manichees* held the same

Arrogance, in presuming to tell the High-Pontiff, in plain Terms, that he would not be commanded (5). We are told by a Writer of those Times (6), that the Death of *Anastasius* was revealed, the Minute it happened, to St. *Elias*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who was then in Exile, at a great Distance from *Constantinople*; and that the Saint immediately imparted the News to Three Monks, who were come to visit him, adding, that he himself should outlive the Emperor only Ten Days, having been summoned to appear, the Tenth Day from the Time of his Death, as an Evidence at the dreadful Tribunal against him. The Historian adds, That St. *Elias* died at the precise Time he had foretold; and *Baronius*, concluding from thence, that the Emperor was damned (for he does not question the Truth of that Tale), closes his Sixth Volume with the following Words: "As the Children of *Israel*, exulting with Joy, sung the Praises of God, when they had safely passed the *Red-Sea*, in which *Pharaoh* and his whole Army were drowned, let us in like manner exult, and sing, with the Church, a Song of Victory, having happily ended this Volume, in which we have seen, at last, the wicked Emperor judged, damned, and thrust down to Hell." A proper Subject indeed for a Song! Pope *Nicolas I.* ranks *Anastasius* with *Nero*, *Dioclesian*, and *Constantius*, among the Persecutors of the Church (7).

(B) *Justin* was a Native of *Bederiana*, a City on the Borders of *Thrace* and *Illyricum* (1). He was descended of an obscure and mean Family, and employed in his Youth in keeping Cattle, and tilling the Ground. He afterwards lifted himself among the Guards of the Emperor *Leo*; and having, on several Occasions, given signal Proofs of an extraordinary Valour, he was raised, by *Leo*, from the low Station of a common Soldier, to the Post of Tribune, and by *Anastasius* to the Office of *Præfectus Prætorio* (2). *Evagrius* writes, that the Eunuch *Amantius*, the deceased Emperor's Great Chamberlain, having intrusted *Justin* with large Sums, to purchase the Votes of the Soldiery for *Theocritus*, the Eunuch's intimate Friend, *Justin* distributed the Money in his own Name; and having, by that means, secured the Army to his Interest, he was by them, upon the Death of *Anastasius*, proclaimed Emperor (3). He was quite illiterate; could neither read nor write; nor was he capable, if *Procopius* is to be credited (4), of dispatching Business of any Kind, without the Assistance of others. The Person, whom he chiefly employed, and in whom he reposed the greatest Trust, was *Proclus* his Quæstor, whom we may suppose to have been a zealous Catholic, since the new Emperor, who was, in great measure, swayed by him, shewed so much Zeal for the Catholic Faith.

(5) Bar. ad ann. 518. p. 704.

Græc. c. 60.

(7) Nic. ep. ad Michael. Imper.

c. 6. (2) Idem ibid.

(6) Cyrill. apud Cotel. t. 3. Monument. Eccl.

(1) Procop. Hist. Arcan.

(3) Evagr. l. 4. c. 2.

(4) Procop. ubi supra.

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Doctrine) utterly extirpated, while the Emperor was assisting, after his Election, at Divine Service, which was performed with great Solemnity by the Patriarch attended by several Bishops, and his numerous Clergy, they unexpectedly broke out into loud and repeated Acclamations, *Long live the Emperor, the new Constantine! Long live the Empress (C), the new Helena! Long live the Patriarch, worthy of the Trinity (D)!* In the Midst of these Acclamations, they shut the Doors of the Church; and then declared with one

The Populace oblige the Patriarch to receive the Council of Chalcedon.

Voice, that, since it had pleased Heaven to give them, in the room of a *Manichee*, a Christian Emperor, they would suffer none to depart till the Patriarch had publicly received the Council of *Chalcedon*, had publicly anathematized all who rejected that holy Synod, namely, the new *Judas*, *Severus of Antioch*, and had replaced in the Diptychs the Names of his Two Predecessors *Euphemius* and *Macedonius*, with that of *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, which had been erased by the wicked *Timotheus*. The Patriarch was obliged to grant them all they required. But the Populace, not yet satisfied, returned the next Day, and, repeating the same Acclamations, demanded *Aman-tius*, the late Emperor's Great Chamberlain, and the chief Author of the Persecution against the Orthodox, to be forthwith driven out of the Palace, and the exiled Bishops restored to their Sees. The Patriarch promised to acquaint the Emperor, who was not present that

And to assemble a Council, which receives that of Chalcedon, and deposes Severus of Antioch.

Day, with their Request, and, besides, to cause whatever had been done by him alone the Day before to be confirmed by a Council. A Council was accordingly assembled, and in great Haste, in Four Days time, to gratify the impatient and riotous Multitude. It was composed of the Bishops who happened to be then in *Constantinople*, or

(C) The Name of the present Empress was *Euphemia*. She was by Birth a Barbarian, and once a Slave. *Justin* bought her while he was yet a private Man, and kept her many Years as his Concubine (5). He afterwards married her; and, when raised to the Empire, honoured her with the Title of *Augusta*; but would have her first to quit her original and barbarous Name, that of *Lupicina*, and take a *Roman* in its room. He chose the Name of *Euphemia*, to shew, as is supposed, the great Regard he had for the Council of *Chalcedon*, which was held in the Church of that Martyr.

(D) *John*, surnamed *Cappadox*, probably because a Native of *Cappadocia*, was at this time Bishop of *Constantinople*, having been chosen this very Year in the room of *Timotheus* the *Eutychian*. He had all along professed the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*; but yet did not scruple, notwithstanding the Praise now bestowed on him by the Populace, to anathematize that Council, when he found that *Anastasius* (for he was chosen some Months before his Death) would not suffer him to be ordained till he had anathematized it (6).

(5) Procop. Hist. Arcan. c. 6.

(6) Viâ. Tun.

n that Neighbourhood, in all 40 or 43, many of them declared *Eutychians*. However, the Council of *Chalcedon* was by all unanimously received; the Names of *Euphemius*, *Macedonius*, and *Leo*, were replaced in the Diptychs; *Severus* of *Antioch*, the most inveterate Enemy the Orthodox had, was anathematized, deposed, and divested of all Episcopal Power and Authority; and the Bishops, who had been banished for defending the Catholic Faith, were ordered to be restored to their Sees, when it should please the Emperor to recal them from Exile¹.

The Acts of the Council were immediately communicated to the Emperor, who not only approved and confirmed them, but issued an Edict, commanding all Bishops, within his Dominions, to receive publicly, in the Presence of the Clergy and People, the Council of *Chalcedon*, on pain of forfeiting their Sees. By the same Edict he restored to their Rank, Honours, and Dignities, such as had been deposed, or sent into Exile, for standing up in Defence of the Doctrine defined by that holy Synod. A few Days after, another Edict appeared, excluding Heretics of all Denominations, namely the *Eutychians*, from all Employments, both Civil and Military. The late Emperor, however addicted to the *Eutychian* Party, made no Distinction, in the Disposal of Employments, between the Orthodox and the *Eutychians*. *Justin* himself was known to be a zealous Catholic; but that did not disqualify him, with an *Eutychian* Emperor, from being raised to the first Employments. The Publication of these Edicts was followed by the Execution of *Amantius*, and such of the *Eutychians*, as were the most obnoxious to the Orthodox Party. The General *Vitalian*, whom *Anastasius* had discharged, was recalled to Court, and restored to his Post. As for *Severus* of *Antioch*, who had signalized himself above all of his Party, by his Hatred to the Orthodox, and his Abhorrence of the Doctrine of the Two Natures, anathematizing daily those who had introduced such a Tenet into the Church, the Emperor ordered him to be apprehended, and his Tongue to be cut out. But, before the Sentence could be put in Execution, he made his Escape, and got safe into *Egypt*, where he was kindly received, and carefully concealed, by *Timotheus*, the *Eutychian* Bishop of *Alexandria*^m.

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Christ 518.

The Emperor
confirms the
Acts of the
Council, and
commands all
Bishops to re-
ceive that of
Chalcedon,
on pain of
Deposition.

Amantius,
the late Em-
peror's Great
Chamberlain,
executed.

Sentence pro-
nounced a-
gainst Seve-
rus, who
makes his
Escape.

¹ Concil. t. 4. p. 178.
Cyril. in vit. Sab. c. 60.

^m Procop. Hist. Arcan. c. 6. Evagr. l. 4. c. 4.

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Christ 518.

The Council of
Chalcedon
received by all.

The above-mentioned Edicts were no sooner published in the Provinces, than Councils were every-where assembled, and Synodical Letters sent up from all Quarters to *Constantinople*, fraught with Invectives, Curses, and Anathemas, against all who presumed to dispute the Authority of the holy Council of *Chalcedon*. They were now all convinced, that the Doctrine of the Two Natures was the only true Doctrine, and, as such, they received it, declaring the opposite Dogma, which, in the late Emperor's Time, most of them had held, and zealously defended, to be a Blasphemy against Heaven, and pronouncing all, who countenanced it, Enemies to God and his Churchⁿ. I do not know of a single Bishop, who chose rather to forfeit his See, than renounce his Opinion: the Imperial Edicts carried with them such a Conviction, as none could withstand.

The Emperor,
desirous of
putting an
End to the
Schism,
writes to the
Pope.

And desires
him to di-
spatch Le-
gates into the
East.

Justin, having thus united the Eastern Bishops among themselves (for none durst now utter a single Word against the Council of *Chalcedon*, or the Two Natures), undertook, in the next Place, to unite them with their Brethren in the West, coveting nothing so much as the Glory of putting an End to the unhappy Divisions, that, to the Disgrace of the Christian Name and Religion, had so long prevailed in the Catholic Church. He therefore wrote a most kind and obliging Letter to *Hormisdas*, acquainting him with his Promotion, with the sincere and ardent Desire he had of seeing all, who professed the same Faith, united in the same Communion; and, at the same time, intreating him in his own Name, as well as in the Name of the Bishop of the Imperial City, and other well-disposed Prelates, to send Legates into the East, capable of forwarding and accomplishing so desirable a Work. With the Emperor's Letter, and others, to the same Purpose, from *John of Constantinople*, from the Synod, which was then sitting in that City, from other Bishops, and from Count *Justinian*, the Emperor's Nephew and Successor in the Empire, was dispatched to *Rome Gratus*, a Person of Distinction, and honoured with the Title of *Clarissimus*. On his Arrival in that City, he was immediately introduced to the Pope, who received him, as we may well imagine, and read the Letters he brought, with inexpressible Joy. He concluded, from the earnest Desire they all expressed of seeing the Unity of the Church restored, and all Schisms and Divisions banished for ever from the Kingdom of Christ, that they were disposed to purchase such valuable Bless-

ings upon any Terms. Resolved therefore to improve such a Disposition to the Advantage of his See, he answered immediately the Emperor's Letter, and that of the Patriarch, commending their Zeal, and assuring them, that if they, on their Side, were ready, as he hoped they were, to remove the Cause of Discord, he was ready on his to concur with them in establishing Concord; that is, he was ready to establish Concord on his own Terms, and no other^o. He does not mention *Acacius* in his Letter to the Emperor; but in that to the Patriarch he tells him, that all he has done, and all he can do, to procure the Peace of the Church, will prove in the End but lost Labour, unless he is resolved to anathematize the impious *Acacius*, to erase his Name out of the sacred Register, and subscribe the Articles annexed to the Letter he sends him. The Articles were those I have mentioned above, which seemed so very unreasonable to the late Emperor, that he drove the Legates from his Presence, and ordered them to quit his Dominions, for daring to propose them.

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Christ 518.

The Pope insists on the same Terms.

The following Year *Hormisdas*, in Compliance with the Emperor's Request, sent a Third Legation into the East, consisting of Two Bishops, *Germanus* and *John*, One Presbyter named *Blandus*, and Two Deacons *Felix* and *Dioscorus*. Their Instructions were; I. To receive none to their Communion, who had not first signed the above-mentioned Articles. II. Not to see the Bishop of *Constantinople*, even should the Emperor desire them to see him, till he had declared, that he received the Articles, and was ready to sign them, without any kind of Restriction or Explication. III. To cause not only the Name of *Acacius* to be put out of the Diptychs, but those likewise of his Successors, *Euphemius* and *Macedonius* not excepted; since they too died out of the Communion of *Rome*, though they died in Exile, and in Defence of the Orthodox Faith. IV. If the Bishop of *Constantinople* should comply with every thing that is required of him, to insist on his acquainting therewith, by a circular Letter, signed by him, all the Bishops under his Jurisdiction, and exhort them to follow his Example. With these Instructions the Pope delivered to the Legates a great Number of Letters; for by them he wrote to the Emperor, to the Empress, to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, to *Theodosius* his Archdeacon, and the rest of the Clergy, to *Justinian*, to *Celer* and *Patricius*, both Men of great

The Pope sends Legates anew into the East.

Their Instructions.
Year of
Christ 519.

Writes by them a great Number of Letters.

^o Hormisd. ep. 23, 24.

^p Extat inter epist. Hormisd.

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Christ 519.

Power and Interest at Court, to the *Præfectus Prætorio*, residing at *Theſſalonica*, through which City the Legates were to paſs; and, laſtly, to *Anaſtaſia* and *Palmatia*, Two Women of Diſtinction, and both zealous Advocates, even in the late Emperor's Time, for the Doctrines of the Two Natures. The Purport of all theſe Letters was to exhort thoſe, to whom they were addreſſed, to be aſſiſting to the Legates in bringing to a happy Iſſue the great Buſineſs on which they were ſent; to convince them, that the *Roman* Church, founded on the Faith of St. *Peter*, could not, without contaminating herſelf, communicate with thoſe who had contaminated themſelves by communicating with Heretics, till ſhe was well ſatisfied, that they ſincerely renounced ſuch a Communion; and that they could, by no other means ſatisfy her as to that important Point, but by profeſſing the Faith which ſhe profeſſed, and condemning thoſe whom ſhe condemned &c.

The Legates
received
every-where
with great
Demonſtra-
tions of Joy.

With theſe Letters the Legates ſet out for *Conſtantinople*; and, being met, at their Landing in *Greece*, and attended on their Journey, by the Two Counts *Stephanus* and *Laurentius*, ſent by the Emperor for that Purpoſe, they were every-where received with loud Acclamations, and, as they expreſſed it in their Letter to the Pope, in a kind of Triumph. The Biſhops and Clergy of the Cities, through which they paſſed, readily ſigned the Articles of Union preſcribed by *Rome*, however derogatory to their own Rights; anathematized *Acacius*; ſtruck his Name, as well as the Names of his Succeſſors, out of the Diptychs; and were thereupon admitted by the Legates to their Communion, and by them declared united again in Communion and Faith to the See of St. *Peter*. As they approached *Conſtantinople*, they were met by *Juſtinian*, by the General *Vitalian*, by *Pompeius*, a Man of great Inter-eſt at Court, and by ſeveral other Perſons of the firſt Rank, and attended by them into the City. The next Day they waited on the Emperor, who received them in the moſt obliging manner; and, after expreſſing the earneſt Deſire he had of putting an End to ſo long a Schiſm, and ſeeing all good Chriſtians, eſpecially the Prelates of the Church, united among themſelves in the Bonds of Charity, deſired them to conſult the Patriarch, and ſettle with him the Terms of Union, that no room might be left, on either Side, for new Diſputes. The Legates replied, agreeably to their Inſtructions, that the bleſſed Pope *Hormiſdas*

Great Re-
ſpect paid
them at Con-
ſtantinople.

Hormisdas had settled the Terms, which therefore must not be altered, nor even disputed, since they were strictly enjoined by his Holiness to admit none to the Communion of the Apostolic See, who did not receive them without the least Alteration. The Bishop of *Constantinople* had already received the Council of *Chalcedon*; and now agreed to strike the Name of *Acacius* out of the Diptychs, which was all the Predecessors of *Hormisdas* had required. But to insist on his erasing likewise the Names of *Euphemius* and *Macedonius*, who had suffered a most cruel Persecution, the Loss of their Sees, and Exile, in Defence of the Catholic Faith; to oblige him to receive not only the Letter of *Leo* on the Incarnation, but all the Letters written by that Pope on the Christian Religion; and, besides, to promise, that he would conform in all things to the Apostolic See, and look upon those who died out of the Communion of the *Roman*, as dying out of the Communion of the Catholic Church; seemed to him the Height of Presumption in the Bishop of *Rome*. Against these Articles therefore he warmly remonstrated, as artfully calculated to subject, rather than to unite, the See of *Constantinople* to that of *Rome*. But the Legates were inflexible; and, on the other hand, the Emperor was determined, out of his great Zeal for the Unity of the Church, to agree to any Terms rather than to suffer so scandalous a Division to continue among the Christian Bishops. Finding therefore that the Legates would not yield, he declared, that the Patriarch should; and accordingly, having first caused the Articles to be approved by the Senate, he commanded him to receive them. The Patriarch still objected against them, as derogatory to the Rights and Liberties of his See, and highly injurious to the Memory of his Two holy Predecessors *Euphemius* and *Macedonius*, whose Names were written in the Book of Life. But the Emperor, who was utterly unacquainted with the Laws, Discipline, and Practice of the Church, being deaf to all Remonstrances, the Patriarch was in the End obliged to yield, and promised accordingly to comply with the Terms prescribed by the Pope; but, at the same time, begged, that instead of signing the Articles as they had been drawn up and worded at *Rome*, he might be allowed to write a Letter to the same Purpose, addressed to his Holiness. His View therein was to avoid certain Expressions in the Articles, which seemed to import some kind of Authority in the See of *Rome* over that of *Constantinople*. This occasioned great Disputes; but it was agreed at

Year of
Christ 519.

The Patriarch remonstrates
against the
extravagant
Demands of
the Pope.

But the Emperor obliges
him to comply with
them.

Year of
Christ 519.

Remarkable
Instance of
his Policy and
Address.

last, that the Patriarch should sign the Articles, without the least Alteration, Addition, Exception, or Limitation; but that he should be allowed to premise a Preamble, addressed to *Hormisdas*, in the Form of a Letter. Pursuant to this Agreement, he signed the Articles; but took care, in the Preamble, which he first prefixed to them, that no room should be left for the present Pope, or his Successors, to claim, from his having signed them, any kind of Authority or Jurisdiction over him, or his Successors. For he addressed him with no other Title but that of *Brother*, and *Fellow-minister*, which evidently excludes all kind of Subjection; and whereas the Pope magnified the See of *Rome*, and seemed to exalt it above all other Sees, as the Throne of the first Apostle, the Patriarch declared in his Letter, that *he held the Two holy Churches of Old and New Rome to be one and the same Church*; which was equalling the Two Churches, and disowning all Superiority in the one to the other. He was a Match for the Pope.

The Names of
Acacius, and
his Successors,
with those of
the Emperors
Zeno and
Anastasius,
struck out of
the Diptychs.

The Articles being thus signed by the Patriarch, the Name of *Acacius*, and with his the Names of the other Bishops, who had succeeded him in the See of *Constantinople* ever since the Beginning of the Schism to the present Time, *viz.* of *Fravitas*, *Euphemius*, *Macedonius*, and *Timotheus*, were all, without Distinction between *Eutychian* and Orthodox, struck out of the Diptychs; nay, to complete the Vengeance of the Apostolic See, and extend it to all indiscriminately, who had any-ways disobliged their Holinesses, the Names of the Two Emperors *Anastasius* and *Zeno* were, at the Request of the Legates, cancelled, together with those of the Bishops. And now the Legates, having obtained all they were enjoined to require, declared, in the Name of the blessed Pope *Hormisdas*, the Two Sees united again in Charity and Faith. They then attended the Patriarch to the great Church; assisted at Divine Service performed by him with great Solemnity, the Emperor, the Empress, the whole Court, and the Senate, being present; and, to seal the Union, received with him, and probably at his Hands, the Holy Eucharist. Thus ended the first great Schism between the Churches of *Constantinople* and *Rome*, after it had lasted 35 Years.

The Schism
ended, and
the Two
Churches
intirely re-
conciled.

The *Roman Catholic* Writers have taken unwearied Pains, in the Account they give us of that fatal Division, to lay the whole Blame

* Relat. Legat. inter Epist. Hormisd. t. 1. Epist. summ. Pont.

on the *Greeks*, and not only to excuse, but set forth the Conduct of the Popes, from the Beginning of the Schism, to the Reconciliation of the Two Churches, as highly commendable, as altogether worthy of the *Successors of St. Peter*, of the *Vicars of Christ upon Earth*. But none of them have yet been able to shew, and we may well defy them, with all their Art and Eloquence, ever to shew, what Evil would have accrued to the Faith, the Church, or the Christian Religion, from the Name of *Acacius*, the Subject of the Dispute, being kept in the Diptychs, or what Good would have accrued from its being erased. For, to say with the Popes, that to keep his Name in the Roll of the Catholic Bishops was contaminating the Catholic Faith, because he had contaminated himself by communicating with contaminated Persons, and contaminated all who communicated with him, as those, who communicated with him, contaminated all who communicated with them, and so *in infinitum*, is confounding the Reader with Words jumbled together without any Meaning. But if the retaining that Name could be attended with no Evil affecting the Faith, or the Church; if the cancelling it would be attended with no Good thence arising to either; it would have been quite inexcusable in the Popes to have excommunicated the *Greeks* for retaining it, even though they had not been able to allege any Reason why they retained it. But they had very substantial Reasons; and their acting otherwise than they did, would have been attended, as they often remonstrated, with infinite Evils, and in all Likelihood with the utter Ruin of the Catholic Faith in the Empire of the East^s. What must we therefore think of the Popes obstinately insisting on the *Greeks* yielding, even in these Circumstances, to their Will, and separating themselves from their Communion, because they would not? Did they act therein as the Successors of *St. Peter*, as the Vicars of Christ? To say they did, is absolute Blasphemy. From what has been said it is manifest, that the Popes were the Schismatics, with those who adhered to them; and not the *Greeks*, though generally stigmatized with that Name; they alone being Schismatics, agreeably to the Definition of *St. Cyprian*, received by all, who, without just Cause, separate themselves, as I have shewn the Popes to have done, from the rest of their Brethren.

The Emperor was not satisfied with causing the Articles, sent from *Rome*, to be received and signed by the Patriarch of *Constantinople*; but, to complete the Union between the East and the West,

^s See above, p. 217. 221.

Year of
Christ 519.
In this Division the Popes
the Schismatics, and not
the Greeks.

The Emperor
orders the
Articles, sent
from Rome,
to be signed
by the other
Patriarchs,

Year of
Christ 519.

resolved, out of the Abundance of his Zeal for the Unity of the Church, to oblige the other Two Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and the Metropolitan of *Theſſalonica*, to ſign the ſame Articles. *Paul*, who, on the Flight of *Severus* from *Antioch*, had been ſubſtituted in his room, obeyed with great Readineſs, being a moſt zealous Catholic, but, in other reſpects, a Diſgrace to his Order; inſomuch that the Catholics themſelves, offended at his Lewdneſs, and ſcandalous Life, obliged him to reſign. He was ſucceeded by *Euphrasius*, who began his Epiſcopacy with anathematizing the Council of *Chalcedon*, and ſtriking out of the Diptychs the Names of all the Biſhops, who had aſſiſted at that Aſſembly, and with them the Names of the Popes from *Leo* to *Hormiſdas*. But the Governor of the Province having let him know, that, unleſs he recanted, the Imperial Ediſt muſt be put in Execntion, commanding all, who did not receive the Council and Doſtrine of *Chalcedon*, to be driven from their Sees, he repented what he had done, received the Council, anathematized all who did not receive it, replaced in the Diptychs the Names, which he had eraſed a few Days before, and, ſigning the Articles, was re-admitted to the Communion of *Rome*. *Timotheus*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who had lately ſucceeded *Dioſcorus* the younger in that See, bid, in a manner, Deſiance to the Emperor, boldly declaring, that he would anathematize, to his laſt Breath, the Council of *Chalcedon*, together with *Leo*, and all his Letters; that he ſcorned to receive Laws of the Biſhops of *Rome*; and that he would neither be taught nor directed by them. As the People of *Alexandria* were extremely devoted to their Biſhop, ever ready to revolt, and moſt zealouſly attached to the Doſtrine of *Eutyches*, which they believed to be, and it would be no eaſy Task to prove it was not, the genuine Doſtrine of their Patriarch *Cyril*, the Emperor thought it adviſeable to diſſemble for the preſent, and patiently wait till an Opportunity offered of bringing back the *Egyptians*, by gentle Methods, to the Unity of the Church. To *Theſſalonica* was diſpatched from *Conſtantinople* one of the Legates, *John* the Biſhop, with ſeveral Eccleſiaſtics in his Retinue; and Count *Licinius*, a Perſon of great Diſtinction, was appointed by the Emperor to attend them. But the Terms of Union ſeemed ſo very unreaſonable to *Dorotheus*, Metropolitan and Biſhop of tha

They are
ſigned by the
Patriarch of
Antioch.

The Patri-
arch of Alex-
andria re-
fuſes to ſign
them.

City, that, while the Legate was reading them in a public Assembly, he could not forbear snatching them out of his Hand, and tearing them in his Presence. There wanted no more to raise the Populace, who, falling upon the Legate, and those who were with him, killed his Host, and Two of his Ecclesiastics, wounded him dangerously in Three Places, and would have put an End to his Life, had not Count *Licinius* brought, in great Haste, the Soldiery to his Rescue, and conveyed him, well guarded, to one of the Churches; and there he continued, not daring to appear abroad, till the Emperor, informed of what had happened, sent for *Dorotheus* to *Constantinople*^u. The other Legates, who had remained in that City, took care to acquaint the Pope, as soon as they could, with the inhuman Treatment their Colleague had met with, laying the whole Blame on *Dorotheus*, and one of his Presbyters, named *Aristides*, as if the Populace had been underhand stirred up by them. The Pope, highly provoked at the Insult offered to St. Peter and himself, in the Person of his Legate, answered their Letter as soon as he received it, injoining them to use all the Interest they had with the most religious Emperor, and his Ministers, that *Dorotheus* might not be suffered to return to *Thessalonica*, that his See might be declared vacant, and he sent to *Rome*, together with the Presbyter *Aristides*, to have their Doubts resolved there, and to be instructed by the Apostolic See, since they would not hearken to the Instructions of its Legates^w. *Rome* was certainly the most proper Place Men, who questioned the Papal Authority, could be sent to, to be, at the same time, instructed and convinced; and no-where else would all their Doubts have been more quickly resolved. But the Emperor, without hearkening to the Legates, ordered *Dorotheus* to be tried at *Constantinople*; and all his Punishment was, to be sent to *Heraclea*, whence he was suffered, after a few Days Confinement, to return to his See. *Baronius*, who thinks he ought at least to have been confined for Life to *Oasis*, the most inhospitable Place of the whole Empire, cries out here; Is it possible, that Justice, under an Emperor, who takes his Name from Justice, should be thus sold and betrayed in the Cause of the holy Pontiff! For the Legates pretended, that *Dorotheus* had bribed his Judges, having carried with him to *Constantinople*, say they in the Relation they sent to *Rome*, such Sums as were capable of corrupting not only Men, but the

Year of
Christ 519.

Occasion
great Disturbances at
Thessalonica.
One of the
Legates
wounded, and
in great
Danger of
his Life.

The Pope re-
quires the
Bishop of
Thessalonica
to be sent to
Rome.

But he is
tried at Con-
stantinople,
and suffered
to return to
his See.

^u Suggest. Legat. inter epist. Horm. 31.

^w Hormisd. ep. 57.

Year of
Christ 519.

He sends a
solemn Lega-
tion to Rome,
and is recon-
ciled to that
See.

Year of
Christ 520.

Angels themselves^x. They thought, it seems, that no Man could withstand the Temptation of Money; and indeed that few could, at least of those who were sent from *Rome*, we have seen already, and shall see hereafter, on several Occasions. The Emperor allowed *Dorotheus* to return to his See, as I have related; but it was upon Condition, that he should appease the Pope, and send for that Purpose a solemn Legation to *Rome*. With this Condition the Metropolitan complied, the following Year 520. and, at the same time, wrote to the Pope, styling him, in the Address, *The most Holy and Blessed Father and Fellow-minister*, and in the Letter, *in all things most blessed, and thrice blessed Father, in every respect perfect, &c.* But, however lavish of his Praises, he took care to avoid all Expressions that could be construed into any kind of Subjection, or even Submission; for, instead of descending to Apologies and Excuses, he arraigned the Legates, who had accused him, of Slander and Calumny, declaring, that he was so far from having been any-ways concerned in the late Riot, as they had maliciously suggested, that, on the contrary, to save the Life of the venerable Bishop, he had even exposed his own^y. This was certainly false, if what the Legates wrote to the Pope was true. But the Emperor being satisfied, the Pope was obliged to be satisfied too. *Dorotheus* probably signed on this Occasion the Articles of Union, and was reconciled to *Rome*.

The greater
Part of the
Bishops re-
fuse to strike
out of the
Diptychs the
Names of the
Orthodox
Bishops.

The Two Patriarchs, of *Constantinople* and *Antioch*, had, in Compliance with the Articles sent from *Rome*, struck out of the Diptychs the Name of *Acacius*, and, together with his, the Names of the Orthodox Bishops, who had died out of the Communion of *Rome*, as I have related above; and their Example was readily followed, with respect to the Name of *Acacius*. But, as to the Names of the other Bishops, the far greater Part peremptorily refused to erase them, saying, that they had rather live for ever separated from *Rome*, than thus stigmatize the Memory of so many eminent Prelates, who had deserved so well of the Catholic Faith, who were not less Orthodox than the Pope himself, and had given more convincing Proofs of their Orthodoxy than he had ever Occasion to give. The Bishops were backed by their Clergy; and the People, joined both, began to mutiny, to exclaim against the Pope, to complain

^x Suggest. Legat. ubi supra.

^y Inter ep. Hormisd.

the Emperor for gratifying him in so unreasonable a Demand, and, making the Cause of the Catholic Bishops the Catholic Cause, to look upon all, who were for suppressing their Names, as Friends to *Eutyches*, and Enemies to the Church. The Emperor, Count *Justinian* his Nephew, and *Epiphanius* the new Patriarch, who had succeeded in the Beginning of this Year to *John* the *Cappadocian*, alarmed at the general Discontent that reigned among the People as well as the Clergy, and dreading the Effects of the popular Zeal, instead of using Violence with the refractory Bishops, which they knew would be attended with a great deal of Bloodshed, and might, in the End, cost the Emperor the Loss of his Crown, resolved to recur to the Pope, and try whether they could not prevail upon him to be satisfied with their erasing the Name of *Acacius* alone. With this View *Justinian* wrote to *Rome* the first, acquainting the Pope, that neither the People, the Clergy, nor the Bishops, though threatened with Exile, nay, and with Fire and Sword, could be induced to omit, at Divine Service, the Names of so many holy Catholic Prelates; and, at the same time, conjuring his Holiness, as he tendered the Welfare of the Church, and the Peace of the State, not to insist on that Point, since he would thereby involve both in a new War, and more dangerous Troubles than either had hitherto felt. *Your Holiness*, says he in his Letter, *ought to consider the Nature of Things, and the Difference of Times; and, being satisfied with the Condemnation of Acacius, of Dioscorus, of Timotheus Ælurus, Petrus Mongus, and Petrus Fullo, end at last this obstinate Contest.* IT IS NOT BY PERSECUTION AND BLOODSHED, BUT SACERDOTAL PATIENCE, THAT MEN ARE TO BE GAINED TO GOD: BY STRIVING TO GAIN SOULS, WE OFTEN DESTROY BOTH BODIES AND SOULS: IT IS BY MILDNESS AND LENITY ALONE THAT OLD ERRORS CAN BE CORRECTED². How much Christian Blood would have been saved, had the Popes, or the Emperors themselves, hearkened to this excellent Lesson!

The Patriarch, and the Emperor, both wrote pressing Letters to the same Purpose. The Patriarch accompanied his with a rich Present to the Pope, consisting of a Chalice of Gold, adorned with a great Number of Jewels, of a Patin likewise of Gold, another Chalice of Silver, and Two Silk Veils. The Emperor, in his Letter, assures the Pope, that he has spared no Pains in causing the Terms of

Year of
Christ 520.

Justinian recurs to the Pope, begging he would not insist on their Names being erased.

His Sentiments concerning Persecution.

The Emperor and the Patriarch write to the same Purpose. The Patriarch's Letter accompanied with a Present.

² Inter Epist. Hormid.

Year of
Christ 520.

Union, prescribed by the Apostolic See, to be received by all; but that upon some he cannot prevail, either by Persuasions or Menaces, to condemn those after their Death, in whom they placed their greatest Glory while they were living; that their Obstinacy is Proof against all Dangers, and Death itself; that he is extremely grieved to find the great Work of an intire Reconciliation, which he had so much at Heart, thus retarded; but, on the other Side, is no less unwilling to proceed to Violence, and shed the Blood of his innocent Subjects; and therefore does not doubt but his Apostleship, rather than oblige him to turn Persecutor, will connive, for the present, at the Names of the Orthodox Bishops being kept in the Diptychs, and be satisfied with their condemning the Memory of *Acacius* alone; the rather, as his holy Predecessor Pope *Anastasius* had required no more, to receive all to his Communion, who professed the same Faith^a.

The Pope, in his Answer, insists on their Names being erased.

Year of
Christ 521.

He encourages Persecution.

But the Pope was deaf to all Remonstrances and Reasons. He still insisted on the Condemnation not only of *Acacius*, but of all who had communicated with him, or his Memory; and because the Emperor had shewn himself, in his Letter, utterly averse to Persecution and Bloodshed, he strove, in his Answer, to reconcile him to both.

“ Many Things, says he, which we naturally detest and abhor, are, “ in some Cases, necessary Remedies; and then, our Health being at “ Stake, we are not to consult, but strive to overcome, our natural “ Aversion. In Sickness, we are apt to complain of the Remedies “ that are prescribed for our Cure, and hate those who prescribe them. “ But would it be good-natured or friendly in a Physician to forbear “ applying what he knows to be conducive to Health, out of Compassion, or through Fear of causing a momentary Pain? It is Cruelty “ to spare, and Compassion to cure, let the Remedies, that work “ the Cure, be ever so painful^b.” Thus did this Pope, in direct Opposition to the Doctrine of the Gospel, endeavour to extinguish in the Emperor all Sense of Humanity; nay, and to convince him, that he could by no other means better shew himself a kind and benevolent Prince, than by shedding the Blood of his innocent People. These Antichristian Principles have ever since been maintained, as is but too well known, by the Church of *Rome*; and, in Compliance with them, the Popes have never failed, when it was in their Power, to encourage Persecution, and stir up the Popish Princes to persecute, and pursue with Fire and Sword, their Protestant Subjects. To

^a Inter Epist. Hormisd. l. 1. Epist. Rom. Pont.

^b Hormisd. Ep. 75.

these Principles are owing the Racks, the Dungeons, and the unrelenting Torments of the Inquisition; it being highly meritorious with the Ministers of that infernal Tribunal to rack the Body, without Mercy, for the Good of the Soul, and highly criminal for any of them to shew Compassion, let the Torments be ever so exquisite, when they are, as they say, become necessary Remedies for the Cure of the Soul.

As the Church of *Rome* has adopted these Maxims, she can never renounce them; and it is quite surprising, that some Protestants, either misled themselves, or wanting to mislead others, should pretend, that, in some Degree, she has renounced them already, and is become more indulgent, than she has been in former Times, to those who dissent from her. Are not her Prisons filled, at this very time, with those whom she styles Heretics, or only suspects of what she calls Heresy? Are not her Racks still daily employed in extorting Confessions? Does she any-where suffer, where her Power prevails, Doctrines to be taught or professed, disagreeing in the least with those, which she professes and teaches? On what, then, can the Opinion be founded, of her having begun of late to abate of her former Severity? Let her discharge her Inquisitors, shut up her Inquisitions, grant Liberty of Conscience where she dares to refuse it; and then, but not till then, we shall, with these *her Protestant Friends*, acknowledge her Lenity.

The Emperor, though so great a Bigot, was so far from hearkening to the Suggestions of the Pope, that, on the contrary, greatly offended at his Obstinacy, and more at his Principles, he joined, in the End, his Subjects against him; and, commending them for the Regard they paid to the Memory of their Catholic Pastors, allowed them, without giving himself any farther Trouble about the Consent of his Holiness, to keep all their Names in the Diptychs. The Pope, finding he could not prevail, thought it advisable to dissemble; and wrote accordingly to the Patriarch, empowering him to receive all to the Communion of *Rome*, who, anathematizing *Acacius*, and the others mentioned above, condemned their Memories ^c. As no Mention was made, in that Letter, of the Orthodox Bishops, the Patriarch obliged none to erase their Names; nay, he replaced in the Diptychs, with the Approbation of the Emperor, the Names of *Euphemius* and *Macedonius*, which his Predecessor had cancelled; and the Pope, by not disapproving, tacitly approved, what he had done. And thus

Year of
Christ 521.

His Principles adopted
by the Church
of Rome.

The Emperor allows the
Names of the
Catholic Bishops to be
kept in the
Diptychs, in
spite of the
Pope.

^c Hormisd. Ep. 77.

Year of
Christ 521.

was an intire Reconciliation at last brought about, we may say, in spite of the Pope. It is observable, that several among the Bishops, who had communicated with *Acacius*, or his Memory, and were, on that Score, thought by the present Pope unworthy of a Place in the Catalogue of Bishops, have by his Successors been judged worthy of a Place in the Calendar of Saints: they now invoke at the Altar the Names which he thought would have contaminated the whole Church, had they only been mentioned at the Altar; and therefore would have involved both the Church and the State in the utmost Confusion to have them suppressed, had the Emperor been as bloody-minded as he.

New Disputes in the Church. Whether One of the Trinity, or One Person of the Trinity, should be said to have suffered on the Cross.

The East and the West were now happily reconciled, after so long and obstinate a Division. But the Church was not suffered to enjoy the Peace and Tranquillity, which she had Reason to expect from that Reconciliation. New Disputes arose daily among her Members; and one, which had been already carried on for some time, remained still undecided. The Dispute was, Whether *One of the Trinity*, or *One Person of the Trinity*, should be said to have *suffered in the Flesh*? The Proposition, *One of the Trinity suffered in the Flesh*, some *Scythian* Monks maintained to be Orthodox; and the other, *One Person of the Trinity suffered in the Flesh*, to import absolute Heresy. But, on the other Side, a Deacon, named *Victor*, pretended the former Proposition to import absolute Heresy, and the latter alone to be Orthodox. Both the Monks and the Deacon received the Council of *Chalcedon*, acknowledged Two Natures in Christ, in Opposition to *Eutyches*, and, in Opposition to *Nestorius*, only One Person. But nevertheless, by a long Chain of unintelligible Inferences, the Monks strove to convince the Deacon, that he was a rank *Nestorian*; and the Deacon strove, in his Turn, to convince them, by the same Method of Reasoning, that they were rank *Eutychians*, and *Arians* into the Bargain. Besides, the Deacon pretended, that the Word *One*, without the Addition of *Person*, referred only to the Divine Substance or Nature; and, consequently, that to say, *One of the Trinity suffered*, was as much as to say, *One of the Natures of the Trinity suffered*; which was evidently supposing, that, in the Trinity, there were more Natures than One. On this great Stress was laid by one *Trifolius*, a Presbyter, who lived at this time, and seems to have been well versed in all the Subtilties and Cavils of Logic, the only Knowledge, if it deserves that Name, which was now
in

in Request. For, in a Letter he wrote to *Fauftus*, a Roman Senator, he reasons thus; " In the Trinity, says he, there are not Three Gods, " but one God in Three Persons. Now the Word *One* necessarily imports the Nature; and hence it follows, that the Two Propositions, *One of the Trinity suffered*, and *One of the Three Divine Natures, or Three Gods, suffered*, must, of course, be synonymous." But neither will that Writer allow the other Proposition to be Orthodox, *One Person of the Trinity suffered*, since it might be concluded from thence, that the Divine Nature had suffered. " That Error, indeed, adds he, you avoid by adding, *in the Flesh*; but you thereby confound the Two Natures; and, flying " from the *Theopaschites*, fall in with the *Eutychians*." He concludes with advising *Fauftus* to shun all Expressions alike, that have neither been used by the Occumenical Councils, nor by the Fathers in their Writings approved by the Councils. They had all now forgot, that there was such a Book as the Scripture.

Year of
Christ 521.

Both Expressions condemned by some.

The Monks, finding themselves arraigned of Heresy, had recourse to the Legates of the Pope, who were then at *Constantinople*; for the Dispute began in 519. and the Legates, having several times heard both *Victor* and them, instead of reconciling them, and shewing that their Meaning was the same, and their Disagreement only about Words, gave Sentence in Favour of the former. The Monks did not acquiesce in their Judgment, as we may well imagine; but, highly provoked, to use their Expressions, at the Rashness, Partiality, and Ignorance, of the Legates, in condemning what they did not, or would not understand, they dispatched Four of their Fraternity to *Rome*, to complain of them to the Pope, and to get the Proposition approved by him, which they had condemned. But the Pope, informed by his Legates of what had passed at *Constantinople*, not only confirmed the Sentence they had given, but kept the Deputies of the Monks a whole Year, in a manner, Prisoners, at *Rome*, to convince them by that means, since he could by no other, of their Error. Some write, that he drove them at last out of the City, as incorrigible Heretics; while others tell us, that, to the great Disappointment of the Pope, they made their Escape in the Night. However that be, they found Means, before they left the City, to paste up, in several public Places, their Confession of Faith, comprised in Twelve Articles, with as many Anathemas against all, the Pope not excepted, who did not receive it. This exasperated the Pope to such

The Proposition, One of the Trinity, &c. condemned by the Legates of the Pope.

The Monks, who maintained it, appeal to the Pope, who condemns the Proposition, and uses them ill.

Year of
Christ 521.

The Pope
writes
against the
Monks.

Year of
Christ 522.

His Letter is
answered by
one of them.

Not one Wri-
ter offers to
defend the
Pope.

a Degree, that, in his Answer to a Letter which he received, at this time, from *Possessor*, an *African* Bishop, who had been driven from his See by the *Arians*, and resided at *Constantinople*, he inveighed against the Monks in the most abusive Terms, taxing them with Pride, Arrogance, and Obstinacy; and painting them as the worst of Men, as Enemies to the Church, as Disturbers of the public Peace, as Slanders, Lyers, and, above all, as Instruments employed by the Enemy of Truth, to banish all Truth, to establish Error in its room, and sow among the Wheat *the poisonous Seeds of diabolical Tares* ^d. As Copies of this Letter were dispersed by *Possessor* all over the East, *Maxentius*, one of the Monks, and the most learned among them, undertook to answer it; and, in his Answer, he treats the Pope worse, if possible, than he had treated the Monks. He begins with declaring, that he does not believe the Piece, he answers, to have been written by *Hormisdas*, or by any other Christian Bishop, it being wholly made up of Errors, Contradictions, Calumnies, and Lyes. He then inveighs against the Legates of the Pope, against *Possessor*, and most of all against the Author of the Letter, as not a disguised, but an open and avowed Heretic; proves, and indeed unanswerably, the Proposition, *One of the Trinity suffered in the Flesh*, to be entirely Orthodox, as it was understood by him and his Brethren, and explained by them to the Pope; justifies the Conduct of the Monks; and concludes with these Words: "The Author of this Letter, whether
" it was really written by *Hormisdas*, or falsely ascribed to him, is,
" without all Doubt, a Heretic, since he will not allow Christ the Son
" of God to be One of the Trinity." It is remarkable, that though Copies of this Letter were dispersed over the whole Christian World, though the Pope, who was there charged with Heresy, had many Friends both in the East and the West, not one of them offered to undertake his Defence, or pretended to justify his condemning the above-mentioned Proposition, as it was explained by the Monks, often declaring, that they thereby meant no more, than that *Christ, who was one of the Persons of the Trinity, suffered in the Flesh*. Nay, *Hormisdas* had the Mortification to see, before he died, the Bishops of the East, all to a Man, and likewise the Catholic Bishops of *Africa*, with St. *Fulgentius* at their Head, that is, the far greater Part of the Church, engaged in Defence of the Monks, and con-

^d Apud Bar. ad ann. 520. p. 58. et Hormisd. Ep. 70.

demning with them all, who did not admit the Expression, which he had condemned. Had he lived but a few Years longer, he would have seen that Expression adopted by the whole Catholic Church, and those anathematized by the whole Catholic Church, who did not approve and receive it, as I shall have Occasion to relate hereafter.

But he died the following Year 523. on the 6th of *August*, having held the Chair Nine Years, and Eleven Days; and on that Day his Reliques are still exposed to public Adoration, in the Church of *St. Peter*, where he is supposed to have been buried. What intitled him to that Honour was, as is said, his extraordinary and truly apostolical Zeal in causing the Council of *Chalcedon* to be everywhere received, and in healing the Divisions which had reigned so long in the Church. But the Council of *Chalcedon* was received, from the Beginning, by all in the West; and its being as universally received in the East was intirely owing, as we have seen, to the Decree which *Justin* issued, of his own Motion, as soon as he ascended the Imperial Throne. As to the Divisions of the Church, they were healed indeed in his Time; but what extraordinary Merit *Hormisdas* had in healing them, and reconciling the Two Churches, it would be no easy matter to determine. He made no Advances towards a Reconciliation; he could by no means be induced, notwithstanding his boasted Zeal for the Unity and Peace of the Church, to abate, in the least, of the Pretensions of his See, for the sake of either; nay, he insisted on Terms far more unreasonable, than the most assuming among his Predecessors had presumed to require. It is true, they were complied with at last; and Peace was restored. But that was not owing to any Zeal or Condescension in him, but to the Zeal, and, in some Degree, to the Weakness, of the Emperor, who, pitying the unhappy Condition of the Church, thus miserably rent by her own Prelates, chose rather to gratify the Pope in all his Demands, however unreasonable, than to suffer one half of the Church to continue any longer disunited from the other, to the great Danger of both. It is observable, that of the Five Popes, who governed the *Roman* Church during this Schism, one only has been denied the Honour of Saintship, *viz.* Pope *Anastasius*, the only one among them, who shewed himself inclined to sacrifice the Pretensions of his See to the Welfare of the Church. I leave the

Year of
Christ 522.

Year of
Christ 523.

It was not
owing to him
that the
Council of
Chalcedon
was received,
nor that an
End was put
to the Schism.

^e See above, p. 243.

Year of
Christ 523.

His Cha-
racter.

Letters falsely
ascribed to
him.

He appoints
the Bishops
of Tarragon
and Seville
his Vicars in
Spain.

Reader to conclude from thence what Kind of Merit was rewarded with that Honour in the rest.

Hormisdas was a Man of uncommon Parts, of great Policy and Address, as appears from his whole Conduct; but of a most haughty, vindictive, and imperious Temper, and, to the eternal Infamy of his Name and Memory, the first Christian Bishop, who, in Matters of Conscience, dared openly to countenance, nay, and to sanctify, Slaughter and Bloodshed. As for his Writings, of the many Letters he wrote, 79 have reached our Times. The learned *Du Pin*, misled by *Baronius*, counts 80^f; but the Strength and Energy with which *Hormisdas* expresses himself in the other Letters, though they all favour of the Barbarism of the Age, evidently prove that to *St. Remigius*, appointing him Vicar of the Apostolic See, in the new-converted Kingdom of *Clovis*, to be supposititious g: besides, in that Letter, *Clovis* is supposed to be still living; and nothing is more certain, than that he died on the 27th of *November* 511. that is, Two Years and Eight Months before the Election of *Hormisdas* h. Hence it is manifest, that the Letter, which *Clovis* is said to have written to this Pope, acknowledging him for the supreme Head of the Church, and which *Baronius* displays and comments with great Pomp and Flourish of Words, is likewise a barefaced Forgery. The far greater Part of the Letters of *Hormisdas* relates to the Affairs of the East. But that he did not suffer his Attention to be so engrossed by them, as to neglect the Opportunities that offered of maintaining and improving the Authority usurped by his Predecessors in the West, appears from his Letters to *John* of *Tarragon*, and *Salustius* of *Seville*. For, being consulted by them about some Points of Discipline, he thence took Occasion to appoint them his Vicars, the former for the *Hither*, and the latter for the *Farther Spain*; empowering them to assemble in Council the Bishops of the Provinces, over which they were set, to compose their Differences, and to see that the Canons were every-where punctually observed. This Power he granted them, on Condition of their recurring to him in all Matters of Moment, that is, on Condition of their acting in an intire Dependence upon him, and his See i. Thus, by their means, he extended his Power and Authority over all the Provinces and Bishops of *Spain*. The Institution of Vicars was, of all

^f *Du Pin*, Biblioth. des Aut. Eccl. t. 4. in *Hormisd.*
514. n. 5.

^h *Idem*, n. 7.

ⁱ *Hormisd.* ep. 24, 25, 26.

^g Vide *Pagi* ad ann.

Year of
Christ 523.

the Devices that the most refined Policy could invent or suggest, the best calculated for the establishing of the Papal Authority; the Bishops of the first Sees, who were the most capable of effectually opposing the Encroachments of *Rome*, being thereby engaged, in Gratitude as well as by Interest, to support and defend them.

In the Time of *Hormisdas* many rich Presents are said to have been made to the Church of *St. Peter* by the Emperor *Justin*, and others. Among the rest King *Theodoric* sent, if the Bibliothecarian is to be credited ^k, Two Silver Candlesticks, weighing 70 Pounds. *King Theodoric sends Presents to the Church of St. Peter.* In the earliest Times the Church, at least the *Roman* Church, would receive nothing from Heretics; nay, in the Second Century, about the Year 170. she even returned to *Marcian* 500 Drachmas of Gold, which he had given, when she found that he held heterodox Doctrines, lest she should be polluted with the Money of a Heretic. *In the primitive Times, Presents not accepted from Heretics.* This *Baronius* remembered; and therefore, that we may not imagine the *Roman* Church to have been less pure in the 6th than she was in the 2d Century, he takes care to inform us, that the Gift of the Heretical and *Arian* King was not received by her as an Offering, but only as a Present, which she might accept, even at the Hands of an Infidel, without the least Danger of being thereby defiled or polluted ^l. Had this Distinction been known to the Church in *Marcian's* Time, she might have safely kept his 500 Drachmas. However, it was not first broached by *Baronius*; but had been used, long before his Time, by the Canonists, pretending, the better to gratify the Avarice of the Clergy, that by the Canons forbidding Donations and Legacies to be accepted from public Sinners, from infamous Women, or from those who were at Variance with their Relations, nothing else was meant, than that such Donations and Legacies should not be accepted as Oblations, but only as Presents or Gifts ^m. This Distinction has proved very serviceable to the Church of *Rome*; it being well known, that she owes the far greater Part of her present Wealth to the Bounty of those, whose Donations and Legacies she was, by her Canons, enjoined to reject.

^k Anast. in Hormisd.
Gratian. dist. 90. et Mendos. in hunc locum.

^l Vide Bar. ad ann. 523.

^m Vide Can. 93. apud

Year of
Christ 523. JUSTIN,

J O H N.

THEODORIC,
King of Italy.

Fifty-second B I S H O P of Rome.

John chosen.

Hormisdas was succeeded by *John*, surnamed *Cateline*, ordained on the 13th of *August*, after a Vacancy of Seven Days. He was a Native of *Tuscany*, the Son of one *Constantius*, and Presbyter of the *Roman Church*ⁿ; which is all we know of him before his Election. His Pontificate was short and unhappy; and the Calamities that befel him were owing to the indiscreet Zeal of the Emperor *Justin*. For that Prince, not satisfied with having put an End to the Schism, undertook, in the next Place, to clear his Dominions from Heretics, as he styled them, of all Denominations. He began with the *Manichees*, who, taking Advantage of the general Confusion that reigned in the Church, during the late Disputes between the *Eutychian* and Orthodox Parties, had perverted, unobserved, great Numbers of both to their impious Tenets. Against them therefore the Emperor issued an Edict, in the 6th Year of his Reign, that is, in 523. commanding them to be put to Death without Mercy, where-ever they should be discovered, and convicted^o. This Edict was attended with no bad Consequences; the *Manichees* being universally abhorred and detested, on account of the execrable Principles, and immoral Practices, of that infamous Sect. But the Zeal of *Justin*, favouring not a little of Enthusiasm, did not suffer him to stop here. The following Year 524. he enacted another Edict, ordering the *Arians*, who were very numerous in the East, to deliver up all their Churches to the Catholic Bishops, and the Catholic Bishops to consecrate them anew. The *Arians* had been allowed, by the Emperors, the free and open Exercise of their Religion; had contented themselves with worshiping God in their own Way, without ever attempting to bring over any, either Orthodox or *Eutychian*, to their Persuasion; were as good Subjects as the best of the Catholics; and, on all Occasions, had served, with as much Zeal and Fidelity as they, their Prince, and their Country. Being therefore conscious to themselves, that they had given no Occasion to such an Edict, nor Offence to their Fellow-Subjects, or their Sovereign, they often and warmly remonstrated against the Treatment

The Emperor Justin issues an Edict against Heretics of all Denominations.

Issues another Edict, commanding the Arians to deliver up their Churches to the Catholics.
Year of Christ 524.

ⁿ Evagr. Lib. Pont.

^o Cod. Just. leg. 12.

which

Year of
Christ 524.

The Arians
implore the
Protection of
King Theodor-
doric.

Who writes
to the Empe-
ror, in their
behalf.
The Emperor
pays no Re-
gard to his
Letters.

which they so undeservedly met with. But the Emperor was not to be moved, and the Catholics were already in Possession of most of their Churches. In this Distress, none of their Friends at Court daring to speak a Word in their Favour, they resolved to recur to King *Theodoric*, whom they well knew to be a zealous *Arian*, though, by a Principle of Toleration, he no less favoured his Catholic than he did his *Arian* Subjects. He was the only Prince in the World, whose Interposition and good Offices they thought would be of some Weight with the Emperor; and to him they privately dispatched some of their chief Men, with Letters in the Name of all, to acquaint him with the Evils, which they so unjustly suffered, and the far greater Evils, which they had Reason to apprehend, unless, touched with Compassion, he interposed in their behalf, and espoused their Cause as his own, since the holy Religion, which was common to both, and for which they suffered, made it his own. The King received the Deputies in the most obliging manner, assured them of his good Offices, and wrote, without Delay, most pressing Letters to the Emperor, and all the great Men at Court, in their Favour. But no kind of Regard was paid to his Letters; the Persecution continued, and the *Arians* were every-where driven from their Churches, and in some Places, by the over-zealous Catholics, out of the Cities. This *Theodoric* could not brook; and resolved to resent it in a proper manner. The first thing, that occurred to him, was to retaliate on the Catholics in the West all the Severities that were practised on the *Arians* in the East. But as he was a Prince of a most humane Disposition, and besides an Enemy, by Principle, to all Persecution, he could not prevail upon himself to proceed to such Extremities, till all other Means he could think of had proved ineffectual. He thought of many; weighed and examined many; and at last fixed upon one, which he apprehended could not fail of the wished-for Success. He knew what Weight the Advice and Counsels of the Pope had with the Emperor; how much the Emperor deferred to the Judgment of the Bishop of *Rome*, in all Matters of Religion and Conscience; and therefore did not doubt but the Persecution would soon be at an End, could the Pope, by any means, be prevailed upon to espouse the Cause of the persecuted *Arians*, and, disapproving the Measures which the Emperor was pursuing, employ his Counsel and Authority to divert him from them.

Year of
Christ 524.

*The King
sends for the
Pope to Ra-
venna.*

*His Speech to
the Pope.*

The King was sensible, that it was only by Menaces, by Force and Compulsion, that the Pope could be brought to act such a Part; and resolved, accordingly, to employ them at once, that no room might be left for Delays and Excuses. Having therefore sent for him to *Ravenna*, he complained to him, with great Warmth, of the unchristian Spirit and Proceedings of the Emperor; remonstrated against the Violences that were daily practised on the Catholics in the East, meaning the *Arians*, which he hoped no Christian Bishop would ever countenance or approve; strove to convince the Pope of the Injustice of the late Edict; and, comparing the happy Situation of the Heretics, meaning the Catholics, in his Dominions, with the unhappy Condition of the Catholics in those of the Emperor, he added; “ But I must let you know, that I am determined
“ not to sit as an idle Spectator on such an Occasion. I am, you
“ know, and I have often declared it, an Enemy to all kind of
“ Persecution; I have suffered not only the Inhabitants of *Italy*,
“ but even my *Goths*, to embrace and profess, undisturbed, which
“ of the Two Religions they thought the most pleasing to God;
“ and, in the Distribution of my Favours, have hitherto made no
“ Distinction between Catholic and Heretic. But if the Emperor
“ does not change his Measures, I must change mine. Men of
“ other Religions the Emperor may treat as he pleases, though
“ every Man has a Right to serve his Creator in the manner which
“ he thinks the most acceptable to him. But as for those, who
“ profess the same holy Religion which I profess, and believe to be
“ the only true Religion, I think myself bound to employ the
“ Power, which it has pleased God to put into my Hands, for
“ their Defence and Protection. If the Emperor therefore does not
“ think fit to revoke the Edict, which he has lately issued against
“ those of my Persuasion, it is my firm Resolution to issue the like
“ Edict against those of his; and to see it every-where executed
“ with the same Rigour. Those who do not profess the Faith of
“ *Nice*, are Heretics to him; and those who do, are Heretics to
“ me. Whatever can excuse or justify his Severity to the former,
“ will excuse and justify mine to the latter. But the Emperor,”
continued the King, “ has none about him, who dare freely and
“ openly speak what they think, or to whom he would hearken,
“ if they did. But the great Veneration, which he professes for
“ your See, leaves no room to doubt, but he would hearken to

John.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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“ you. I will therefore have you to repair forthwith to *Constantinople*, and there to remonstrate, both in my Name, and your own, against the violent Measures, in which that Court has so rashly engaged. It is in your Power to divert the Emperor from them; and till you have, nay, till the Catholics are restored to the free Exercise of their Religion, and to all the Churches, from which they have been driven, you must not think of returning to *Italy*.” An anonymous Writer, who flourished at this Time, adds, That *Theodoric* likewise insisted on the Emperor’s allowing those to return to the Catholic Faith (the *Arian*), whom he had by any kind of Violence obliged to abjure it; that the Pope promised to do all that lay in his Power to procure the Revocation of the Edict, and the Restitution of the Churches; but as for those who had already changed their Religion, he assured the King, that the Emperor would, upon no Consideration whatever, suffer them to change it anew; and that, as to himself, he could not, in Conscience, take upon him to suggest it, nor would he be charged with such a Commission. The King, says the anonymous Writer, was greatly provoked at this Speech, and, in the Transport of his Passion, ordered the Pope to be immediately conveyed on board a Vessel, and the Vessel to put to Sea. However that be, certain it is, that the Pope undertook the Embassy, not out of any Kindness to the *Arians*, with which he has been by some unjustly reproached, but to divert the Storm that threatened the Catholics in the King’s Dominions. With him were joined, in the same Commission, Five other Bishops, and Four Senators, all Men of the first Rank. A most splendid Embassy.

On his Arrival at *Constantinople*, he was received with the most extraordinary Marks of Honour, by Persons of all Conditions and Ranks. The Nobility and Clergy went out to meet him; and he made his Entry amidst the loud Acclamations of numberless Crouds, that flocked from all Parts, to see the first Bishop of the Catholic Church; who had never before been seen in the East. The Emperor, says the anonymous Writer, quoted above, met him, among the rest, and could not have honoured St. *Peter* himself more than he did him. The Bibliothecarian adds, That *Justin* bowed down to the very Ground before the Vicar of the blessed *Peter*, and,

Year of
Christ 524.

He sends him
with the Cha-
racter of his
Embassador,
to divert the
Emperor
from the Per-
secution he
had begun.

Received
with extra-
ordinary
Marks of
Honour at
Constanti-
nople.
Year of
Christ 525.

• Theoph. ad ann. 524. Marcell. in chron.

¶ Anonym. Val. p. 59.

Year of
Christ 525.

An Instance
of his Pride.

The Emperor
revokes the
Edict against
the Arians.

The Pope
nevertheless
imprisoned
by the King,
on his Return
to Ravenna.

coveting the Honour of being crowned by him, received at his Hands the Imperial Diadem^r. I will not quarrel with the Bibliothecarian about the Bow; but that the Emperor, though now in the Eighth Year of his Reign, had not been yet crowned, is highly improbable; and if he was crowned before, it is no less improbable, that he should now desire to be crowned anew. The Patriarch invited the Pope to perform Divine Service in the great Church, together with him. But he would neither accept the Invitation, nor even see the Patriarch, till he agreed not only to yield him the first Place, but to seat him on a kind of Throne above himself. It is observable, that the Pope alleged no other Reason, why he should be allowed this Mark of Distinction, than because he was Bishop of *Rome*, or of the first City, *quia Romanus esset Pontifex*^s. The Patriarch indulged him in every thing he required, and they celebrated *Easter* together, with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity. Authors observe, that the Pope officiated in the *Latin* Tongue, according to the Rites of the *Latin* Church; and admitted all to his Communion but *Timotheus*, the *Eutybian* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, who happened to be then at *Constantinople*^t.

As to the Subject of the Embassy, all Authors agree, that the Emperor, yielding to the Reasons alleged by the Pope, and the other Embassadors, revoked his Edict, restored to the *Arians* all their Churches, and allowed them the same Liberty of Conscience which they had enjoyed before the Edict was issued^u. The Embassadors therefore, taking Leave of the Emperor, set out from *Constantinople* on their Return to *Ravenna*, in the Latter-end of this, or the Beginning of the following Year. On their Arrival they were immediately introduced to the King, who was so far from being satisfied with the Account they gave him of their Embassy, that, on the contrary, he expressed against them all the greatest Indignation, and ordered them to be conveyed from the Palace to the public Jail^w. What could provoke, to so great a Degree, a Prince of *Theodoric's* Moderation and Temper, none of the many contemporary Historians have thought fit to let us know; none even of those who relate this very Event. Their Silence has left room for the Conjectures of the Moderns; and many have been offered, some

^r Anast. in Joann.

^s Theoph. ubi supra.

^t Theoph. Marcell. in Chron.

Niceph. Calist.

^u Theoph. ibid. Marcell. Chron. Auſt. Miscell. l. 15. ad Ann. 6.

Just. Chron. Vet. Pontif. Anonym. Valeſ. &c.

^w Ibidem Auſt.

favourable to the Pope, and some quite otherwise, according to the Disposition and Bias of the different Writers. *Baronius* would make us believe, that the Pope, in Imitation of the famous *Regulus*, sacrificed himself on this Occasion, advising the Emperor by no means to grant what he was sent to demand in the King's Name. But he therein contradicts all the contemporary Writers to a Man^x; and, besides, makes the Pope a mad Enthusiast, instead of a second *Regulus*. The *Roman* Hero only sacrificed himself, whereas the Pope could not sacrifice himself without sacrificing, at the same time, the far greater Part of the innocent Catholics in the West, who were either subject to King *Theodoric*, or to other *Arian* Princes, in Alliance with him. A Protestant Writer of some Note^y is of Opinion, that the Pope, swelled and elated with the extraordinary Honours paid him at *Constantinople*, assumed, on his Return, such Airs of Authority as the King could not bear in a Vassal. But thus that Writer only accounts for the severe Treatment the Pope met with; and it is certain, that the other Embassadors, Bishops as well as Senators, were treated with no less Severity than he. Others arraign them all of high Treason; and truly the chief Men of *Rome* were suspected, at this very Time, of carrying on a treasonable Correspondence with the Court of *Constantinople*, and machinating the Ruin of the *Gothic* Empire in *Italy*. The King, say these Writers, probably took Umbrage at the uncommon Kindness shewn them at *Constantinople*; and perhaps had some Intimation of their having encouraged the Emperor to take Advantage of the King's old Age, or the Minority of his Grandson, to deliver *Italy* from the Dominion of the *Arian* *Goths*, and reunite it to the Empire. This Conjecture many have adopted, as of all the most plausible, and, considering the present Situation of Affairs, the best grounded. But from the anonymous Writer, quoted above, we may yet perhaps account, on a better Foundation, for the King's Wrath and Resentment against his Embassadors. They were strictly enjoined by *Theodoric*, as he informs us, to insist with the Emperor on his declaring those, who through Fear or Compulsion had quitted the *Arians*, free to return to them, and resume unmolested their antient Religion. This the King thought a just and reasonable Demand; nothing more being thereby required, as he well expressed it, than that Men

Year of
Christ 525.
Several Con-
jectures con-
cerning the
Motives of
the King's
Indignation.

The most
probable Con-
jecture.

^x Vide Auct. supra citatos.

^y Heydegger. Hist. Papat. in Joan.

Year of
Christ 525.

might be allowed to pull off a Mask, which Fear, prevailing in some over Conscience, obliged them to wear. With that Demand, however, the bigotted Emperor did not comply; and to his not having complied with it we may, I think, with better Reason, ascribe the Indignation of the King, and the Treatment the Embassadors met with, than to any other Provocation. For *Theodoric* well knew, that the Emperor would have granted them that, as he had done their other Demands, had they urged it as they ought, and as they were by him expressly commanded to do. It was therefore, most probably, their Disobedience to the express Command of their Sovereign, that provoked his Wrath, and brought indifferently on them all, as they were all joined in the same Commission, the woful Effects of his Royal Displeasure. What became of the others, we know not;

*The Pope dies
in Prison.*
Year of
Christ 526.

but the Pope died in Prison on the 18th of *May* of the following Year 526^z. His Body was translated from *Ravenna* to *Rome*, and deposited in the Basilic of *St. Peter*, where he is honoured to this Day as a Martyr; but whether he deserved that Honour, I leave the Reader to judge. Two Letters are ascribed to this Pope; but they are now both universally rejected, even by the *Roman* Catholic Writers, as inconsistent with Chronology, with History, and with common Sense^a, though quoted by *Baronius* as genuine (A).

^z Anonym. Valef. Analt. Marcell. chron. Aut. Eccles. tom. 4. p. 99. et Pagi ad ann. 526. n. 3.

^a See Du Pin, Nouvelle Bibl. des

(A) Of this Pope *Gregory the Great* relates, that, being distressed, on his landing at *Corinth*, in his Way to *Constantinople*, for want of a gentle Horse to pursue his Journey, a Man of Distinction lent him that which his Wife used to ride; but on Condition that he sent him back when he had reached a certain Place. The Pope sent him back accordingly; but he might as well have kept him: for the Horse, knowing his Rider, and proud of so great

an Honour, could never afterwards be brought to debase himself so as to carry so mean a Burden as a Woman; and the Husband, moved with the Miracle, returned him to the Pope (1). This Miracle, as well as the Cure of a blind Man, said by the same Writer to have been performed by this Pope, in the Sight of the whole People of *Constantinople* (2), has escaped all the contemporary Historians.

(1) Greg. Mag. dial. l. 3. c. 2.

(2) Idem ibid.

JUSTIN,
JUSTINIAN,

FELIX III.

THEODORIC, } Kings of Italy.
ATHALARIC, }*Fifty-third* BISHOP of Rome.

THE Death of *John* was attended with great Disturbances in the *Roman* Church. Many Candidates appeared for the vacant See, and the whole City, the Senate as well as the People and Clergy, was divided into Parties and Factions, the Papal Dignity being now as eagerly sought for, and often obtained by the same Methods and Arts, as the Consular was in the Times of the Heathens. As the contending Parties could not agree among themselves, *Theodoric*, apprehending that their Disagreement might prove, in the End, as fatal to *Rome*, as it had proved in the Dispute between *Laurentius* and *Symmachus* ^b, thought it incumbent upon him to interpose his Authority; and interposed it accordingly, naming one, whom none of the Parties had proposed, that none might complain of his favouring one Party more than another. The Person he named was *Felix*, by Birth a *Samnite*, the Son of *Castorius*, an Ecclesiastic of a most exemplary Life, and owned by Men of all Parties to be, in every respect, worthy of the Episcopal Dignity. The King had nothing in View but the public Welfare; and therefore chose one, whom the Electors, having their private Interest in View, and their private Ends to serve, had all overlooked. But, notwithstanding the extraordinary Merit of *Felix*, all Parties joined against him to a Man, as unduly chosen, since neither the Senate, the People, nor the Clergy, had had any Share in his Election. The King could not but know, that what he had done was not without a Precedent; that some of the Catholic Emperors, to prevent Disturbances, had appointed, of their own Authority, the Bishop of *Constantinople*, the first Bishop of the East; and that none had ever presumed to question their Authority ^c. However, being unwilling to quarrel with his People, he descended to come to the following Agreement with them; viz. That they should acknowledge *Felix* for lawful Bishop of the City of *Italy*, henceforth chosen by the People and Clergy; but that in time to come they should be allowed to chuse whom they pleased; that the King should confirm, or not confirm,

Year of
Christ 526.

Great Disturbances and Divisions about the Election of a new Pope.

As the Parties could not agree, Theodoric names one, Felix III.

The Pope, and the other Bishops of Italy, henceforth chosen by the People and Clergy;

^b See above, p. 245, et seq.^c See above, p. 264, 265.

Year of
Christ 526.
but not or-
dained till
confirmed by
the King.

This Regula-
tion reason-
able, and ne-
cessary.

But Theo-
doric is
damned for
it, by Baro-
nius.

as he thought fit, the Person whom they had chosen ; that he should not be deemed lawful Bishop, nor be ordained, by what Majority soever chosen, till confirmed by him ; and that for his Confirmation he should pay a certain Sum, to be distributed to the Poor &c. In this manner the Popes, and with them all the other Bishops of *Italy*, for the Agreement extended to all, continued to be chosen, not only under the *Gothic* Kings, the Successors of *Theodoric*, but under the *Greek* Emperors too, so long as they remained Masters of that Country. The People and Clergy elected ; the Decree of the Election was sent to the King, or the Emperor ; and if he confirmed it, the Person elected was then, and not till then, ordained or consecrated. *Theodoric* had no other View, as he declared, in requiring the Person elected to be confirmed by him, than to prevent the Election from falling on Men unworthy of the high Station to which they were chosen, or on such as were disaffected to the Government, or suspected of maintaining a secret Correspondence with the Enemies of the State. However, *Baronius*, thinking it a sacrilegious Profanation for secular Princes to interfere, on any Consideration whatever, in the Election of the High Pontiff, inveighs here against *Theodoric*, as a cruel Barbarian, as a barbarous Tyrant, as an impious *Arian* ; and, having exaggerated with all his Eloquence, and bewailed the deplorable Condition of the *Roman* Church, reduced by that Heretic to a State of Slavery, he comforts himself in the End, and dries up his Tears with the pious Thought, that the Author of such a Calamity died soon after, and was eternally damned ; nay, with him this good Cardinal damns, in the Transport of his Zeal, all who have followed, or shall follow, his Example ; that is, all, or almost all, the Christian Princes and Emperors, from the Time of *Theodoric* to the present. For they all have concerned themselves, and still do, more than *Theodoric* ever did, in the Election of the Pope. And truly, if the Pope is the *Universal Bishop*, they have, nay, the whole Christian World has, the same Right to concern themselves in his Election, as the People of particular Cities formerly had to concern themselves in the Election of their particular Bishops.

The *Roman* Senate having acquiesced, as well as the People and Clergy, in the above-mentioned Agreement, *Felix* was owned by all for lawful Bishop, and ordained accordingly, on the 12th of *July* 526. the See having been vacant from the 18th of *May* to that

* *Cassiod.* l. 8. c. 15.

† *Bar. ad ann.* 526. p. 116.

Time. In the very Beginning of the present Pontificate, that is, on the 30th of *August*, died King *Theodoric*; and was succeeded, as he had no Male Issue of his own, by his Two Grandsons. To *Athalaric*, the Son of his Daughter *Amalasuntha*, he bequeathed his *Italian Dominions*; and to *Amalaric*, his Grandson by his Daughter *Teudetusa*, and King of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*, the *Gallic Province* lying between the *Durance*, the *Alps*, and the *Mediterranean*, which he had formerly taken from the *Burgundians*. But *Athalaric*, or rather *Amalasuntha*, who governed during his Minority, being unwilling to yield that whole Country, it was agreed between her and *Amalaric*, that the *Ostrogoths* should hold the Country between the *Rhone* and the *Alps*; and the *Visigoths* that which lay on the opposite Side of that River, extending to the Confines of the *Franks*. *Amalasuntha* kept the City of *Arles*, standing on an Island formed by the *Rhone*; but remitted the Tribute, which the *Visigoths* paid to the *Ostrogoths*, and restored to them the rich Furniture of their Kings, which her Father had conveyed from *Cassione* to *Ravenna* ^f.

As to the Particulars of *Theodoric's* Death, the anonymous Writer, who lived at this very Time, tells us, that he died of a Flux, the same Death which *Arius*, the Author of his Religion, had died of before him; for that Writer was a most zealous Catholic, and gives *Theodoric* no Quarter ^g. *Procopius* writes, that not long after the Death of *Symmachus*, whom he had caused to be beheaded ^h, the Head of a large Fish being served up while he was at Supper, the Injustice of that Sentence occurring to his Mind, he fancied the Head of the Fish to be the Head of *Symmachus*, threatening him in a ghastly manner. Seized therefore with Fear and Horror, he was carried from the Table to his Bed-chamber, where, reflecting anew on his Cruelty and Injustice both to *Symmachus* and *Boetius*, he died of Grief; this being the first and last Wrong, says that Writer, though no-ways partial to the *Goths*, any of his Subjects had ever received from him ⁱ. The Head of this Fish *Baronius* compares to the Hand that appeared to *Belshazzar*, writing his Doom on the Wall ^k, and seems no more to question the one than the other. However, *Jornandes* takes no notice of that Apparition or Imagination; but says, that *Theodoric* died of old Age; and he is on that Account censured by the An-

^f Procop. Bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 13.

^g Procop. Hist. Goth. l. 1. p. 322.

^h Anonym. Vales.

ⁱ See above, p. 258.

^k Bar. ad ann. 526. p. 116.

Year of
Christ 526.

A strange
Tale, related
by Pope Gre-
gory, con-
cerning the
Punishment
of Theo-
doric after
his Death.

nalist as an unfaithful and partial Historian. But in what manner soever *Theodoric* died, *Baronius* absolutely insists on his having been damned after his Death; and, to put it out of all Doubt that he was, he alleges the Authority of a Pope, who believed it, of no less a Pope than *Gregory the Great*. *Gregory* indeed did not know it by any Revelation that was made to him; but learnt it of one *Julianus*: *Julianus* learnt it of his Wife's Grandfather; and his Wife's Grandfather of a holy Hermit, who saw him cast down into Hell. For *Julianus's* Wife's Grandfather, as the Story is related by *Gregory*, in his Dialogues¹, having been obliged by Stress of Weather to put in at the Island of *Lipari*, as he was returning from *Sicily* to *Rome*, took that Opportunity to visit, with some of his Company, a Hermit, renowned for his Sanctity, who lived there. The Hermit, in discoursing with them, asked them, whether they knew that King *Theodoric* was dead? *Theodoric* dead! replied they, God forbid! we left him alive, and have heard nothing of his Death. But I tell you, answered the Hermit, that *Theodoric* is dead: I saw him Yesterday, at the Hour of None, brought hither between Pope *John* and the Patrician *Symmachus*, and by them thrust down *Vulcan's* boiling Pot, meaning the *Vulcano*, or burning Mountain, of the Island of *Lipari*. They, who were come to visit the holy Man, adds *Gregory*, amazed and terrified at so dreadful a Vision, set down, with great Care, the Day; and, on their Return to *Italy*, found, that *Theodoric* died the very Day in which his Death and Punishment were revealed to the Servant of God. *Gregory* concludes, very gravely, that as *Theodoric* had killed Pope *John* by keeping him in Prison, and *Symmachus* with the Sword, he was justly cast into Fire, after his Death, by those whom, in his Lifetime, he had unjustly condemned. But how came *Boetius* to be forgotten on this Occasion? He too had been put to Death by *Theodoric*, and no less unjustly than either *John* or *Symmachus*. Such were the Tales that now prevailed, and were as universally believed as the Gospel itself; nay, they took place of the Gospel.

Theodoric
quite illite-
rate.

Theodoric was, according to some Authors, quite illiterate; and could not even write the Letters of his own Name, which he therefore caused to be cut on a thin Plate of Gold. This Plate, say they, he placed on the Paper; and his Hand being directed by the Letters, which were cut quite through, signed his Name ^m. But

¹ Greg. Mag. Dial. l. 4. c. 6.

^m Vales. in Excerpt.

this is not at all consistent with what we read in *Ennodius*; viz. that his Predecessors had preferred Ignorance to Learning; but that he had shewn himself the Patron and Encourager of Letters; that under him Learning flourished in all its Branches; and that he not only admired and rewarded it in others, but thought it an Ornament worthy of himselfⁿ. Such Commendations, uttered, as they were, in a Panegyric pronounced before the King, would have been deemed a Satire rather than a Panegyric, had he been altogether illiterate. However, he discountenanced Learning in his *Goths*, if what the great Men among them alleged against the learned, or, as they styled it, unbecoming Education of *Athalaric*, was true; viz. that *Theodoric* had never suffered the Children of the brave *Goths* to be sent to Schools, to be awed there by the contemptible Pedants, saying, That they, who had trembled, when Children, at the Sight of a Rod, would tremble, when Men, at the Sight of a Sword, or a Spear^o.

Year of
Christ 526.

The following Year 527. died, on the first of *August*, the Emperor *Justin*; and was succeeded by his Nephew *Justinian*, whom he had taken for his Partner in the Empire Four Months before. His Death was owing to a Mortification, occasioned by a Wound, which he had formerly received in the Foot p.

The Emperor
Justin dies;
and is suc-
ceeded by
Justinian.
Year of
Christ 527.

Of the present Pope we know but very little. He probably performed nothing worthy of notice. In his Time a Deacon of the *Roman* Church having been delivered up, by the secular Judge, to his Creditor, who kept him confined, and a Presbyter of the same Church treated with great Severity for a small Debt, *Felix* presented, in his own Name, and in the Name of the whole *Roman* Clergy, a Memorial to King *Athalaric*, complaining of the Usage their Brethren had met with, as not only unjust in itself, but derogatory to a Custom, which had long obtained in their Church, that the Ecclesiastics should be summoned before the Bishop, and the Cause be heard and determined by him, to prevent their being diverted by vexatious Suits from discharging, as they ought, the Functions of their Office. The King received their Memorial, and soon after issued an Edict, commanding all, who had, or should have Demands, in Time to come, on any Ecclesiastic belonging to the *Roman* Church, to apply first to the Bishop, who would either

Athalaric
orders all
Suits at Law
with the
Roman
Clergy to
be heard first
by the Pope.
Year of
Christ 528.

ⁿ Ennod. Panegy. Theod. p. 290.
cop. Hist. Arcan. c. 9. Evagr. l. 4. c. 9.

^o Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. 1.
Marcell. chron. Chron. Alex.

[^p Pro-

Year of
Christ 528.

hear and determine the Cause himself, or appoint proper Persons to act in his room. If he declined or delayed doing either, the Plaintiff was then allowed to recur to the Lay Tribunals. But if he first had recourse to them, he was to lose his Suit, and to forfeit besides Ten Pounds of Gold, which the Officers of the Exchequer were immediately to levy, and the Bishop was to distribute, at his Discretion, to the Poor ¹. This Privilege the King granted to the *Roman* Clergy only, in Honour of the Apostolic See, as he declared in his Edict; and as it was confined to them, no Distinction was made, in virtue of the present Decree, between the Ecclesiastics belonging to other Churches and the Laity. The present Edict related only to Civil Cases; for in criminal Actions the Clergy did not yet enjoy any kind of Privilege or Exemption.

*The Clergy
forbidden by
the Canons
to recur to
Lay Judges.*

Long before the Time of *Athalaric* the Clergy were forbidden, by their own Laws, the Laws or Canons of the Church, to recur to Lay Judges in the Controversies that arose among themselves; and forbidden, in Criminal Causes, on Pain of being degraded, and, in Pecuniary, of losing whatever they had gained by the Action ¹. But, if the Controversy happened to be between a Clergyman and a Layman, the Layman was allowed, by a Law of the Emperor *Valentinian*, to chuse his Court, and oblige the Clergyman to plead before the Secular Judge ². This Law was now revoked, with respect to the *Roman* Church, by *Athalaric's* obliging the Laymen, in all Suits at Law with the Ecclesiastics, to bring their Action first before the Bishop. He did not, however, oblige them to acquiesce in the Judgment of the Bishop; and his not requiring them to acquiesce in it, was allowing them to appeal from the Judgment of the Bishop to that of a Secular Court. At this Time *Alaric*, King of the

*The Arian
Goths more
favourable
to the Clergy
than any of
the Catholic
Emperors.*

Visigoths in *Gaul*, enacted a Law still more favourable to the Clergy, than that of *Athalaric*. For by his Law no Layman was to sue an Ecclesiastic in a Secular Court, nor was an Ecclesiastic to answer any Action brought against him there, without the Permission of the Bishop ³. Thus did the *Arian Goths*, though represented by some fanatical Writers of those Times, as Enemies to God and his Church, prove better Friends to the Clergy, than any of the Catholic Emperors who had gone before them. The Privilege granted by *Atha-*

¹ Cassiodor. l. 8. c. 24.

² Concil. Chalced. c. 9. Conc. Carth. 3. c. 9. Conc. Venetic. c. 9. Conc. Cabillon. c. 11. Conc. Matiscon. c. 5. Conc. Milev. c. 19.

³ Valentin. Novel. 12. in Cod. Theod.

⁴ Conc. Agath. c. 32.

Year of
Christ 528.

laric to the *Roman* Clergy only, the Emperor *Justinian* extended to all Ecclesiastics; but upon Condition, that if the Layman declared in the Term of Ten Days, that he did not acquiesce in the Judgment of the Bishop, the Cause should be re-examined by the ordinary Judge. If his Sentence agreed with that of the Bishop, no farther Appeal was allowed. If it did not agree, room was left for appealing to the illustrious Powers, that is, to the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Diocese, or to extraordinary Judges of the Emperor's own appointing ^u.

As for Criminal Causes, the Clergy were exempt, by the Laws of the *Roman* Empire, from the Jurisdiction of the Secular Courts, in all Causes purely Ecclesiastical, that is, in such as related to Crimes that were committed against the Faith, against the Canons, Discipline, and good Order of the Church; and were punishable with Ecclesiastical Censures. Crimes of that Nature were left, by the Constitutions of several Emperors, to the Cognizance of the Bishops, and the Synods of each Diocese or Province ^w. But in no other Criminal Cause did the Clergy yet enjoy, or even claim, any kind of Privilege or Exemption. They were all, as Members of the Civil Society, the Pope himself not excepted, indiscriminately tried, and condemned, or absolved, by the Civil Magistrate.

It is now the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and has been defined by the Council of *Trent*, that the Clergy are exempt, by Divine Right, from the Power of the Civil Magistrate, or the Jurisdiction of Secular Princes ^x; a Doctrine, perhaps, of all that are taught or held by that Church, the most indisputably repugnant to the Doctrine of the Scripture, and the Fathers, as well as to the Practice of all Antiquity. *St. Paul*, in his Epistle to the *Romans*, recommends it as an indispensable Obligation incumbent on every Soul, to be subject unto the higher Powers; and declares, that whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and that they who resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation ^y; which is declaring all, without Distinction or Exception, bound, on Pain of Damnation, to be subject to the superior Powers. The Apostle speaks here of the Minister of God, who beareth the Sword; and consequently of the Civil, not of the Ecclesiastical

* Novel. 83. 123.

† Cod. Theod. l. 6. tit. 2. de Episc. leg. 12. Ibid. leg. 23.

Ibid. l. 16. tit. 12. leg. 3. Ibid. tit. 11. l. 1. Valentin. Novel. 12. Justin. Novel. 83.

‡ See Bellar. de Cler. l. 1. c. 28.

§ Paul. ep. ad Rom. c. xiii.

Year of
Christ 528.

Powers, as he has been ridiculously understood by some of the Popes, pretending that, by the above-mentioned Words, he inculcates Obedience and Subjection to the Bishop, especially to the first Bishop, his Holiness the Pope ^a. St. *Peter* seems to have been as great a Stranger as St. *Paul* to the Immunity of the Clergy, or their Exemption from the Secular Courts. For he too exhorts all Christians, the Clergy not excepted, to *submit themselves to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the King as supreme; or unto Governors, as unto them that are sent by him* ^a. The Words of the Two Apostles have been understood and explained by all the Fathers, and even some of the Popes, as extending to the Clergy as well as the Laity. *The Words of St. Paul, LET EVERY SOUL, &c. were spoken to all, says Chrysostom, to the Priests and the Monks, as well as to the Laymen. Whoever you be, whether an Apostle, an Evangelist, or a Prophet, you are subject to the higher Powers* ^b. *Power over all Men, says Pope Gregory the Great, has been granted by Heaven to my Lords (the Emperors), and I am subject to Command* ^c; and St. *Bernard*, writing many Ages after to the Archbishop of *Sens*, puts him thus in mind of the Obedience and Subjection which the Clergy owe, as well as the Laity, to Secular Princes; *If every Soul must be subject to the higher Powers, yours must be subject with the rest. Who has excepted you? Whoever studies to except you, studies to deceive you* ^d. With these the other Fathers all agree ^e; and it is quite surprising, that, in Opposition to a Doctrine so universally taught by them, the Council of *Trent* should have defined *the Immunity of the Church, and Ecclesiastical Persons, to have been instituted by Divine Ordination*. As to the Practice of the Church, no one can be so little conversant in Ecclesiastical History, or so great a Stranger to the Imperial Laws, as not to know, that for many Ages no kind of Immunity or Exemption was enjoyed by the Clergy in Criminal Causes, not relating to Matters of Religion; but that they were all tried in the same manner, and by the same Judges, as the Laity. As none of them ever objected against the Power and Jurisdiction of the Civil Magistrare, we may well conclude them to have been all alike utterly unac-

^a See above, p. 268.

^a Pet. ep. 1. c. ii. ver. 13.

^b Chrys. hom. 23. in

epist. ad Roman.

^c Greg. 1. 2. ep. 62.

^d Bernard. ep. 42.

^e Vide

Iren. l. 5. c. 20. Just. in Apol. 2. Tertull. de Idololat. Greg. Naz. orat. ad Præsid. irat. et popul. per timefc. Ambros. in Luc. 1. 4. c. 5. August. in Joan. tract. 6. &c.

acquainted with the *Divine Ordination* discovered and defined by the Council of *Trent*. Year of
Christ 528.

As we find very little recorded of the present Pope, *Baronius* is willing to apply to him an old Epitaph on one of his Name, commending him for his Generosity to the Poor, his Compassion for the Afflicted, his godly Pride joined to a humble Piety, and his having increased the Wealth of the Apostolic See, *Sedis Apostolicæ crescere fecit opes*. An extraordinary Merit indeed! *Felix* died on the 18th of *September* 530. having presided in the *Roman Church* Four Years, Two Months, and Six Days. Of the Three Letters that are ascribed to him, one only is allowed by the Critics to be genuine, that, which he wrote to *Cæsarius* of *Arles*, forbidding any to be raised to the Priesthood, who had not served the Church in the inferior Degrees. Felix dies.
Year of
Christ 530.

JUSTINIAN,

BONIFACE II.

ATHALARIC,
King of *Italy*.

Fifty-fourth BISHOP of Rome.

THE Death of *Felix* was attended with the usual Disturbances, in Spite of all the Precautions the Governor of *Rome*, and the other Officers of the King, could use to prevent them; and the whole City was divided into two opposite Parties. By the one was chosen *Boniface*, the Second of that Name, by Birth a *Roman*, but the Son of a *Goth*, named *Sigisvultus*; and by the other the Deacon *Dioscorus*, formerly employed by Pope *Hormisdas* in the Embassy he sent to the Emperor *Justin*. Both were chosen, and both ordained, on the same Day, the 21st of *September*; *Boniface* in the Basilic of *Julius*, and *Dioscorus* in that of *Constantine*. As both had powerful Friends, and neither would yield, the City was threatened with as great Calamities as it had ever felt on such an Occasion. But Providence intervened; and while the contending Parties were preparing for War, Peace was unexpectedly re-established by the Death of *Dioscorus*. Two chosen
at the same
Time, Boni-
face and
Dioscorus.
Dioscorus
dies.

Boniface, being now in quiet Possession of the Papal Chair, began his Pontificate with wreaking his Vengeance on the Memory of his

Year of
Christ 530.

*Is excommu-
nicated by his
Rival, after
his Death.*

deceased Competitor, whom he solemnly excommunicated, as guilty of Simony, when he could not clear himself from that Charge, nor retort it on him, as perhaps he otherwise might. The Sentence of Excommunication *Boniface* caused to be signed by several Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops; and placed it, thus signed, in the Archives of the *Roman* Church, that the Name of *Dioscorus* might be cursed and execrable to all Posterity. But, some Years after, Pope *Agapetus*, thinking his Predecessor had therein been actuated more by Passion and Revenge, than Zeal, absolved *Dioscorus*, and caused the Sentence of Excommunication to be burnt in the Church g.

*Decree of the
Roman
Senate
against Si-
moniacal
Contracts.*

As through the Corruption of the People, and the Ambition of the *Roman* Clergy, the Papal Chair was now, as soon as vacant, and often before, exposed, in a manner, to public Sale, the *Roman* Senate, to provide some Remedy against the reigning Evil, passed a Decree, declaring null and execrable all Promises, Bargains, and Contracts, by whomsoever, or for whomsoever, made with a View to engage Suffrages in the Election of the Pope; and excluding for ever from having any Share in the Election such as should be found to have been directly or indirectly concerned, either for themselves, or for others, in Contracts or Bargains of that Nature h. The Anathemas of the Church already began, it seems, to be looked upon as *bruta fulmina*, both by the People and the Clergy.

*The Pope
confirms the
Decrees of
some Gallican
Bishops, con-
demning the
Semipelagian
Doctrine.*

In the Latter-end of the late Pontificate *Cæsarius* of *Arles* had presided at a Council in *Gaul*, the Second of *Orange*, in which was condemned the Doctrine of the *Semipelagians*, denying the Necessity of preventing Grace with respect to the Beginning of Faith. At the Breaking up of the Council, which only consisted of 13 Bishops met by Chance, on Occasion of the Consecration of a Church, *Cæsarius* wrote to *Felix*, intreating him to confirm, with the Authority of the Apostolic See, the Doctrine which he and his Colleagues had defined. But *Felix* being dead before the Letter reached *Rome*, it was delivered to *Boniface*, who, as he had lived long in great Intimacy with *Cæsarius*, immediately answered it, declaring the Doctrine, which the Council had defined, to be intirely agreeable to that of the Church, and the Fathers i.

Year of
Christ 531.

The following Year the Pope held a Council in the Basilic of *St. Peter*, on a very extraordinary Occasion. He proposed to alter

g Idem ibid.

h Cassiod. l. 9. ep. 15.

i Concil. t. 4. p. 1691.

he manner of Election, and, in Defiance of the known Laws of the Church, and the Decrees of his Predecessors, to appoint himself Successor. But, not thinking it advisable to attempt such an Innovation without the Concurrence of a Council, he assembled the neighbouring Bishops, and the *Roman* Clergy, acquainted them with his Resolution, and, at the same time, required them to pass a Decree, empowering him to name whom he pleased to succeed him. Such a Proposal surprised the whole Assembly; and they all opposed it, especially the *Roman* Clergy, to whom Elections had begun so late to prove a most gainful Traffick. But they opposed it in vain. The Pope was determined; and the Council, finding they could by no possible Means divert him from his Resolution, yielded at last; and not only passed the Decree, and signed it, but, at his Request, or rather Command, bound themselves, by a solemn Oath, to acknowledge, upon his Demise, for lawful Pope, the Person whom he should name. When they had all taken this Oath, the Pope approached the Shrine of St. *Peter*, and there named for his Successor, to the Throne of that Apostle, one *Vigilius*, a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, whom we shall have frequent Occasion to mention hereafter. Such a Conduct in the Pope, so plainly repugnant to the Laws both of the Church and the State, is generally thought to have been owing to the Suggestions of the Deacon; and indeed with a great deal of Reason. For *Vigilius* was a Man of great Craft, and an unbounded Ambition; and we shall soon see him raised to the Throne of St. *Peter*, by Means still more uncanonical.

But the above-mentioned Decree never took place. The Pope, soon after repenting, or rather made to repent, what he had done, convened a Second Council, at which assisted, besides the Bishops, and the *Roman* Clergy, the whole *Roman* Senate in a Body; and, in the Presence of that numerous Assembly, the Pope first owned himself guilty of High Treason, and then not only revoked, the Bishops and Clergy readily concurring with him, but burnt the Decree, which he had extorted from them a very few Months before^k. Was this new Manner of electing the High Pontiff suggested by the Holy Ghost! The Pope owned himself guilty of High Treason; and so he certainly was, the King being excluded by that Decree, as well as the People and Clergy, from having any Share in the Election; whereas by the Agreement, made in the late Reign, no Person was

Year of
Christ 531.

He proposes
to alter the
manner of
Election, and
appoint his
Successor.

Owens himself
guilty of High
Treason, and
burns the
Decree he
had made.

^k Anast. in Bonif. II.

Year of
Christ 531.

to be deemed lawful Bishop, till confirmed by him. It was therefore, in all Likelihood, by the King's Order, that the Pope assembled this Second Council, that he owned his Guilt in so solemn and public a Manner, and revoked the Decree,

The Bishop of
Larissa, deposed by the Patriarch of
Constantinople, recurs
to the Pope.

The same Year the Pope assembled a Third Council, consisting of Four Bishops, and Forty Presbyters, of the *Roman Church*. It was convened to hear and examine the Complaints of *Stephen* Bishop of *Larissa*, and Metropolitan of *Thessaly*, who, pretending to have been unjustly deposed by *Epiphanius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, had dispatched to *Rome* one of his Suffragans, *Theodosius* of *Echinus*,

Council held
at Rome on
this Occasion.

to implore the Protection of the Apostolic See. The Council met, for the first time, on the 7th of *December*, when *Theodosius*, appearing before them, presented to *Boniface* a Memorial or Request from *Stephen*, setting forth, that he had been canonically chosen, ordained, and installed; that, nevertheless, *Probianus* of *Demetrias* conspiring against him, he knew not why, with some other Bishops, who had all signed the Decree of his Ordination, had persuaded the Patriarch, that his Election was uncanonical; that thereupon the Patriarch had suspended him from the Functions of his Office, and forbidden the Bishops and Clergy of *Thessaly* to communicate with him, without deigning to hear what he had to offer in his Defence; that he had appealed to the Apostolic See, but nevertheless had been carried by Force to *Constantinople*, where he would have been imprisoned, had he not been bailed by his Friends; that the Patriarch, having assembled in Council the Bishops, who happened to be then at *Constantinople*, had obliged him to appear before them; that he indeed had protested against their Authority, maintaining, that, agreeably to a Custom which obtained in his Province, he ought to be judged at *Rome*, and that it was a crying Injustice in them to usurp the Authority which Christ and his Church had given, and Custom had confirmed, to the See of *St. Peter*; but that such Remonstrances had only served to provoke the Patriarch [and no Wonder they did]; who, without hearkening to them, or paying the least Regard to his Protest, had not only judged and condemned him, but delivered him up to the Defenders of the Church, who kept him confined, and, as it were, in Prison. The Metropolitan of *Larissa* closes his Request with exhorting the Pope to exert his Authority in Defence of his just Rights, openly invaded by the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who, if

his

his Holiness were not on his Guard, would soon subject all *Illyricum* to his See.

Year of
Christ 531.

Jurisdiction
of the Popes
with respect
to Illyricum.

On the 9th of *December* was held the Second Session of the present Council, when the same *Theodosius* of *Echinus* presented another Memorial in Favour of his Metropolitan, signed by himself, and Three other Suffragans, remonstrating, at the same time, *that, abstracting from the Primacy which impowered the Apostolic See to receive Appeals from all Parts of the World, the venerable Prelates of that See had always claimed a special Jurisdiction over the Provinces of Illyricum.* To prove that, he produced all the Letters which the Popes had written to their Vicars the Bishops of *Theſſalonica*, from the time of *Damasus*, the first who usurped that Jurisdiction, down to the time of *Leo*¹. The other Acts of this Council have not reached our Times; but from a Letter of Pope *Agapetus*, chosen Four Years after, it appears, that the Patriarch of *Constantinople* maintained the Judgment which he had given; that *Stephen* was not restored, notwithstanding his Appeal to the Apostolic See; but that one *Achilles* was ordained in his room^m. The Patriarch was not, it seems, so fully convinced as *Stephen* and *Theodosius* pretended to be, that the Jurisdiction exercised by the Popes over *Illyricum* was given them by Christ, or that they were impowered, by the Primacy of their See, to receive Appeals from all Parts of the World. And truly the Primacy was originally understood to import no more, and did import no more, than Rank, Honour, or Precedency. But from Honour to Power the Passage is easy; and the Popes wanted neither the Means nor the Inclination of improving it into Power. The Bishops of *Constantinople* had been long striving to subject the Provinces of *Illyricum* to their See; and indeed not without Success, as we may observe here by the way, since the Bishops of *Theſſaly*, in the Case before us, had recourse not to *Rome*, but to *Constantinople*, summoning their Metropolitan to answer there for his illegal Election, and thereby acknowledging the Authority of that See both over him and them. *Damasus* was the first Bishop of *Rome*, who assumed any kind of Jurisdiction or Power over *Illyricum*: but the Power which he had assumed, and his Successors had continued to exercise ever since his time, having never been authorized either by the Imperial Laws, or the Laws of the Church, the Bishop of *Con-*

¹ Concil. t. 4. p. 1691.

^m Agapet. Ep. 4.

Year of
Christ 531.

Constantinople thought, that, as those Provinces were subject to the Eastern Empire, they ought, agreeably to the Principles of the Ecclesiastical Polity, which conformed to the Civil, to be rather subject to his See, than to that of *Rome*. This occasioned endless Disputes between the Two Rival Sees, till *Leo Isauricus* adjudged *Illyricum* to that of *Constantinople*, and, with *Illyricum*, all the Provinces that belonged to the Empire.

Boniface
dies.

Year of
Christ 532.

His Letter to
Eulalius, and
the Request of
the pretended
Bishop, bare-
faced For-
geries.

The following Year 532. died *Boniface*, on the 17th of *October*, having governed the *Roman Church* Two Years and Twenty-six Days. The Letter, which this Pope is said to have written to *Eulalius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, is now rejected by all, even by *Baronius*, as a barefaced Forgery. No Bishop of that Name ever governed the Church of *Alexandria*; and, besides, the Letter is supposed to have been written in the Reign of *Justin*, who died on the First of *August* 527. whereas *Boniface* was not raised to the Episcopal Dignity till the 21st of *September* 530. The Sticklers for the Papal Supremacy laid once great Stress on a Request of the same pretended Bishop of *Alexandria*, wherein he excommunicates all his Predecessors, who had invaded, and all his Successors who should invade, the Rights and Privileges of the Apostolic See. But that Piece too they are now obliged to condemn, as the Work of an Impostor. Such Forgeries were of great Use in the Ages of Darkness and Monks; and the Edifice, which was then built upon them, stands to this Day.

JUSTINIAN,

JOHN II.

ATHALARIC, }
THEODATUS, } Kings of Italy.

Fifty-fifth BISHOP of Rome.

Great Con-
tests during
the Vacancy.

Simoniack
Practices.

THE Death of *Boniface* was attended with the usual Commotions in the City; and many aspired to the vacant Dignity, sparing neither Pains nor Money to attain it. For, in spite of the many Laws both Ecclesiastic and Civil, Simony still reigned without Mask or Disguise; Votes were publicly bought and sold; and, notwithstanding the Decree lately issued by the Senate, Money was offered to the Senators themselves; nay, the Lands of the Church were mortgaged by some, and the sacred Utensils pawned by others,

or

or publicly sold, for ready Moneyⁿ. The Contest lasted from the 17th of *October* to the 31st of *December*, when *John*, surnamed *Mercurius*, was preferred in the End to all his Competitors, merely in Consideration of his extraordinary Merit, as we are to suppose, notwithstanding the Corruption of the People, and the Sums that were offered them by the other Candidates. He was a Native of *Rome*, the Son of one *Projectus*, and Presbyter of the *Roman* Church^o. So very scandalous were the Practices which had openly prevailed during the Vacancy, that the Defender of the Church, the more effectually to prevent the like Abuses in time to come, thought himself obliged to apply to the King, to an *Arian* King. He applied accordingly, with Tears in his Eyes (*flebili allegatione*); and *Athalaric*, at his Request, issued an Edict, confirming, by his Royal Authority, the Decree which the Senate had made, on the like Occasion, Two Years before *p*. This Edict the King addressed to the Pope, requiring him to notify it to *all the Patriarchs*, that is, to all the Bishops of the chief Cities of *Italy*; for so they were all styled by the *Goths*. He wrote at the same time to *Salvanti*, then Governor of the City, commanding him to make it known, without Delay, to the *Roman* Senate and People; to cause it to be engraved on Tables of Marble, and to be set up, thus engraved, before the Porch of the Church of *St. Peter*, as a public Monument^q; a Monument that greatly redounded to the Honour of the *Arian* Prince, and no less to the Shame and Disgrace of the Catholic People and Clergy of *Rome*. *Baronius* pretends it was by the Pope's Command the Defender applied to the King. I should be glad to know of whom he had that Intelligence; for neither by the King in his Ordinance, nor by any Writer before the Annalist's Time, is the Pope said to have been any-ways concerned in procuring the above-mentioned Edict.

Year of
Christ 532.
John chosen
at last.

The Edict
made by the
Senate is con-
firmed by the
King, and set
up before the
Porch of *St.*
Peter.

While the *Arian* King was striving, by the most just and equitable Laws, to clear the Church from all Simony in the West, the Catholic Emperor was employing the most unjust and unchristian Means of clearing her from all Heresies in the East, that of Persecution, and the most cruel Persecution any Christian Emperor had yet set on foot, or countenanced. For by an Edict which he issued to unite

Justinian issues a severe
Edict against
all who dis-
sented from
the Church.

ⁿ Cassiod. l. 9. Ep. 15.
^q Cassiod. ibid.

^o Lib. Pontif.

^p See above, p. 328.

all Men in one Faith, whether Jews, Gentiles, or Christians, such as did not, in the Term of Three Months, embrace and profess the Catholic Faith, were declared infamous, and, as such, excluded from all Employments both Civil and Military, rendered incapable of leaving any thing by Will, and their Estates confiscated, whether real or personal. These were convincing Arguments of the Truth of the Catholic Faith; but many, however, withstood them; and against such as did, the Imperial Edict was executed with the utmost Rigour. Great Numbers were driven from their Habitations with their Wives and Children, stript and naked. Others betook themselves to Flight, carrying with them what they could conceal, for their Support and Maintenance; but they were plundered of the little they had, and many of them inhumanly massacred, by the Catholic Peasants, or the Soldiery, who guarded the Passes. The *Montanists* (A) in *Phrygia*, retiring

(A) The *Montanists*, so called from *Montanus* the Founder of their Sect, who lived about the latter End of the Second Century, administered Baptism in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of *Montanus*, who pretended to be the Holy Ghost; and had Two Prophetesses to attend him, *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*; and their Names too they sometimes added, in administering Baptism, to the Names of the Father and the Son (1). This Baptism they believed to be valid even after Death; and therefore baptized after Death such as had not received Baptism in their Lifetime (2). They condemned Second Marriages, as no better than Adultery, acknowledging One Matrimony, as they did One God, and stigmatizing the Catholics, who acknowledged more, with the Name of *Psychici*, or carnal Men (3). They likewise denied it to be lawful for a Christian to fly in time of Persecution, or to bear Arms in Defence of the Empire (4). The antient Fathers were all, or almost all, so far *Montanists*, as to think Second Marriages, in some Degree, criminal. For they not only excluded Digamists from holy Orders, but obliged them to perform One or Two Years Penance,

and to abstain, in the mean time, from the Eucharist (5). As all cannot contain, and God and Nature have provided no other Remedy against Incontinence but Marriage, it thence follows, in common Sense, that Marriage may, and even ought to be repeated, as often as Necessity requires. The Aversion, which the Fathers had to Second Marriages, was in great measure owing to the high Opinion they entertained of Celibacy, which they thought the most refined State of Christian Perfection; and to that Notion was likewise owing their discountenancing a married State, and decrying Matrimony in general. *Though I will not positively pronounce, says Origen* (6); *yet I suppose there are some Actions Men, which, however free from Sin, are not worthy to be honoured with the Presence of the Holy Ghost. For Instance, lawful Marriage is not sinful; yet, when conjugal Acts are performed, the Holy Ghost will be present, though he be a Prophet who forms them.* St. Hierom, the great Patron of Celibacy, goes farther; for he condemns, in some Places, Marriage, as absolutely evil. *If it be good, says he, for a Man not to touch a Woman, then it is evil to touch her. nothing is contrary to Good, but Evil.*

(1) Basil. Ep. Can. 1. c. 1. Theophylact. in Luc. xxiv. c. 2. (2) Philostr. de
(3) Tertull. de Monogam. c. 1. (4) Tertull. de Cor. c. 11.
(5) Concil. Neocæs. Can. 7. Concil. Laod. Can. 1. Basil.
(6) Orig. Hom. 6. in Num.

tiring with all their Wealth to their Churches, set them on fire, and consumed in the Flames themselves, their Wealth, and their Churches. The *Jews*, who were very numerous in *Samaria*, openly revolted; and, ranging themselves under the Banner of one *Julian*, a noted Robber, whom they chose for their King, and their Leader, engaged the Imperial Troops in the Field; but, after a most obstinate and bloody Dispute, were utterly defeated, with the Loss, if *Procopius* is to be credited, of 100,000 Men^r. All who outlived so dreadful a Slaughter, readily embraced the Christian Religion, and were baptized soon after the Battle. And the Christian Religion, says the Historian^s, they profess to this Day, when Governors are sent them from *Constantinople*, whose Faith and Integrity are Proof against Bribes: but when they are governed, as they often are, by Men of a different Character, they purchase, with Money, the Liberty of blaspheming Christ, and openly profess the Religion of their Fathers. Such are, and such ever will be, Conversions that are owing, not to Conviction, but to Penal Laws or Persecution.

Justinian formerly declared, as we have seen, against Persecution^t, *His persecuting the Heretics owing to Avarice, not to Zeal.* opposing, with a truly Christian Spirit and Zeal, one of the Popes, by whom it was countenanced. On that Occasion he strongly recommended Persuasion and Lenity, as the only effectual Means of gaining Men; and loudly condemned all Force and Violence, as calculated not to gain the Souls, but to destroy both the Souls and the Bodies^u. And truly he was a Man of too good Sense not to be convinced of so plain a Truth; and his acting now in direct Opposition to it, could only be owing to the Motive to which it is ascribed by a contemporary Historian, employed by him on several Occasions, and well ac-

^r Procop. Hist. Arcan. c. 11.^s Auſt. Chron. Alex.^t See above, p. 303.^u See *ibid.*

I perform the Duty of a Husband, I do not the Duty of a Christian. For he commands we should always pray: If so, we must never serve the Ends of Matrimony; for, as often as we do, we cannot pray. I suppose that the End of Matrimony is eternal Death. The Earth indeed is filled by Marriage, but Heaven by Virginity. As the Apostle permits not those, who are already married, to put away their Wives, so he forbids Virgins

to marry [which is absolutely false]. Marriage is permitted only as a Remedy against Lust; it being more tolerable to be prostituted to one Man, than to many. Thus Hierom (7). By what Heretic was ever Marriage more disparaged? It was upon such Prejudices, such Errors, and Misinterpretations of Scripture, that Marriage was thought unbecoming those, who administered holy Things, and Celibacy was enjoined.

quainted with his Temper and Views^w. He was engaged in many great Works, had formed vast Designs, but wanted Money; while the *Jews*, and those whom he styled Heretics, especially the *Arians*, were possessed of immense Wealth. And it was, according to that Writer, to his Want of Money, and their Wealth, that his Zeal was owing for *uniting all Men in one Faith*^x. It is certain, at least, that his Coffers, which had been drained by the *Persian* War, were filled anew by this Edict; and he was enabled to carry on his Works, and at the same time to engage in an expensive War with the *Vandals*, whom he drove in the End quite out of *Africa*. It is observable, that, Men being narrowly watched on Occasion of this Edict, and Informers encouraged to accuse such as did not conform to the Belief and Worship of the Catholic Church, many Persons of the first Rank, many who were in great Favour at Court, and even some of the chief Officers of the Empire, were found to be still addicted to the Superstition of the Gentiles, and to worship *Jupiter* in private, while they conformed in public to the Christian Rites^y. They were perhaps estranged, and no Wonder they were, from the Christian Religion, by the eternal Quarrels, and mortal Feuds, that reigned among the Christians, and were utterly unknown to the Gentiles. Perhaps they put off their Conversion till the Christians had agreed among themselves what they were, and they were not, to believe; which indeed was taking a long Term, or rather putting it off *sine die*. I might add, that the Christian Worship was now become no less idolatrous than that of the Gentiles, who therefore chose to retain their own, there being no material Difference between the one and the other, between their worshipping the antient Heroes, or the modern Saints: and as to the Articles of Belief, they were now, by the Cavils and Subtilties of the contending Parties, rendered quite unintelligible to the Christians themselves.

The Dispute about the Expression, One of the Trinity, &c. revived.

Year of
Christ 533.

The following Year 533. was revived with great Warmth in the East, the Dispute about the Expression, *One of the Trinity suffered in the Flesh*. That Expression having been condemned by Pope *Horty*, as we have seen above^z, the Monks, known at *Constanti-*

^w Procop. ubi supra.

^x Idem ibid.

^y Procop. ibid. Chron. Alex.

^z See p. 306.

Year of
Christ 533.

noble by the Name of *Acæmeta* (A), acquiescing in his Judgment, argued thus; If One of the Trinity did not suffer on the Cross, One of the Trinity was not born of the Virgin *Mary*, who therefore ought no longer to be styled the *Mother of God*. On the other hand, the *Origenist* reasoned thus; If One of the Trinity did not suffer, Christ, who suffered, was not One of the Trinity; which was the Doctrine of the present *Origenists*. Against both the Emperor, who took great Delight in such Disputes, and was as well acquainted with the Doctrine of the Church as any Man of his Age, maintained the Virgin *Mary* to be properly and truly the Mother of God, and Christ to be, in the strictest Sense, *One of the Trinity*; nay, and declared all to be Heretics who denied the one or the other. The Monks, alarmed, and not without Reason, at their being stigmatized with the Name of Heretics by the Emperor, after the Edict, which he had lately issued against Heretics of all Denominations, dispatched, without Delay, Two of their Body to *Rome*, to engage the new Pope in the Defence of a Doctrine, which was evidently grounded upon, and undeniably deducible from, that which one of his holy Predecessors had defined. This their Deputies were to represent; and, putting the Pope in mind of the Saying of the Apostle, *If I build again the Things which I destroyed, I make myself a Transgressor*², urge the Disgrace which the *Roman Church* would bring on herself, by approving at one time what she condemned at another.

Which is
maintained
by the Em-
peror, and
condemned by
some
Monks.

The Emperor no sooner heard, that the Monks were applying, than he too resolved to apply to the Pope. Having therefore drawn up a long Creed, or Confession of Faith, containing the disputed Article among the rest, *One of the Trinity suffered in the Flesh*, he dispatched Two Bishops with it to *Rome*, *Hypatius* of *Ephesus*, and *Demetrius* of *Philippi*. At the same time he wrote a very obliging Letter

Both apply to
the Pope.

^a Ad Galat. c. ii. v. 18.

(A) They were called *Acæmeta*, that is, *Watchers*, from their being constantly employed, both Night and Day, in Divine Service. For they divided themselves into Three Classes; and, succeeding each other at a stated Hour, they thus continued a perpetual Course of Divine Service without Intermission, by Night or by Day. They were also called *Studita*, and their

chief Monastery at *Constantinople Studium*, from *Studius*, a *Roman* of great Wealth and Distinction, who, renouncing the World, embraced their Manner of Life, and built that Monastery. Most of them held the Doctrine of *Nestorius*, and would not allow the Virgin *Mary* to be called truly and properly the *Mother of God* (1).

(1) Niceph. l. 15. c. 23.

Year of
Christ 533.

*The Emperor
accompanies
his Letter to
the Pope with
a Present for
St. Peter.*

*The Pope con-
sults the Ro-
man Clergy,*

*And other
Men of
Learning.*

to the Pope, congratulating him on his Election, assuring him, that the Faith contained in the Confession he sent him, was the Faith of the whole Eastern Church, and intreating him to declare, in his Answer, that he received to his Communion all who professed that Faith, and none who did not. To add Weight to his Letter, he accompanied it with a Present for *St. Peter*, consisting of several Chalice, and other Vessels of Gold, enriched with precious Stones. The Deputies of the Monks, and the Two Bishops sent by the Emperor, arrived at *Rome* about the same time; and the Pope heard both; but, being quite at a Loss what to determine, wisely declined, for the present, returning an Answer to either. He was sensible, that he could not condemn the Doctrine of the Monks, without admitting the Expression, which his Predecessor had rejected as repugnant to the Catholic Faith. But, on the other hand, he was unwilling to disoblige *Justinian*, and well apprised of the Consequences which he had Reason to apprehend from his condemning a Doctrine that was held by all the Bishops of the East, and the Emperor himself, as an Article of Faith. Being thus perplexed and undetermined, he consulted, in the first place, the *Roman* Clergy assembled by him for that Purpose; but them he found divided in their Opinions, some advising him to reject, and others thinking he ought to receive, the Confession of *Justinian*. The former alleged, that it contained the very Expression which his Predecessor *Hormisdas* had condemned in the *Scythian* Monks; and the latter, that such an Expression, when used by *Justinian*, who anathematized in his Confession *Eutyches*, *Nestorius*, and all other Heretics [which, by the way, the *Scythian* Monks did too, and in the most solemn manner], could import no kind of Heresy, though it might, when used by those Monks. The Pope, finding his own Clergy could not agree among themselves, resolved to consult those of other Churches. Had he known, that all private Opinions would be over-ruled, in the End, by the unerring Direction of the Holy Ghost, he would not have given himself so much Trouble about them. At this time flourished *Ferrandus*, Deacon of the Church of *Carthage*, one of the most learned Men of the Age, and famous to this Day, for his *Collection of Canons*. He was therefore consulted among the first by *Anatolius* Deacon of the *Roman* Church, no doubt at the Desire of the Pope; and the Answer, which he returned, was intirely agreeable to that which *St. Fulgentius*, whose Disciple he was, and the other *African* Bishops, had formerly returned to the *Scythian* Monks,

Year of
Christ 533.

Monks, when consulted by them. For he not only approved the controverted Expression, *One of the Trinity suffered in the Flesh*; but strove to prove, with all the metaphysical Subtilties and Distinctions that could be expected from a modern Schoolman, that the Divinity itself might be said to have suffered in the Flesh ^b. With *Ferrandus* agreed, as to the Expression, *One of the Trinity*, &c. all the learned Men of the Age; all declared it intirely Orthodox, nay, and taxed with Heresy such as denied it. The Pope, therefore, moved by their Agreement, assembled anew the *Roman* Clergy, with the neighbouring Bishops; and, having received in their Presence, and with their Approbation, the Confession of *Justinian*, approved the controverted Expression, as quite agreeable to the Apostolic Doctrine, and pronounced those separated from his Communion, who should thenceforth presume to dispute it. With this Judgment he acquainted the Emperor, by a Letter dated the 25th of *March*, and the *Roman* Senate by another, which he wrote about the same time, warning them not to commnicate with the Monks *Acemeta* ^c. Thus was the same Proposition condemned by one Pope, as *repugnant, without all Doubt, to the Catholic Faith, as containing the poisonous Seeds of diabolical Tares* ^d; and approved by another, as *quite agreeable to the Apostolic Doctrine*. The Advocates for Infallibility have spared no Pains, as we may well imagine, to reconcile such contradictory Definitions. In order to that, they pretend the above-mentioned Expression not to have been condemned by *Hormisdas* as heretical, but only as an Expression that was new, that *might* imply some Heresy, that had never been used by the Fathers or Councils; and nothing else, that I know of, has yet been offered by any of them on this Subject. But whether the Words of *Hormisdas*, which I have quoted above, import no more, I leave every Reader to judge.

The Pope declares the Expression orthodox, which his Predecessor had declared heretical.

Year of
Christ 534.

Baronius, in commenting the Letter which *Justinian* wrote on this Occasion to the Pope, makes long Descants on the extraordinary Deference which he paid to his Holiness. But that little or no Account ought to be made of that extraordinary Deference, will soon appear. *Justinian* indeed paid great Deference to the Pope, as well as to all other Bishops, when they agreed with him; but none at all, when they did not; thinking himself at least as well qualified as the best of them, and so he certainly was, to decide Controversies con-

Justinian paid great Regard to the Pope, when the Pope agreed in Opinion with him.

^b Ferrand. Ep. ad Anat.

^c Liberat. c. 24. & l. 8. c. de summ. Trin.

^d Suggest. Dioc. inter Ep. Hormisd. See above, p. 308.

Year of
Christ 534.

The Pope is
consulted by
the Gallican
Bishops.

cerning the Faith; and we shall soon see him entering the Lists with his Holiness himself.

The same Year 534. the Pope received Letters from *Cæsarius* of *Arles*, and some other Bishops of *Gaul*, consulting him about the Punishment they should inflict on *Contumeliosus* of *Riez*, accused before them, and guilty, by his own Confession, of some Sin of Uncleanness. On this Occasion the Pope wrote Three Letters, one to *Cæsarius* in particular, another to the other Bishops, and a Third to the Clergy of *Riez*, authorizing them (for he interposed his Authority, though they had only asked his Advice) to suspend the guilty Bishop from all Episcopal and Sacerdotal Functions, to shut him up in a Monastery for Life, and to appoint a Visitor to officiate in his room, till another Bishop was chosen ^e. These Letters are dated the 7th of *April* of the present Year; and of this Pope nothing else occurs in History that is worthy of Notice, till the Time of his Death, which happened on the 27th of *May* of the following Year 535. after he had sat 2 Years, 4 Months, and 26 Days ^f. The Letter, long supposed to have been written by him to one *Valerius*, is now allowed by all to be the Work of the Impostor *Isidorus Mercator*.

He dies.

Year of
Christ 535.

JUSTINIAN,

A G A P E T U S,

THEODATUS,
King of Italy.

Fifty-sixth BISHOP of Rome.

Agapetus
chosen.

THE Election of the new Pope was made without the least Dispute or Disturbance; which was, no Doubt, owing to the Edict *Athalaric* had caused to be set up before the Porch of the Church of *St. Peter*. In the room of the deceased Pope was chosen, and ordained on the 3d of *June*, *Agapetus*, a Native of *Rome*, Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, and the Son of *Gordianus*, Presbyter of the same Church ^g.

Justinian was no sooner informed of the Election of *Agapetus*, than he wrote to him, by the Presbyter *Heraclius*, a most obliging

^e Apud Bar. ad ann. 534. p. 222.
rat. Brev. c. 21. Lib. Pontif.

^f Vide Pagi ad hunc Ann. n. 2.

^g Libe-

and respectful Letter, congratulating him on his Promotion, and, at the same time begging him to confirm the Confession of Faith, which his Predecessor had approved, and to exclude from his Communion, as avowed Heretics, the Monks, who refused to admit the Proposition, *One of the Trinity suffered in the Flesh*. The Pope readily complied with his Request, declared that Expression intirely Orthodox, and excluded from the Communion of the Apostolic See, and the Catholic Church, the unhappy Monks, and all who, with them, should presume to dispute it. However, he took care to let the Emperor know, that he approved his Confession, as being agreeable to the Doctrine of the Fathers, though he could not help thinking it unbecoming in a Layman to dictate in Matters of Faith ^b. This Reproach *Justinian* dissembled, and wrote soon after another Letter to the Pope, suggesting to his Holiness (for neither the Wars, in which he was constantly engaged, nor the Affairs of State, could divert him from intermeddling in Ecclesiastical Matters), that it would greatly facilitate, in his Opinion, the Conversion of the *Arian* Clergy, were they suffered to keep the same Rank in the Church, which they held among those of their Sect. In the same Letter he allows the Cause of *Stephen of Larissa*, condemned and deposed by the Patriarch *Epiphanius* ⁱ, to be judged anew by the Pope; but on condition, that he sent Legates into the East, to judge it there. Lastly, he begs it as a Favour, that his Holiness would be pleased to appoint the Bishop of *Justiniana Prima* (A) his Vicar for *Illyricum*; which Dignity had been hitherto enjoyed by the Bishop of *Theſſalonica*. His Complaisance to the Pope may be well ascribed to the Desire he had of obtaining that Favour. But the Pope would not grant it; nor would he allow the converted *Arians* to keep their former Rank, or to be admitted in any other, among the Catholic Clergy, both being forbidden, said he, with respect to them, as well as to all other Heretics, by the Canons of

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Christ 535.

He excommunicates the Monks denying the Expression One of the Trinity, &c.

The Emperor advises the Pope to receive the *Arian* Clergy in the Rank they held before.

The Pope refuses to admit them.

^b Inter ep. Agap. t. 1. ep. Rom. Pont. & Agap. ep. 6.

ⁱ See above, p. 330.

(A) That City was antiently called *Prævalis*, and afterwards *Acrida*; but as it stood near the Village where *Justinian* was born, he honoured it with his own Name. It became afterwards a Patriarchal See; and the Five Provinces of the *Dacian* Diocese, with the Two *Pannonia's*, in the Diocese of *West-Illyricum*, were subjected to it (1). It was called *Justiniana*, with the Addition of *Prima*, to distinguish it from Four other Cities bearing the same Name.

(1) Just. Novel. 131. c. 3.

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Christ 535.

It was not
repugnant to
the Canons.

the Church, and the Rules of the Fathers. Both indeed were repugnant to the Practice of the *Roman Church*; but neither was forbidden by the Canons. *It is the Custom of our Church, says Pope Innocent, to grant only Lay Communion to those who return from Heretics, and not to admit any of them even to the lowest Order of the Clergy*^k. But as to the Canons of the Church, and the Rules of the Fathers, those of the great Council of *Nice* allowed the *Novatians* to retain, in the Church, the same Rank, whether Sacerdotal or Episcopal, which they held among those of their Sect^l. In the Year 397. the same Indulgence was granted by the *African Fathers* to the *Donatists*, that they might thereby be encouraged to return to the Unity of the Church^m; nay, long before that Time, in the Year 313. it had been determined, in a Council held at *Rome* under Pope *Melchiades*, that the *Donatists* should, upon their Return to the Church, enjoy the same Dignities and Honours which they enjoyed beforeⁿ. The Third Occumenical Council, that of *Ephesus*, made a Decree with respect to the *Massalian Heretics*, that if any of their Clergy would return to the Church, and anathematize, in Writing, their former Errors, they should continue in the same Station which they were in before^o. Agreeably to the Decrees of these Councils, the First of *Orleans*, held in 511. allowed the converted *Arians* to be admitted among the Clergy, in whatever Rank it should please the Bishop to place them^p. The Bishops, who composed that Assembly, seem to have been better acquainted than the Pope with the Canons of the Church, and the Rules of the Fathers. The Pope, perhaps, alluded to one of the Canons of the Council of *Eliberis* in *Spain*, forbidding Heretics, from whatever Heresy they came, to be ordained, and commanding those to be degraded, who had already been ordained^q. But that Regulation was understood to have been revoked by the subsequent Councils, especially by the Occumenical Councils of *Nice* and *Ephesus*. For the Council of *Eliberis* was held, according to the most probable Opinion, about the Year 305. that is, Twenty Years before that of *Nice*.

The Pope
sends Legates
into the East,
to re-examine

As to the Affair of the Bishop of *Larissa*, *Agapetus* promises to send Legates to try his Cause; and, in the mean time, at the Request of the Emperor, admits *Achilles* to his Communion, who had been

^k Innoc. ep. 22.

^l Con. Nic. can. 8.

^m Cod. Can. Afr. can. 48. et 58.

ⁿ August. ep. 50. ad Bonifac.

^o Conc. Eph. act. 7. decret. cont. Massalian.

^p Conc. Aurel. 1. c. 12.

^q Conc. Elib. can. 51.

ordained

ordained in the room of the deposed Bishop ; but will not allow him to exercise any Episcopal Functions, till he is farther informed by his Legates. He complains of the Patriarch for having ordained the new Bishop without the Privy of the Apostolic See, though he had done it by the Emperor's Order, it being incumbent upon him, says the Pope, on such an Occasion, to put the Emperor in mind of the Regard which was due to that See^r.

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Christ 535.
the Cause of
the Bishop
of Larissa.

With this Letter the Pope dispatched to *Constantinople* a Presbyter of the *Roman* Church, and soon after Five Bishops, with the Character of his Legates, to re-examine the Cause of the Metropolitan of *Larissa*^s. But, as to the Issue of that Affair, Authors have left us quite in the Dark.

The Issue of
that Affair
uncertain.

About the same time the Pope received a Letter from the Bishops of *Africa*, who, being delivered, at last, from the Yoke of the *Vandals*, by the Valour and Conduct of the famous *Belisarius*, had met at *Carthage*, to the Number of 227, with a Design to re-establish the antient Discipline, which had been utterly neglected during the long and cruel Persecution they had suffered under the *Arian* Kings of that Nation (A). The Letter was addressed to *John* ; but he being

The African
Bishops con-
sult the Pope.

^r Agap. ep. 4. • Concil. t. 5. p. 11.

(A) The *Vandals* or *Wandals*, originally a Gothic Nation (1), and so called from the Gothic Word *Wandelen*, which signifies to wander (2), abandoned *Spain*, which they had entered, with the *Suevians* and *Alans*, in the Year 409. and, crossing the Streights of *Gibraltar*, as they are now called, landed in *Africa*, in the Month of *May* 429. and in one Year made themselves Masters of all the Cities of *Africa*, except *Carthage*, *Cirta*, and *Hippo* (3). In the Year 439. they took *Carthage* by Surprise, and soon after reduced all *Africa*, which they kept till the Time of *Justinian*, in spite of all the Efforts used by the Emperors of the East as well as the West, to rescue that wealthy Country out of their Hands. But *Justinian* recovered it, after Two Years War, by the Conduct and Bravery of *Belisarius*, whom he employed in that Expedition. The first Year 533. *Belisarius* defeated *Gelimer*, the last King of the *African Vandals*, in a pitched Battle ; and

made himself Master of several Cities, among the rest, of *Carthage* itself, after it had been held by the *Barbarians* 95 Years. The following Year 534. he reduced the other Cities of *Africa*, with the Islands of *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and whatever else belonged to the *Vandals*, either on the Continent, or in the Islands. The *Vandals* not only professed, like the other Gothic Nations, the Doctrine of *Arius*, but bore an irreconcilable Hatred to the Catholics, who were therefore more cruelly persecuted by some of their Kings, especially by *Genferic*, *Huneric*, and *Trasamund*, than the *Arians* ever had been by the Catholic Emperors. The Bishops suffered the most ; for they were, in all 466, driven from their Sees, and either confined to the Islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, to cut Wood there, or shut up in Prisons, where they perished with Famine. This Persecution is minutely described, in Five Books, by *Victor*

(1) Procop. bell. Vand. l. 1. c. 2. vit. S. August.

(2) Matth. Præf. in Orbe Goth.

(3) Auâ.

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Christ 535.

His Answer
to them.

Justinian at-
tempts the
Reduction of
Italy.

The State of
Affairs in
Italy, at this
time.

being dead, it was delivered to *Agapetus*, his Successor. The *can* Fathers, desirous of regulating their Conduct by the Judgment of the Apostolic See, wanted to know whether they should suffer the *Arian* Clergy, who returned to the Church, to remain in their former Stations, or should only receive them to Lay Communion. The same Letter they begged, that the Bishops, Presbyters, and monks, as well as the other Ecclesiastics of *Africa*, who should go into Countries beyond Sea, without the Permission of their superiors, might be treated as Heretics. Their View in this was to prevent their Clergy from recurring, on every slight Occasion, to the Pope; which had been formerly the Cause of endless Disputes between *Rome* and *Africa*. *Agapetus*, however, granted their Request; and, as to the *Arian* Clergy, he returned to the same Answer, which he had given to *Justinian*; but he refused them to allow the Ecclesiastics of that Sect, who renounced their errors, a competent Maintenance out of the Revenues of the Church.

In the mean time the Emperor *Justinian*, encouraged by the surprising Success that had attended his Arms in the Reduction of *Africa*, resolved, in the next place, to attempt that of *Italy*. The Death of *Amalasuntha* supplying him with a no less plausible Pretence for making War on the *Goths*, and driving them out of the Country, than the deposing of *Hilderic* had offered him for making War on the *Vandals*, and driving them out of *Africa*. *Theodoric* bequeathed his *Italian* Dominions to his Grandson *Athalaric*, as I have related above. But, he being under Age, his Mother *Amalasuntha* assumed upon her the Administration, during his Minority. She was the Daughter of *Theodoric*, by *Audefreda*, the Sister of *Clovis*, King of the *Franks*; and is highly commended, by all the Writers of those Times, for her Piety, Religion, Wisdom, and Learning. *Justinian*, who succeeded *Athalaric*, in a Letter, which he wrote to the *Roman* Senate, styles her the Glory of Princes, the Flower of

* Agap. ep. 2.

Bishop of *Vitis*, who was himself one of the Sufferers (4). After his Death the Bishops were recalled by *Hilderic*, a Prince of an humane Disposition, and a Friend to the Catholics. But he was soon driven from the Throne by *Gelimer*; and it was under Colour of maintaining his War against the Usurper, that *Justinian* began his War on the *Vandals*, to whom *Africa* had been yielded for ever by the late Emperor *Zeno*.

(4) Vict. Vit. de persecut. Vandal.

nament of her Family, the *Solomon* of Women, a Princess endowed with every good Quality becoming her Sex, well versed in the *Greek*, in the *Latin*, and in many other Languages, and thoroughly acquainted with every Branch of Learning^u. However, the *Gothic* Lords were greatly dissatisfied with her, chiefly on account of her bringing up the young King; her Son, not among military, but learned Men; an Education, said they, not at all becoming the Leader of such an active and warlike Nation as that of the *Goths*. This they spoke like true *Goths*, not knowing that the greatest Generals the World can boast of were Men of Learning. *Amalasuntha* nevertheless, not thinking it safe to disoblige them, removed the Men of Learning, whom she had placed about the young King, and suffered him to be brought up by the *Goths*, after the *Gothic* manner. But she had soon Occasion to repent of her Complaisance to them; for the Youth, now free from all Restraint, none of the *Goths* daring to reprove him, soon contracted, by his Debaucheries, and riotous Life, a lingering Distemper, of which he died in the Year 534. the Eighth of his Reign. Upon his Death, *Amalasuntha*, well apprised that the *Goths* would not suffer a Woman to rule over them, sent in great Haste for *Theodatus*, the Son of *Amalafreda*, Sister to *Theodoric*, who, at that time, led a private Life in *Tuscany*; recommended him to the *Goths*, as descended from the Royal Family, that of the *Amali*; and prevailed upon them to acknowledge him for their King. As *Theodatus* was utterly unacquainted both with Civil and Military Matters, timorous, indolent, and wholly addicted to the Study of the *Platonic* Philosophy, she did not doubt but he would be satisfied with the Title of King, and suffer her to enjoy the same Power which she had exercised during the Minority of her Son. But the unhappy Princess was soon made sensible of her Mistake. For the new King, jealous of his Authority, had no sooner ascended the Throne, than he caused her to be conveyed from *Ravenna* into *Tuscany*; and there confined her to an Island in the Lake of *Bolsena*, where she was soon after strangled, by his Order, in the Bath^w (E). As she had always lived

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 Christ 535.

Athalaric
 dies.

And is suc-
 ceeded by
 Theodatus.

Who puts
 Amalasuntha
 to Death.

^u Cassiod. l. 10. ep. 4.
 c. 59.

^w Procop. Bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 4. Jornand. de reb. Get.

(E) Procopius writes, that *Theodatus* of the uncommon Regard the Emperor caused her to be put to Death, at the Instance seemed to have for her (1).
 fligation of the Empress *Theodora*, jealous

(1) Procop. anec.

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Christ 535.

Justinian,
to revenge
her Death,
makes War
on the Goths.

Theodatus
sends the
Pope, with
the Character
of his Em-
bassador, to
sue for Peace.

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Christ 536.

The Poverty
of the Roman
Church, at
this Time.

in great Friendship and Amity with *Justinian*, who was extremely desirous of reuniting *Italy* to the Empire, and had, at this time, a victorious Army on foot, with a very able and experienced General at their Head, he thought no other Pretence could better justify, in the Eyes of the World, his making War on the *Goths*, than that of revenging the Death of his Friend and Ally. Under Colour therefore of revenging it, he ordered *Belisarius* to make a Descent upon *Sicily*, and, at the same time, *Mundus*, Commander of the Troops in *Illyricum*, to march into *Dalmatia*, which was subject to the *Goths*, and attempt the Reduction of *Salonæ*, the better to open a Passage into *Italy*. *Mundus* made himself Master of *Salonæ*, and *Belisarius*, landing without Opposition in *Sicily*, reduced that Island with more Expedition than he himself expected ^x. *Theodatus*, alarmed at the surprising Success of the Emperor's Arms, resolved, as he was an utter Stranger to Military Affairs, to sue for Peace, and oblige the Pope to interpose his Mediation, as the most effectual Means of obtaining it. He commanded him accordingly to repair to *Constantinople*, with Proposals for an Accommodation; threatening to destroy the City of *Rome*, and to put the whole People to the Sword, as well as the Senate, if he did not succeed in his Negotiation, and divert the Emperor from pursuing the War. *Agapetus* was far advanced in Years; but nevertheless, not daring to decline the Commission, set out, without Delay, in the very Beginning of the following Year 536. It is observable, that the *Roman* Church, which we have hitherto seen abounding in Wealth above all the Churches of the Christian World, was reduced at this time to so great a Poverty, that the Pope was obliged to pawn, with the King's Treasurer, the sacred Vessels, for ready Money, wherewithal to defray the Charges of his Journey; which the King no sooner knew, than he ordered them to be restored ^y. The Writers of these Times tell us, that, in the late Elections, some of the Candidates had engaged to pay large Sums, in case they were chosen; nay, that to purchase Votes they did not even scruple to mortgage the Lands and Revenues of the Church. Had any such Simoniacs ever been chosen, we might easily account for the present Poverty of that Church. But as we are assured by *Baronius*, that none of them ever were chosen, we are quite at a Loss how to account for it. Pope *Agapetus* had neither Gold nor Silver, as *Ba-*

^x Procop. *ibid.* c. 5.

^y Cassiod. *var. ep.* l. 2. ep. 2.

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Christ 536.

Miracles said
to have been
wrought by
Agapetus.

ronius observes, no more than his Predecessor *Peter*; but was as rich as that Apostle in miraculous Gifts; and these he displayed at his first landing in *Greece*, by curing a Man from his Birth both Cripple and Dumb, who, at his Command, stood up and spoke. A greater Miracle than that which was, at the Gate of the Temple, wrought by *St. Peter*! With this, and many other wondrous Transactions, Posterity would have been utterly unacquainted but for Pope *Gregory* 2, who has collected, with great Care, all the Events of that nature, which had escaped the Knowledge of the Writers, who flourished at the Time when they are supposed to have happened.

The King
changes his
Mind, as to
the Terms of
Peace.

The Pope
refuses to
communicate
with Anthi-
mus of Con-
stantinople;
and why.

Agapetus arrived at *Constantinople* about the 20th of *February*, and was received by the Emperor, and the great Men at Court, with all the Respect that was due to the First Bishop of the Catholic Church. As to the Affair, on which he was sent, he had no Occasion to mention it either to the Emperor or his Ministers; the King having, upon some Advantages gained by his Troops in *Dalmatia*, changed his Mind with respect to the Terms of Peace, which he had enjoined the Pope to propose. But Matters of a different Nature, and more suitable to his Profession, kept *Agapetus* still at *Constantinople*. The preceding Year died, on the 5th of *June*, *Epiphanius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*; and in his room was preferred, by the Interest of the Empress *Theodora*, *Anthimus*, translated from the See of *Trapezus* or *Trebisond* to that of the Imperial City. As Translations were prohibited by the Canons, and, besides, the new Patriarch was violently suspected of *Eutychnianism*, the Empress, by whom he was patronized, being known to countenance that Doctrine and Party, the Pope refused to communicate with him till he returned to his former See, and, anathematizing *Eutyches*, publicly received the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*. On the other hand, the Empress spared no Pains to engage the Bishops in the Defence of *Anthimus*; and many she did engage, either by Promises, or the Money, which she is said to have plentifully distributed among them on that Occasion^a. These, at her Instigation, not only persuaded the Emperor, that the Faith of *Anthimus* was altogether Orthodox; but, pretending to suspect that of the Pope, painted him as one who was no Enemy, so far as they could judge, to the Doctrine of *Nestorius*. Upon this Imputation the Emperor,

^a Greg. 1. 3. Dialog. c. 3.

^a Zonar. Ann. part. 3. in Justinian.

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Christ 536.

at the next Audience, examined the Pope very narrowly about his Faith ; and found it, to his great Satisfaction, intirely agreeable to his own, and that of the Church. However, as he entertained as good an Opinion of the Faith of *Anthimus*, he did all that lay in his Power to prevail upon the Pope to communicate with him.

Quarrels
with the Em-
peror.

But *Agapetus* was inflexible. He promised, indeed, to admit the pretended Patriarch to his Communion, as Bishop of *Trebisond*, provided he first received the Council of *Chalcedon*, and anathematized *Eutyches*, with all who adhered to him. But, at the same time, declared, that, as he had been raised to the See of *Constantinople*, in Defiance of the Canons, he neither could, nor ever would, ac-

The Emperor
threatens
him ; but he
is not inti-
midated with
his Threats.

knowlege him for lawful Bishop of that City. *I will have you to acknowledge him for lawful Bishop of Constantinople*, replied the Emperor, with a threatening Voice, provoked at the Peremptoriness of the Pope. *Acknowledge him this Moment, or this Moment I drive you from hence into Exile.* At these Words the Pope lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, *I expected*, said he, with great Coolness, *to see a most religious and Christian Emperor ; and therefore chearfully undertook, in my old Age, so long and painful a Journey. But I find, to my great Disappointment and Surprize, that I have to deal with a new Dioclesian.* Then turning to the Emperor, *But know, Sir*, he added, *that I dread not your Anger ; I fear not your Menaces ; dispose of me as you please ; I shall think it the greatest Happiness to lay down my Life in so good a Cause.* Had the Emperor been a *New Dioclesian*, the Pope would have

The Emperor
is reconciled
to him.

paid dear for the Liberty he took. But *Justinian* was so far from resenting it, as he might, and perhaps ought to have done, that, applauding his Firmness and Intrepidity, he was that Moment reconciled to him, and treated him ever after with the greatest Respect, and even Veneration. The Pope, seeing the Emperor thus appeased, and disposed to hear what he had to object against *Anthimus*, assured him, that the Bishop of *Trebisond* was no Catholic, but a known Enemy to the Catholic Faith, and the Council of *Chalcedon* ; that none could recommend him, but such as were Enemies to both ; and that he was therefore greatly surpris'd to find his Cause was so warmly espoused by so religious and Catholic a Prince. " But that you may not think, he added, that I thus arraign him " of Heresy without just Reason and Grounds, let *Anthimus* him- " self be sent for ; let him be asked, in your Presence, whether " he

Agapetus.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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" he acknowledges Two Natures in Christ." The Emperor approved the Motion; *Anthimus* was immediately sent for; was interrogated both by the Pope and the Emperor, concerning the Mystery of the Incarnation. But to their Interrogations he only returned indirect; evasive, and equivocal Answers; nor could he ever be brought to own, in plain Terms, Two Natures in Christ. The Emperor therefore, no longer questioning the Truth of what he had been told by *Agapetus*, ordered the new Patriarch to be immediately removed: *Anthimus* and he was removed accordingly; none of his Friends venturing ^{sent into Exile, and} to interpose in his behalf. In his room was chosen, and, at ^{Mennas chosen in his room.} the Request of the Emperor, ordained by the Pope, *Mennas* or *Menas*, who on several Occasions had distinguished himself by his Zeal for the Catholic Faith, and the Council of *Chalcedon* ^b. " Thus " did the High Pontiff, using the Plenitude of his Power, and ex- " erting that Authority, which raises him above the Canons, depose " the first Bishop of the East, and substitute another in his room, " without the Concurrence of a Council, though the Concurrence " of a Council was required by the Canons." With this Epiphonema *Baronius* closes his Account of the present Transaction, set forth by him in a very different Light from that, in which it has been placed by the contemporary Writers^c. For, according to their Account, neither was *Anthimus* deposed, nor *Mennas* substituted in his room, nor any other Power exerted or exercised on this Occasion, by the High Pontiff, but that which was common to him with all other Bishops, at least with all the Patriarchs, and which they might have exerted and exercised as well as he. As *Anthimus* was suspected of Heresy; as he had been translated, without Cause, from one Church to another, contrary to the Canons; every Patriarch had a Right to exclude him from his Communion, till he purged himself from that Suspicion, and returned to his former See; and the High Pontiff did no more. It was therefore at his Remonstrances only, and by his Influence, not by his Authority, that the new Patriarch was driven from his See.

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The Conduct of the Pope, on this Occasion, no Proof of his Supremacy.

That from the Conduct of the Pope, on this Occasion, nothing can be concluded in favour of the Supremacy, is owned even by a Jesuit, and a Jesuit of no mean Character^d, notwithstanding the

^b Syn. Constantin. sub Men. Act. i. Liberat. in Breviar. c. 21, 22. Vigil. c. 2. Niceph. l. 17. c. 19. Evagr. l. 4. c. 11. ^c Bar. ad ann. 536. p. 262. ^d P. Ducloux. hist. du Nest. p. 380.

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great Stress that is laid on it by his Brother *Bellarmino*, by *Baronius*, and by most other *Roman Catholic Writers*. “*Anthimus*, says that Jesuit, was not, properly speaking, deposed. Deposition supposes a lawful or canonical Election; which that of the pretended Patriarch was not. As he had not therefore been yet acknowledged by the First See, the Bishop of that See had no Occasion to assemble a Council, in order to deny him his Communion. In such Circumstances every Patriarch had a Power to act in the same manner as the Pope acted; and in the same manner they did act, when they knew, or only suspected, the Election of their pretended Colleague to be uncanonical.” If every Patriarch had a Power to act in the same manner as the Pope acted, in what did the Pope exert his *Plenitude of Power*, his paramount Authority? As for the Substitution of *Mennas*, he was no-ways at all concerned in it, *Mennas* having been chosen, as we read in the Acts of a Council that was held soon after, by *the Suffrages of the Emperor, of the Clergy, of the Nobles, and the People*. The new Patriarch was indeed ordained by the Pope. But that any other Bishop might have done as well as he; and his having been preferred therein to other Bishops was looked upon by all, and is expressed by *Liberatus*, as a Favour. *The Pope*, says that Writer^f, *by the Emperor's Favour, ordained Mennas, consecrating him with his own Hand*.

The Pope ascribes to himself the deposing of Anthimus.

His Vanity.

The Pope immediately notified the Deposition of *Anthimus*, and Election of *Mennas*, by a circular Letter, to all the Bishops, who had communicated with the former; and in that Letter he had the Vanity to boast, that *the heretical Bishop had been deposed by the Apostolic Authority, with the Concurrence and Help of the most religious Emperor*. He there bestows great Commendations on the new Patriarch; takes care to let the Bishops know, that he had ordained him; and modestly adds, that his having been ordained by him contributed much to his Dignity, seeing he was the first Eastern Bishop who, since the Time of St. *Peter*, had had the Honour of being consecrated by any who sat in the same Chair. As he had received Ordination at his Hands, the Pope flatters himself, that he will prove in no respect inferior to any ordained in those Parts by St. *Peter* himself^g. So great was his Modesty!

^e Syn. Conf. sub Menn.
sub Men. Act. x. et Agapet. ep. 5.

^f Liberat. Brev. c. 21.

^g Conf. Synod.

While

While *Agapetus* continued at *Constantinople*, Two Memorials were presented to him, worthy of Notice; the one in the Name of the Bishops and Clergy of the Oriental Diocese, and *Jerusalem*; the other in the Name of the Monks of the same Diocese, of *Jerusalem*, and of *Constantinople*. The first was thus addressed: *To our most holy Lord, and most blessed Father of Fathers, Agapetus Archbishop of the Romans, and Patriarch, the Bishops of the Oriental Diocese, and those who dwell in the holy Places of Christ our Lord, with the Ambasiatores (F), and other Clerks (G), assembled in this Royal City.* That of the Monks was addressed thus: *To Agapetus, our most holy Lord, most blessed Archbishop of antient Rome, and Oecumenical Patriarch, Marianus Presbyter and Primate of the Monasteries of the Royal City, with the other Archimandrites, or Abbots, of the same City, of Jerusalem, and of the Oriental Diocese assembled in the same Synod (H).*

Year of
Christ 536.

Two Memo-
rials present-
ed to him,

againſt the
leading Men
of the Euty-
chian Party.

The Purport of both Memorials is the ſame. They intreat the Pope to appriſe the Emperor, with whom he had ſucceeded ſo well againſt *Anthimus*, of the incredible Miſchief that was done daily at *Constantinople* by the Followers of *Eutyches*, eſpecially by *Severus*;

The Purport
of theſe Me-
morials.

(F) *Ambaſiator* was the Latin Word, in thoſe Times, for *Reſident*; and answered the Greek Word *Apocriſarius*. For Biſhops not being allowed to be long abſent from their Churches, without the Emperor's ſpecial Leave or Command, they kept a kind of Reſidents in the Imperial City, to act in behalf of them, and their Churches. Theſe Reſidents are frequently mentioned by the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, and ſtyled by them *Apocriſarii* or *Reſponſales* (1). In Proceſs of Time the Emperors gave the Name of *Apocriſarii* to their own Embaſſadors; ſo that it became common to all Reſidents and Legates, by whomſoever employed (2).

(G) By the Word *Clerici*, Clerks, ſeem to be meant here all Eccleſiaſtical Orders below the Episcopical, though that Word is frequently uſed to denote the inferior Orders, that is, the ſeveral Orders below thoſe of the Biſhops, Presbyters, and Dea-

cons. Thus the Third Council of *Carthage* (3), *St. Ambroſe* (4), *Hilarius* (5), and *Epiphanius* (6), ſpeak of the *Clerici* or Clerks as diſtinct from the Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons.

(H) It is quite ſurpriſing, that the Roman Catholic Writers ſhould lay any Streſs on theſe high-ſounding Titles; nothing being better known than that, for many Ages, thoſe of *blessed, moſt blessed, holy, moſt holy*, were given indifferently to all Biſhops. They then imported real Sanctity or Holineſs of Life; but now that the Popes have appropriated them to themſelves, they no longer denote Virtue or Holineſs, but Grandeur and Power. As for the Title of *Oecumenical*, *Juſtinian* ſtyles *Mennas*, *Epiphanius*, and *Anthimus*, Archbiſhops, and Oecumenical Patriarchs, in ſeveral of his Reſcripts (7); and *Leo* beſtows the ſame Titles on *Stephen*, in Ten Laws, one after the other (8).

(1) Liberat. Brev. c. 12. Evagr. l. 4. c. 38. Juſtin. Novel. 6. c. 2. et Nov. 79. c. 1. (2) Suicer. Theſaur. com. 1. p. 456. (3) Concil. Carth. 3. t. 15.

(4) Ambroſ. de dignit. Sacerd. c. 3. (5) Pſeud. Ambroſ. in Eph. iv. (6) Epiphani. hæref. 68. (7) Juſtin. Novel. 7. 16. 42. (8) Leo Imp. Conſtit. Novel. 1, 2, 3, &c.

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who had been formerly driven from the See of *Antioch* by the Emperor *Justin*, as an incorrigible Heretic, and the most inveterate Enemy the Orthodox had^b. From these Memorials it appears, that the *Eutychian* Party was anew become formidable in the East; that they were not only countenanced by the Empress *Theodora*, but by several Persons, both Men and Women, of the first Rank, by some of the Emperor's chief Ministers; nay, and by several Bishops; that *Severus*, though proscribed by *Justin*, and condemned to have his Tongue cut out, now publicly appeared at *Constantinople*, and there publicly preached, with great Success, the Doctrine of *Eutyches*; that his Disciples, namely *Petrus* of *Apamea*, *Zoaras*, and *Isaacius* a *Persian*, had erected, in the City and Suburbs of *Constantinople*, Altars and Baptisteries in Opposition to the Altars and Baptisteries of the Catholics; that they held unlawful Assemblies, gained daily great Numbers of Followers, raised frequent Disturbances, and even strove to drive the Catholics from their Churches, and appropriate them to those of their Sect. Both the Bishops and the Monks charge *Isaacius* with having first struck, and afterwards defaced, torn, and thrown into the Fire, a Picture of the Emperor, blaspheming his Name, and calling him a Heretic. The Monks, intreating the Pope to provide a Remedy against the prevailing Evils, tell him, that as *St. Peter* went from the East to *Rome*, to oppose the wicked Attempts and Designs of *Simon* the Magician; so was his Holiness sent by Heaven from *Rome* into the East, to defeat the no less wicked Views and Artifices of *Severus*, *Petrus*, *Zoaras*, and *Isaacius*, and bring them to Confusion, with all their Friends and Abettorsⁱ.

Agapetus
dies.

The Pope was indisposed, and confined to his Bed, when he received the Memorials. He perused them, however, and sent them to the Emperor. But, in the mean time, his Illness increasing, he died a few Days after, according to the most probable Opinion, on the 22d of *April* of the present Year 536. having presided in the *Roman* See 10 Months, and 19 Days. His Obsequies were performed with such Pomp and Magnificence, with such a Concourse of People of all Ranks and Professions, as had never before been seen at *Constantinople*. The Ceremony is described, and in a Style that does not at all favour of the Barbarism of the Age, by an

His pompous
Obsequies.

^b See above, p. 293.

ⁱ Syn. Constant. sub Menna, Act. 2.

ymous Writer, who seems to have been an Eye-witness of all Particulars he relates ^k (A).

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When the Funeral Rites were ended, the Body of the deceased was conveyed, in a Leaden Coffin, to *Rome*, and there deposited in the Basilic of St. *Peter*. He is greatly commended by the temporary Writers, especially by the above-mentioned anonymous Author, by *Liberatus*, and by the Fathers of the Council that was at *Constantinople* soon after his Death ^l. He is now honoured *He is sainted.* Saint by the *Greeks* as well as the *Latins*, his Festival being by the former on the 17th of *April*, and by the latter on the 1st of *September*, perhaps the Day on which his Remains were translated to *Rome* ^m (B).

Besides the Letters of the present Pope, which I have already mentioned, he wrote one in 535. in Answer to a Letter from *Cæsarius* of *Arles*, applying to him in Behalf of the Poor in *Gaul*. *His Letter to Cæsarius of Arles.* the *Roman* Church, as she abounded in Wealth above all other Churches, used, on several Occasions, to contribute considerable

Biblioth. Vatican. lib. num. 1538. apud Regist. S. Greg. p. 194. Vide Bar. ad ann. p. 271. ^l Liberat. c. 21. Concil. sub Menn. ^m Vide Pagi ad hunc l. 10.

) The Author has transcribed, *ver-*
a Passage from the Letter, which
from wrote to *Aletius*, on occasion of
Obsequies of *Ruffina*; whence we
probably conclude him to have be-
d to the *Latin* Church, and to have
en in that Language.

) Of this Pope, *Sophronius* relates,
the Inhabitants of a City, which he
Rumellum, having, out of mere Spite
Malice, accused their Bishop, as if he
egiously used the sacred Vessels at his
e, the Pope, without any farther In-
, dispatched Two of his Clerks, with
rs to bring the Bishop to *Rome*, bound,
on foot. The Clerks obeyed, and the
p was, on his Arrival, immediately
eyed to Prison, without so much as
heard by his Judge, or suffered to
ir before him. But he had not been
thus confined, when his Innocence
revealed in a Vision to the Pope, and
Vision was confirmed by a most stu-
ous Miracle, wrought in the Sight of

the whole City of *Rome*; as is related at
Length by the above-mentioned Writer
(1). This Tale, however improbable and
absurd in all its Circumstances, however
injurious to the Memory of *Agapetus*, *Bar-*
onius pretends to believe; and thence con-
cludes, that though the Pope, as, after all,
he is but a Man, may, like other Men,
be at first imposed upon, and swayed by
false Informations; yet Providence will in-
terpose in the End, and even prevent him,
by the greatest of Miracles, if necessary,
from judging wrong and unjustly (2). This
is ascribing to the Pope a more extensive
Infallibility than any Pope has yet claimed;
an Infallibility even with respect to private
Causes, that have no kind of relation to
Faith, or to Doctrine. It was, no doubt,
for the sake of this Inference, that *Bar-*
onius adopted so ridiculous and senseless a
Tale; and it is only upon such Tales that
this or any other Infallibility can be
grounded.

(1) Prat. Spirituale, c. 150.

(2) Bar. ad ann. 536. p. 273.

The History of the P O P E S, or Agapetus.

*He thinks the
Decrees of a
National Syn-
od binding,
even with re-
spect to him.*

Sums for the Relief of the Poor of other Churches, and their indigent Clergy^p. But at this time she was quite destitute of Money, as we have seen; and, as for her Lands and Possessions, *Agapetus* tells the Primate of *Arles*, that the venerable Decrees of the Fathers, forbidding Alienations on any Consideration whatever, are so peremptory and express, that they can by no means be dispensed

with. *You must not ascribe, says he, our not complying with your Request to Avarice, or any temporal View. It is not the Love of Money, but the strict Account, which we are to give the last Day, that restrains us from granting what you demand, WE BEING*

BOUND, AS WE SHALL ANSWER IT ON THAT DAY, INVIOLABLY TO OBSERVE WHATEVER THE AUTHORITY OF A SYNOD HAS DECREED^q. The Synod, which the Pope speaks of, was but a National Synod, held in *Italy*, under *Symmachus*^r; and if he thought himself bound in Conscience to observe inviolably the Canons and Decrees of a National Council, it cannot be doubted, but he thought himself bound to observe, with the same Strictness, the Canons and Decrees of the Oecumenical Councils, and, consequently, that he was an utter Stranger to the boasted *Plenitude of Power, and paramount Authority, raising him above all the Decrees and Canons of the Church*, with which we have seen him above vested by *Baronius* (A). As for the Letter, said to have been written by this Pope to *Anthimus*, it is now rejected by all as spurious.

As

^p See Vol. I. p. 29. et Vol. II. p. 279. p. 267.

^q Agapet. ep. 6.

^r See above,

(A) By the Decree of the Council, held under *Symmachus*, as it is quoted by *Agapetus*, the alienating of Lands or immoveable Possessions belonging to the *Roman Church*, was forbidden in all Cases, without Exception. But, by the more Christian and equitable Laws of the Emperors, forbidding Alienations, Two Cases were always excepted; *viz.* when by no other means the Poor could be relieved in time of Famine, nor the Captives be redeemed from Slavery. In either of these Cases it was lawful, nay, and agreeable to what had been practised by the greatest Saints, to sell or pawn even the sacred Utenils, and consecrated Vessels of the Church. Thus *St. Ambrose* did not scruple to melt down the Communion-Plate

of the Church of *Milan*, to redeem some Captives, who otherwise must have continued in Slavery; and, when the *Arians* charged him, on that Account, with Sacrilege, he wrote, in Answer to that Charge, an excellent Apology, which has reached our Times, and is well worth the Perusal of every Reader. "Is it not better," says he there, among other things, that "the Plate should be melted by the Bishop to maintain the Poor, when they "can be maintained by no other means, "than that it should become the Spoil, "and Plunder of a sacrilegious Enemy? "Will not the Lord thus expostulate "with us? Why did you suffer so many "helpless Persons to die with Hunger, "when you had Gold to relieve and "support

As the Removal of *Anthimus* from the See of *Constantinople* was chiefly owing to the Influence of *Agapetus*, and the Interest he had with the Emperor, his Death was no sooner known to those of

“ support them? Why were so many
“ Captives carried away, and sold with-
“ out Ransom? Why were so many suf-
“ fered to be slain by the Enemy? It had
“ been better to have preserved the Ves-
“ sels of living Men, than lifeless Metals.
“ To this what Answer can be returned?
“ Should one say, I was afraid lest the
“ Temple of God should want its Orna-
“ ments; Christ will answer; *My Sacra-
“ ments require no Gold, nor do they please
“ me the more for being ministered in Gold,
“ as they are not to be bought with Gold.*
“ The Ornament of my Sacraments is
“ the Redemption of Captives; and those
“ alone are precious Vessels, that redeem
“ Souls from Death”. The Saint con-
“ cludes, that though it would be highly cri-
“ minal for a Man to convert the sacred
“ Vessels to his own private Use, yet it is so
“ far from being a Crime, that he looks upon
“ it as an Obligation incumbent upon him,
“ and his Brethren, to prefer the living
“ Temples of God to the unnecessary Orna-
“ ments of the material Buildings (1). Of
“ the same Opinion were St. *Austin* (2),
“ *Acacius* of *Amida* (3), *Cyril* of *Jerusa-*
“ *lem* (4), *Deogratias* of *Carthage* (5), and
“ others without Number; who are all
“ greatly commended by the contemporary
“ Catholic Writers, for parting with the
“ Ornaments and the sacred Vessels of their
“ Churches, to redeem the Captives from
“ Slavery. The Emperor *Justinian*, in his
“ Law against Sacrilege, forbids the Church-
“ Plate, Vestments, or any other Gifts, to
“ be sold or pawned; but adds, *Except in
“ case of Captivity or Famine, the Lives or
“ Souls of Men being preferable to any Ves-*
“ *sels or Vestments whatever* (6). Were the
“ ruling Men of the Church of *Rome* of the
“ same Opinion; were they persuaded, that
“ the Souls of Men are preferable to any
“ Vessels or Vestments; we should not see
“ such an immense Profusion of rich and

unnecessary Ornaments in their Churches,
while their Streets are crowded with so
many miserable Objects, and many Thou-
sand of Christian Captives suffer, among
the Infidels, the most tyrannical Bondage.
Baronius observes here, that tho’ the Pope
be, by the Prerogative of his Primacy, the
common Father of all the Poor through-
out the Christian World, though he was
intreated by a Saint (*Casarius* of *Arles*,
sainted by the Deference he paid to the
Roman See) to relieve them; yet, as he
could not relieve them without alienating
the Goods of the Church, he inviolably
adhered to the Decree forbidding such
Alienations; that all future Popes might
learn of him, how inflexible and steady
they should be with respect to that Point
(7); that is, in other Words, that all
future Popes might learn of him to be cruel
to the Poor, and suffer them to perish
rather than to part even with the super-
fluous Ornaments of the Church to relieve
them. A Christian Lesson indeed! Had
St. *Ambrose*, or St. *Austin*, lived in the
time of this Pope, they would have
thought the Title of *the Father of the
Poor* but ill bestowed on him.

Theodorus Lecter writes, that, in his
Time, about the Year 520. the *Roman*
Church had not yet any immoveable Pos-
sessions, it being, according to him, the
Custom of that Church, when any such
were left her, to sell them immediately,
and divide the Money, accruing from the
Sale, into Three Shares; one of which
was appropriated to the Fabric, another
was given to the Bishop, and the Third
was distributed among the rest of the
Clergy (8). This Custom continued, in
the Opinion of *Valesius*, to obtain at *Rome*
till near the Time of Pope *Gregory the
Great*. But that both he and *Theodorus*
were mistaken, appears from the Decree
of the Council held at *Rome* in 502. as it

(1) Ambr. de Offic. l. 2. c. 28. (2) Possid. Vit. Aug. c. 24. (3) Socrat.
l. 7. c. 24. (4) Theodoret. l. 2. c. 24. (5) Vict. de perfec. Vandal. l. 1.
(6) Codex Just. l. 1. tit. 2. de sacrosanct. Eccles. leg. 21. (7) Bar. ad ann. 535.
p. 256. (8) Theodor. Lect. Collectan. l. 2. p. 567.

Year of
Christ 536.

Council held
at Constantinople,
under Mennas.

In which are
deposed, and
anathematized,
the
leading Men
of the Euty-
chian Party.

of the *Eutychian* Party, than they began anew, being countenanced by the Empress, to exert all their Interest and Power in favour of the deposed Patriarch, pretending that he still retained his Dignity, since he could not, agreeably to the Canons, be condemned or removed without the Concurrence of a Council. That no room might therefore be left for such a Plea, *Mennas*, the new Patriarch, assembled a Council, in great Haste, consisting of the Bishops, who were then at *Constantinople*, and in that Neighbourhood, in all 55. At that Assembly presided *Mennas*, having on his Right-hand the Five Legates, whom *Agapetus* had sent to *Constantinople* the Year before, with 25 other Bishops; and 23 on his Left. *Baronius* will have the Legates to have presided in Conjunction with the Patriarch &. But that *Mennas* alone presided, is manifest from the authentic Acts of the Council, which is there said to have been held *in the Imperial City of New Rome, our most holy Lord, and most blessed Archbishop and Patriarch Mennas presiding, and the Pope's Legates, with the other Bishops, sitting and hearing together with him*, confidentibus ei, et coaudientibus. As nothing is there said of the Pope's Legates, but what is said of the other Bishops, either the Legates did not preside, or the other Bishops all presided as well as they. In this Council were read several Memorials, containing heavy Complaints against *Anthimus*, *Severus*, *Petrus* of *Apamea*, *Zoaras*, and their Followers: *Anthimus* was several times summoned to appear; and upon his not appearing, divested by the Council of the Episcopal Dignity, and declared unworthy of the Name of a Christian †. As for *Severus*, and *Petrus* of *Apamea*, they were charged with several enormous Crimes, and thereupon degraded and anathematized by all the Fathers of the Council, agreeably to the Sentence, which had been formerly pronounced against them by *Euphemius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and his Council ‡.

† Bar. ad ann. 536. p. 274.
‡ Ibid. Act. 5.

§ Syn. Constant. sub Menna, Act. 1, 2, 3, 4.

is here quoted by *Agapetus*: *Let it be lawful for none, from this Day forward, to sell or alienate any Farm, how large soever, or how small soever, that belongs to the Church, &c* (9). are the Words of the Decree. That the Decree relates to the

Roman Church alone, is evident from the Context; and, on the other hand, we cannot suppose the Council would have made such a Decree, had no Farm or Lands belonged to that Church.

The present Council met, for the first time, on the 2d of *May*; and broke up on the 4th of *June*, when they acquainted the Emperor with the Judgment they had given; who thereupon issued an Edict, dated the 6th of *August*, ordering their Judgment to be put in Execution, and, at the same time, banishing *Anthimus*, *Severus*, *Petrus* of *Apamea*, *Zoaras*, and their Followers, from *Constantinople*, and all the other great Cities, condemning their Books to the Flames, forbidding all Persons to keep them by them, and all Transcribers to copy them, on Pain of having their Hand cut off w. This Law was addressed, *To Mennas, the most holy and most blessed Archbishop, and Universal Patriarch* (A). By this Edict Peace was restored for a while to the Church of *Constantinople*.

Year of
Christ 536.

And banished
by the Em-
peror.

JUSTINIAN, SILVERIUS, THEODATUS, } Kings of Italy.
VITIGES, }

Fifty-seventh BISHOP of Rome.

UPON the Death of *Agapetus* was ordained in his room, on Silverius the 8th of *June*, after a Vacancy of 47 Days ^x, *Silverius*, ^{chosen.} the Son of Pope *Hormisdas*, begotten, as *Baronius* assures us, in lawful Wedlock y. The *Bibliothecarian* writes, that he purchased his Dignity of King *Theodatus*, who, in Consideration of the Sum *Silverius* paid him, named him, without consulting the People or Clergy, and commanded all, on Pain of Death, to receive and acknowledge him for lawful Bishop z. But *Liberatus*, who lived at this very Time, takes no kind of notice of any Violence used by the King, or any Simony practised by *Silverius*. "The City of *Rome*, says that Writer, hearing of the Decease of *Agapetus*, chose the Subdeacon *Silverius*, the Son of Pope *Hormisdas*, to be ordained in his room a." It was probably to justify the Intrusion of *Vigilius*, which we shall soon have Occasion to speak

Whether his
Election was
owing to Si-
mony and
Violence.

^w Justin. Novel. 42.
ann. p. 536, C.

^x Vide Pagi ad ann. 536. n. 16.

^z Anast. in Silver.

^a Liberat. Brev. 22.

^y Bar. ad hunc

(A) In some Latin Editions of the Councils, the Word *Universal* has been left out here, and where-ever else it was added to the Title of the Bishop of *Constantinople*. The *Latins* charged the *Greeks* with having foisted it in, and the *Greeks* the *Latins* with having designedly left it out. It is now no longer doubted, but the *Latins* were therein guilty of unfair Dealing, and not the *Greeks*.

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of, that the Election of *Silverius* was said to have been owing to Violence and Simony. However that be, certain it is, that he was acknowledged by all for lawful Bishop of *Rome*.

Belisarius
pursues his
Conquests in
Italy.

In the mean time *Belisarius* pursued his Conquests. Having reduced the Island of *Sicily*, almost without Opposition, he passed over, without Loss of Time, from *Messina* to *Reggio*, which opened its Gates to him. From *Reggio* he bent his March strait to *Rome*. The City of *Naples* refused to admit him; but was forced to surrender after a Twenty Days Siege ^b. The *Goths*, alarmed at the Surrender of that important Place, and ascribing, as they well might, the surprising Success that attended the Imperial Arms, to the Inactivity and Cowardice of their King, met at *Regeta*, a Place distant 280 Furlongs from *Rome*, and there deposed *Theodatus*, and raised to the Throne, in his room, *Vitiges*, an Officer renowned for his Valour and Experience in War. The new King began his Reign with causing *Theodatus* to be put to Death, lest he should raise Disturbances, or occasion Divisions, among the *Goths*, at so critical a Juncture. *Belisarius* in the mean time advanced; and *Vitiges*, not thinking himself in a Condition to defend the City against his victorious Army, left 4000 chosen Troops in it, and withdrew with the rest to *Ravenna*, having first exhorted Pope *Silverius*, and the Senate, says *Procopius*, to continue steady in their Allegiance to the *Goths*, who had deserved so well of them and their City. But he was no sooner gone than the Senate, at the Persuasion of the Pope, invited *Belisarius* to come, and take Possession of the City; which he did accordingly; the *Goths*, who could not make Head at the same time against the Enemy without, and the Citizens within the Walls, retiring by the *Flaminian*, while the *Romans* entered by the *Afinarian* Gate. Thus was the City of *Rome* reunited to the Empire, on the 10th of *December* of the present Year 536. after it had been separated from it Threescore Years ^c. *Belisarius* sent immediately the Keys of the Gates to *Constantinople*, as a Token of his Victory, and, together with them, *Leuderis* the *Gothic* Governor of the City, who had chosen rather to remain, and be taken Prisoner, than to abandon his Post, and fly with the rest of his Countrymen ^d.

Theodatus
deposed, and
Vitiges
chosen in his
room.

Rome taken
by *Belisarius*.

^b *Procop. Bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 8, 9, et 10.*
^c 19. Vide *Pagi ad ann. 537. n. 4.*

^c *Procop. ibid. c. 14. Evagr. l. 4.*
^d *Idem ibid.*

The Taking of *Rome* by *Belisarius* offered a favourable Opportunity to the Empress *Theodora*, of executing a Design, which she had formed in favour of *Anthimus*, and those of his Party, whom the Writers of these Times distinguish by the Name of *Acephali* (A). For to that Party the Empress was most zealously attached; and did not despair, notwithstanding the Sentence of the late Council, and the Imperial Edict issued to confirm it, of being able to reinstate them in the Emperor's Favour. As *Justinian* paid an extraordinary Deference to the Bishop of *Rome*, the most effectual Means that occurred to her of compassing her Design, was, to persuade the Pope, if by any means she could, to receive *Anthimus*, and the other *Acephali*, to his Communion, and exclude *Mennas* from it, with all who adhered to him. With this View she wrote to *Silverius*, earnestly intreating, or rather commanding him, to acknowledge *Anthimus* for lawful Bishop, or to repair to *Constantinople*, and there re-examine his Cause on the Spot. This Letter gave the Pope the greatest Uneasiness: he was well acquainted with the violent Temper of the Empress; he knew how dangerous a thing it was to disoblige or provoke her; and therefore often sighed in reading the Letter; and when he had read it, turning to his Friends, *I am now sensible*, said he, *that this Cause will, in the End, cost me my Life*. However, to that Letter he returned an Answer, without Delay, letting the Empress know, in a few Words, that he could not, and that she must not flatter herself he ever would, re-establish a condemned Heretic. From this Answer the Empress concluded,

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Christ 536.

The Empress
strives to gain
over the Pope
to the Euty-
chian Party.

But in vain.

(A) The *Acephali* were first heard of in *Egypt*, about the Year 482. When *Petrus Mongus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, received the *Henoticon* of *Zeno*, by which he was to anathematize the Council of *Chalcedon*, only with respect to the perplexing Article of the Two Natures (1), some of his Clergy, out of the irreconcilable Hatred they bore to that Council, continued to anathematize it without Limitation or Restriction; and, rejecting the *Henoticon*, separated themselves from their Patriarch, because he had received it. They were a kind of more rigid Euty-

chians, distinguished, as they had, at first, no particular Leader or Head, with the Name of *Acephali*; which, in Process of Time, was extended to all who did not receive the Council of *Chalcedon* (2). Pope *Hormisdas*, in a Letter, which he wrote to the Presbyters, Deacons, and the *Archimandrites* of the *Second Syria*, taxes the *Acephali* with holding the opposite Errors of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches* (3); and *Nicophorus* writes, that they acknowledged but One Nature in Christ, with the *Eutychians*; and Two Substances, with the *Nestorians* (4).

(1) See above, p. 188.
sinop. sub Menn. Act. 5.
Callist. l. 18. c. 45.

(2) Vide Leont. de Sect. Act. 5. et Synod. Constantinop. sub Menn. ibid. (4) Nicoph.

Year of
Christ 536.

She resolves
to have Silve-
rius deposed,
and Vigilius
chosen in his
room.

Vigilius
agrees to the
Terms pro-
posed by her.
Year of
Christ 537.

that nothing was to be expected from *Silverius*. But yet she did not abandon the Attempt, nor despair of Success. The Deacon *Vigilius*, whom I have mentioned above, was still at *Constantinople*, whither he had attended Pope *Agapetus*. He was a Man of excellent Parts, and great Address, but ambitious beyond measure, and ready to trample under Foot not only the Canons or Laws of the Church, but every Principle of Honour, Virtue, or Religion, that stood in the way of his Ambition. The Empress, therefore, who was no Stranger to his Character, resolved, upon the Receipt of *Silverius's* Letter, to have the Pope deposed, and the Deacon, who had long aspired to the Papal Dignity, and who she well knew would stick at nothing to earn it, chosen in his room. She sent for him accordingly, and, after a short Preamble on the base and undeserved Treatment *Anthimus*, and those of his Party, had met with, she let the Deacon know, that now her Servant *Belisarius* was Master of *Rome*, it was in her Power to dispose of the *Roman* See to whom she pleased; that she was determined *Silverius* should be removed, and that she would cause him to be substituted in his room, provided he would engage and promise, in Writing, to condemn the Council of *Chalcedon*, to receive to his Communion *Anthimus*, *Severus*, *Theodosius* the *Eutychian* Bishop of *Alexandria*, with all who were of the same Persuasion, and approve, by his Letters, their Tenets and Doctrine. If you agree to these Terms, said the Empress, I will transmit, by you, an Order for *Belisarius*, injoining him to drive out *Silverius*, to place you on his See; and will present you besides with 700 Pieces of Gold. To these Terms *Vigilius* agreed, without the least Hesitation; and, having thereupon received the promised Order for *Belisarius*, set out immediately, from *Constantinople*, on his Return to *Italy*; where he no sooner landed, than, repairing to *Rome*, where *Belisarius* then was (B), he delivered to him the Order from the Empress; and, at the same time, to engage the Gene-

* See above, p. 329.

(B) *Liberatus* supposes *Belisarius* to have been, at this time, in *Ravenna*, and Master of that City. But he was therein certainly mistaken; it being manifest from *Procopius*, and others, that *Ravenna* was

not reduced by the *Greeks*, till Two Years after, that is, till the Year 539. the Fifth of the *Gothic* War, and the 13th of the Reign of *Justinian* (1).

(1) *Procop. Bell. Goth. l. 2. c. 30. Continuat. Marcell. et Marius, ad ann. 539.*

ral to act in the Affair with more Expedition and Earnestness, promised to pay him, as soon as *Silverius* was deposed, and he installed in his room, Two hundred Pieces of Gold, out of the Seven which he was to receive^f. The *Bibliothecarian* writes, that *Belisarius* betrayed at first some Reluctancy to execute the Empress's Order; but that he soon stifled all Remorse, and quieted his Conscience, saying, The Empress commands, and it is my Duty to obey: he who seeks the Ruin of *Silverius*, meaning *Vigilius*, shall answer it on the last Day, and not I &c. He was, it seems, a better General than a Casuist.

Year of
Christ 537.
Belisarius
ordered, by
the Empress,
to depose
Silverius,
and to place
Vigilius in
his room.

Rome was, at this time, besieged by the *Goths*, and *Belisarius* in it. For *Vitiges*, returning from *Ravenna*, whither he had retired the Year before, to levy new Forces, advanced to the City, and, in the Month of *March* of the present Year, invested it with an Army of 150000 Men strong. The gallant Behaviour of the *Romans*, as well as the *Goths*, and the many Feats that were performed by both, during the Siege, which lasted a Year and Nine Days (C), are described at Length by *Procopius*^h, but quite foreign to the Subject of the present History. The Siege supplied *Vigilius*, and those of his Party, with Matter for a plausible Charge against *Silverius*. For by them the Pope was arraigned of high Treason, and a Letter was produced, which they pretended to have been written by him, inviting the King of the *Goths* into the City by the *Asi-* <sup>The Pope
falsely ar-
raigned of
high Treason.</sup> *narian* Gate, which the Pope there promised to have opened at his Approach. This *Belisarius* knew to be a malicious and bare-faced Calumny, and even discovered the Persons, by whom the Letter was forged, *viz.* *Marcus* a Lawyer, and *Julianus* a Soldier of the Guards, both, without all doubt, suborned by *Vigilius*. As he was not therefore quite lost to all Sense of Honour and Religion, his

^f Liberat. c. 22.
a cap. 17. ad fin. et l. 2. a cap. 1. ad cap. 11.

^g Anast. in Silver.

^h Vide Procop. Bell. Goth. l. 1.

(C) So long did *Vitiges* continue before *Rome*, pursuing the Siege with great Vigour, though all his Attempts, and the many Stratagems he made use of, to get into the City, were constantly defeated by the superior Skill of the *Greeks*, and their General. But a Party of the Enemy having, in the mean time, made themselves Masters of *Rimini*, which was distant but one Day's Journey from *Ravenna*, the

taking of that City alarmed the King of the *Goths* to such a Degree, that he immediately raised the Siege, and, withdrawing from before *Rome*, marched strait to *Rimini*, with a Design to recover, at all Events, so important a Place. But he was attended with no better Success in the Siege of *Rimini*, than he had been in that of *Rome*.

Year of
Christ 537.

Belisarius
strives, at
first, to save
him.

The Firm-
ness and Con-
fancy of Sil-
verius.

He is seized
by Belisarius,
and sent into
Exile.

Anastasius's
Account of
the Event.

Conscience began anew to reproach him, and he could not prevail upon himself to condemn a Man, of whose Innocence he was so fully convinced in his own Mind. But, on the other hand, *Vigilius*, quite free from all Scruples of that kind, and impatient to see himself placed on the Throne of St. *Peter*, was daily putting him in mind of the Order he had brought from the Empress, and pressing him to obey her Commands, as he tendered her Protection and Favour. *Belisarius*, however, without hearkening to him, or being moved by the Promise, which he often renewed, of paying him 200 Pieces of Gold on his Installation, resolved first to try whether he could not persuade *Silverius* to comply with the Demands of the Empress, and thereby redeem himself from the Guilt of condemning an innocent Person; for he was determined, at all Events, to keep fair with the Empress, knowing how great an Ascendant she had over her Husband. Having therefore privately sent for the Pope, he acquainted him with the Order he had received; told him, that, notwithstanding the Charge of Treason that was brought against him, he might still prevent the Execution of that Order; and, earnestly intreating him to comply with the Will of the Empress, assured him, that he could by no other means avoid the Loss of his See, and the other Calamities with which he was threatened. But all was in vain: the Pope continued firm in his Resolution, declaring anew, with great Intrepidity, that he never would condemn the Council of *Chalcedon*, nor receive any of the *Acephali* to his Communion. However, upon his being dismissed by *Belisarius*, he thought it adviseable to take Sanctuary in some of the Basilics, and retired accordingly to that of the Martyr St. *Sabina*. He apprehended that the General, finding he could not prevail upon him to yield, might seize him; and, to make room for *Vigilius*, either put him to Death, or convey him into Exile. And that, indeed, *Belisarius* now designed; and his Design he soon put in Execution. For, having, a few Days after, artfully drawn the Pope from his Sanctuary, he caused him to be seized, and to be privately conveyed to *Patara*, a City of *Lycia*. Thus *Liberatus* ⁱ.

The *Bibliothecarian*, in his Account of this Event, tells us, that *Belisarius* would not hearken to those who first charged *Silverius* with a Design of betraying the City to the Enemy; but that, finding he was arraigned of the same Treason by many others, he began

ⁱ Liberat. Breviis. c. 22.

to be under some Apprehension, and thereupon sent for the Pope to the *Pincian* Palace, where the *Greek* General had taken up his Quarters, during the Siege; that the Pope, upon his entering the Palace, was conducted, together with *Vigilius*, into an inner Room, while the Clergy, who attended him, were ordered to wait in the outward Rooms; that he found there *Antonina*, the Wife of *Belisarius*, sitting upon her Bed, and *Belisarius* sitting at her Feet; that *Antonina*, addressing him as soon as he entered the Room, asked him, What Provocation her Husband or she had given to him, and the *Romans*, that he should think of betraying them into the Hands of the *Goths*? *Dic, Domine Silveri Papa, quæ fecimus tibi et Romanis, ut tu velles nos in manus Gothorum tradere?* The Pope was not allowed Time to make any Reply; for *Antonina* had not yet done speaking, when a Subdeacon, entering the Room, tore the Pall off of his Shoulders; and then, carrying him into another Room, stript him there of the other Badges of his Dignity, and dressed him in the Habit of a Monk. In that Attire he was shewn to another Subdeacon, who, hastening out, let the Clergy know, that the Pope was deposed, and become a Monk: *Quia Dominus Papa depositus est, et factus est Monachus* ^k. *Procopius* is here very concise; for he says no more, than that *Silverius*, Bishop of *Rome*, being suspected as if he designed to betray the City to the *Goths*, *Belisarius* banished him immediately to *Greece*, and appointed one *Vigilius* in his room ^l (A).

That

^k Anast. in Silver.^l Procop. Bell. Goth. l. i. c. 25.

(A) I cannot help taking notice of Two Observations made here by *Baronius*. He observes, first, That *Belisarius* was less excuseable in condemning the Pope, than *Pontius Pilate* was in condemning Christ, the *Greek* General having only been threatened with the Indignation of the Empress, whereas the *Roman* President was threatened with that of the Emperor himself (1). *Belisarius* was, no doubt, guilty of a very great Crime; but to compare his Guilt with that of *Pontius Pilate*, is absolute Blasphemy. Besides, who does not see, that *Belisarius* chiefly dreaded the Indignation of the Emperor, and that of the Empress only so far as it might be at-

tended with his? In the second Place, The Annalist observes, that *Belisarius*, who had laid violent Hands on the *Lord's anointed*, to gratify the Empress, and rivet himself, by her means, in the Emperor's Favour, not only forfeited the Favour he had bought so dear, but, by a just Judgment, ended his Life an Object of the greatest Compassion (2). It is surprising he was not better informed. It is true, that in 563. a Conspiracy was formed against *Justinian*; that *Belisarius* was accused, by some of the Conspirators, of being privy to it; that, upon their Deposition, his Estate was confiscated, and he divested of all his Honours (3). But the

(1) Bar. ad ann. 538. p. 294. A.
ann. Alex. 555. Cedren. ad ann. Just. 36.

(2) Bar. ibid. B.

(3) Theoph. ad

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Christ 537.

That Time
only assigned
to each Pope
which he fate
in the See.

That *Silverius*, though driven from his See, and sent into Exile, still continued to be true and lawful Pope, or Bishop of *Rome*, is past all Dispute. And yet to him I find assigned, in all the antient Catalogues, that Time only, which passed between his Election and his Expulsion; and indeed the Antients, generally speaking, reckon to each Pope, as has been observed by *Papebroke* ^r, those Years, Months, or Days only, which they fate in the See, and enjoyed their Dignity. To conform to their Style, I shall close the Popedom of *Silverius* with his Expulsion, and reckon the Time he survived it, to that of *Vigilius*.

The Letter
of Silverius
to Vigilius
suppositi-
tious.

The Letter *Silverius* is said to have written, after his Expulsion, to *Vigilius*, reproaching him with the many heinous Crimes, by which he had opened himself a Way to the Episcopal Dignity, and cutting him off for ever from the Communion of the Church, is evidently supposititious, though by *Baronius* and others quoted as genuine ^s. The Decree of Excommunication, contained in that Letter, is signed not by *Silverius* alone, but by Four other Bishops, whom the Pope is supposed to have assembled for that Purpose. But

^r Papebr. Propyl. ad mens. Mart. in Vigil. dissert. 13.
Silv. t. 2. Concil. et t. 2. Epist. Rom. Pont.

^s Habetur inter acta

same Authors, who acquaint us with his Disgrace, inform us, that *Justinian*, being soon after convinced of his Innocence, restored whatever had been taken from him, and received him anew into his Favour (4). *Baronius* seems even to credit the Story of his Eyes being put out by the Emperor's Order, and his being reduced, thus deprived of his Sight, to beg in the Streets of *Constantinople* (5); as if the Authority of a Writer, of a Poet, who wrote in the Latter-end of the 12th Century, could be of any Weight, or could deserve the least

Regard, when it openly contradicts the concurring Testimony of the contemporary Historians, and all Antiquity. For that Story was first set abroad by *Joannes Tzetzes*, a Greek Poet of the 12th Century (6), in Contradiction to all the contemporary Writers; and from him it has been copied by the later Historians. In the Wall of the Church belonging to the Order of the *Cruciferi* at *Rome*, is to be seen the following Inscription, engraved on a Stone:

*Hanc vir Patricius Velisarius urbis Amicus
Ob culpæ veniam condidit Ecclesiam.
Hanc iccirco pedem sacram qui ponis in ædem,
Ut miseretur eum, sæpe precare Deum.*

Under these is the following Line:

Janua hæc est templi Domino defensa potenti.

That *Belisarius* built the Church mentioned here, to atone for his having sacrilegiously treated the Vicar of Christ in the

manner we have seen, *Baronius* takes for granted. Might he not have built it to atone for his Sins in general?

(4) Theoph. Cedren. ibid.
hist. 86.

(5) Bar. ad ann. 561. p. 507.

(6) Tzet.

Vigilius.

BISHOPS of Rome.

365

that, from the Time of his Expulsion to the Hour of his Death, he had no Opportunity of assembling Bishops, issuing Decrees, or thundering Anathemas, will appear hereafter. Besides, the Letter is intirely made up of Phrases and Sentences borrowed from the Letters of other Popes, especially from that of *Felix to Acacius*; and is dated under Consuls, whom all Chronologers agree not to have been Consuls at the Time it is supposed to have been written; nor indeed at any other, during the Pontificate of *Silverius*. The Letter from *Amator of Autun to Silverius*, after his Expulsion, is still, if possible, a more bare-faced Forgery. For it is supposed to have been written in 539. whereas *Amator* died in 535. and was succeeded in that Year by *Agrippinus*, who, in 538. assisted at the Third Council of *Orange*†. This Letter too, as well as the Answer *Silverius* is said to have made to it, consists intirely of Passages taken from the Letters of the Popes *Leo* and *Gregory*, from the Laws of *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, and from a Letter of *Boniface* Bishop of *Mentz*.

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Christ 537.

And likewise
that from
Amator to
Silverius.

JUSTINIAN,

VIGILIUS,

VITIGES,
HILDEBALD,
ERARIC,
TOTILAS,
TEIAS,

} Kings of
Italy.

Fifty-eighth BISHOP of Rome.

SILVERIUS being driven from his See, in the manner we have seen, *Belisarius* ordered the People and Clergy to proceed to a new Election; and recommended *Vigilius*, who was accordingly chosen, and ordained on the 22d of *November* of the present Year 537. He was at this Time Deacon, or, as he is styled by some, Archdeacon of the *Roman* Church, by Birth a *Roman*, and sprung from a noble Family, his Father having been distinguished with the Consular Dignity. He had promised to the Empress, as has been observed above, to condemn the Council of *Chalcedon*, to admit the *Acephali* to his Communion, and to approve their Doctrine. This Promise *Belisarius* now challenged, not forgetting the 200 Pieces of Gold, which he was to pay him, as soon as he found

Vigilius
chosen in the
room of Sil-
verius.

† Vide Pagi ad ann. 539. n. 4.

himself

Year of
Christ 537.

*Refuses to
condemn the
Council of
Chalcedon.
The Bishop
of Patara
espouses the
Cause of Sil-
verius, and
recurs to the
Emperor.*

*Who orders
his Cause to
be tried
anew.*

Silverius re-
turns to
Rome.

Year of
Christ 538.

himself in Possession of the See (A). But *Vigilius*, says the Historian, fearing the *Romans*, and restrained by his Avarice, declined complying with either Engagement ^u.

In the mean time *Silverius*, arriving at *Patara*, was there received with all possible Marks of Honour and Esteem, by the Bishop of the Place; nay, the good Prelate, not satisfied with paying him all the Regard he could have expected, had he been still in Possession of his See, thought himself bound, in common Justice, to undertake his Defence, or at least to lay his Case before the Emperor. With this View he repaired to *Constantinople*; and, having, in a private Audience, acquainted *Justinian* with the base Treatment which the First Bishop of the Catholic Church had met with, earnestly begged he would interpose his Authority, and order the Cause to be tried anew. The Emperor expressed no small Surprize at the Account the Bishop gave him; for he was an utter Stranger to what had passed, the Plot having been laid by the Empress, without his Privy; and executed, unknown to him, by *Belisarius*, and his Wife *Antonina*. He inquired into all the Particulars; but, finding the Bishop knew no more of the Affairs of *Silverius*, than what he had learned of *Silverius* himself, he would not absolve or restore him. However, that he might have an Opportunity, if he was really innocent, of making his Innocence appear, he commanded him to be forthwith sent back to *Italy*, and his Cause to be there examined anew. If he cleared himself from the Treason laid to his Charge, he was, by the Emperor's Order, to be restored to his former Dignity; but, should he be found guilty, he was to be removed from the *Roman* to some other See. With this Order *Silverius* set out for *Italy*, and, travelling with great Expedition, arrived at *Rome* before *Pelagius*, whom the Empress had sent to prevent his Return, could reach that City (B).

^u Liberat. c. 22.

(A) I cannot help thinking *Liberatus* was mistaken with respect to that Particular. For what Temptation could 200 Pieces of Gold be to *Belisarius*, who was possessed of immense Wealth, and had the Treasures of the whole Empire at his Command and Disposal?

(B) *Pelagius* was a Deacon of the *Roman* Church, and, at this time, the Pope's

Nuncio, or Apocrisarius, at the Court of *Constantinople*; but, to ingratiate himself with the Empress, he had, by the blackest Treachery, joined her against the Pope himself, and was privy to all her Attempts in favour of the *Acephali*; which, however, did not prevent his being afterwards raised to the Papal Dignity, as we shall see some Years hence.

Vigilius

Vigilius was thunderstruck, as we may well imagine, at the unexpected and sudden Arrival of the Pope, and the Order he brought from the Emperor, not doubting but, should it take place, *Silverius* would be acquitted, and he be ignominiously driven from the See. He therefore left nothing unattempted to divert *Belisarius* from causing it to be put in Execution. He applied chiefly to *Antonina*, who was in high Favour with the Empress, and had as great an Ascendant over *Belisarius*, as *Theodora* had over *Justinian*. With her he urged the earnest Desire the Empress had of seeing the Council of *Chalcedon* condemned by *Rome*, and the *Acephali* admitted to the Communion of that See; and both, he said, the Restoration of *Silverius* would, to her great Disappointment, absolutely render impracticable. But were *Silverius* removed out of the way, and no room left to apprehend the Disturbances which he might otherwise raise, and undoubtedly would, on such an Occasion, he bound himself, by the most solemn Promises, to gratify the Empress, and readily comply with all her Demands. He had several private Conferences, on this Subject, with *Antonina*, who was determined, at all Events, to bring about what the Empress so earnestly desired; and the Result of those Conferences was, that *Silverius* should be delivered up to *Vigilius*; and that *Vigilius*, the Moment he had him in his Power, should write Letters of Communion to the leading Men among the *Acephali*, should approve their Doctrine, should condemn the Council of *Chalcedon*, with the Letter of *Leo*, and anathematize, as Heretics, all who received or approved either. Pursuant to this Agreement, *Belisarius*, though well apprised of the wicked Designs of *Vigilius*, was nevertheless prevailed upon by *Antonina* to deliver the unhappy *Silverius* into his Hands, with full Power to dispose of him as he should think fit ^w.

But is there delivered up to Vigilius.

Vigilius, having now nothing to fear from his Rival, wrote, without Delay, the promised Letter of Communion to *Theodosius* of *Alexandria*, to *Anthimus* of *Constantinople*, and to *Severus* of *Antioch*, the Chiefs of the *Eutychian* Party, declaring, That his and their Faith was one and the same. He begged they would take no Notice of his having written to them, but keep his Letter concealed from the Public, and rather pretend to distrust him. This Letter he delivered to *Antonina*, and with it a Confession of Faith, to be

Vigilius writes Letters of Communion to the Chiefs of the Acephali.

^w Liberat. c. 22. Victor. Tun. post consulat. Basil. anno 2. Facund. lib. contr. Mocian.

Year of
Christ 538.

Anathema-
tizates all who
acknowledged
Two Natures
in Christ.

privately conveyed by her to the Empress, and the above-mentioned Chiefs of the *Eutychian* Party. In that Confession he condemned the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Letter of *Leo*, rejecting the Doctrine of the Two Natures; and anathematized all who acknowledged more than One Nature, and One Essence, in Christ^x; which was anathematizing, as *Facundus* observes^y, the whole Catholic Church. *Binius* and *Baronius*, unwilling it should be said, that even a nominal Pope only, for such was *Vigilius* at this time, had thus condemned the Catholic, and confirmed the opposite Doctrine, allege several Reasons to prove that Letter to have been forged by the *Eutychians*, and fathered by them upon *Vigilius*. But that *Vigilius* was capable of writing such a Letter, neither *Baronius* nor *Binius* will, I believe, deny: and that he did write it, is positively affirmed by the contemporary Writers *Liberatus*, *Victor Tunnunensis*, and *Facundus*^z, whom we may well suppose to have been better acquainted with what happened in their own times, than *Baronius* or *Binius*, who lived a Thousand Years after.

Silverius
confined to an
inhospitable
Island, where
he dies, or is
murdered.

As for the unfortunate *Silverius*, the Usurper of his See no sooner had him in his Power, than he delivered him over to Two of his Satellites, styled by him the Defenders of the Church, who immediately conveyed him into the abandoned and inhospitable Island of *Palmaria* (A); and used him there in so cruel and barbarous a manner, that he died in a very short time. *Liberatus* supposes him to have died of Hunger, the necessary Food for the Support of his Life being denied him by those whom *Vigilius* had appointed to guard him^a. But *Procopius* seems to insinuate as if he had been murdered by a Person devoted to *Antonina*, named *Eugenius*, and at her Instigation: and *Alemannus* observes, that *Liberatus* wrote what he heard, but *Procopius* what he saw^b. His Death happened

^x Liberat. ibid.

^y Facund. ibid.

^z Liberat. Vict. Facund. ubi supra.

^a Liberat. c. 22.

^b Aleman. in not. ad Hist. Arcan. c. 1.

(A) *Palmaria*, *Pontia* or *Pontia*, and *Pandataria*, now *Palmeruolo*, *Ponza*, and *Ventotiene*, are Three uninhabited Islands, lying in the *Mediterranean*, over-against the Coast of *Old Latium*. To some of them were confined, in the Times of the *Roman Emperors*, such Persons as they wanted to put to Death without Noise.

Thus was *Nero*, the Son of *Germanicus*, confined by *Tiberius* to the Island of *Ponza* (1); and *Julia*, by her Father *Augustus*, to that of *Pandataria* (2). Many such Instances occur in History; and the unhappy Exiles were doomed, generally speaking, to die of Hunger.

(1) Suet. in Tiber. c. 54.

(2) Tacit. Annal. l. 1. c. 53.

on the 20th of *June* of the present Year 538 c. after he had governed the *Roman* Church, according to *Anastasius*, who assigns to *Vigilius* the Time that passed between the Deposition of *Silverius* and his Death, One Year, Five Months, and Eleven Days ^d (A). He is now honoured by the Church of *Rome* as a Martyr: and, indeed, not undeservedly, if his suffering for the Faith of *Chalcedon* could intitle him to that Honour. However, it is only in the Martyrologies of the latter Times that his Name is to be found.

Year of
Christ 538.

He is now
honoured as
a Martyr.

From the Death of *Silverius* the *Roman* Catholic Writers date the Episcopacy of *Vigilius*, reckoning him thenceforth among the lawful Popes, or Bishops of *Rome*; and in that they all agree, though at Variance among themselves, and quite at a Loss how to make good his Title or Right to that Sec. *Baronius* ^f, *Binius* ^g, and *Ferrandus* ^h, tell us, that, upon the Death of *Silverius*, *Vigilius* resigned the Dignity he had usurped, and would not resume it, being conscious to himself of the Nullity of his former Election, till he was elected anew. But of this Resignation, and the new Election, not the least Notice is taken, nor so much as a distant Hint given, by any of the contemporary Writers, They only produce *Anastasius*, saying, That the Sec of *Silverius* was vacant Six Days ⁱ, which, they say, could not be while *Silverius* was alive; for he was lawful Pope so long as he lived: therefore after his Death *Vigilius* resigned, and was chosen anew. But *Anastasius* speaks there of the

*Vigilius not
chosen anew,
after the
Death of
Silverius.*

c Vide Anast. in Sil. Orderic. l. 2. Luitprand. et Pagi ad ann. 540. n. 2, 3.
d Anast. ibid. f Bar. ad ann. 540. p. 319. g Bin. in Vigil. h Ferr.
traité de l'Eglise, c. 3. i Anast. in Silver.

(A) *Baronius* prolongs the Pontificate of *Silverius* to the 20th of *June* 540. reckoning to him the whole Time he survived his Deposition, and supposing his Death not to have happened till the 20th of *June* of that Year (1). This Supposition he founds on the Letter I have mentioned above, from *Silverius* to *Vigilius*, dated the 20th of *June* 539. For if it was written then, says the Annalist, and *Vigilius* died on the 20th of *June*, his Death could not happen till the 20th of *June* of the following Year. But that Letter I have shewn above to be supposititious. It is said to have been written by

Silverius, in an Assembly, consisting of Four Bishops, during his Confinement in the Island of *Palmaria*; as if those, to whose Custody he was committed, would have suffered him to assemble any Number of Bishops, or he could have assembled them, and anathematized *Vigilius*, without their Knowledge. Besides, by the Date of that Letter, *Silverius* must have lived Two Years, and upwards, in the Island of *Palmaria*, whereas both *Liberatus* and *Procopius* speak of his Death as happening soon after his Arrival at the Place of his Exile.

(1) Bar. ad ann. 540. p. 319.

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Vacancy, that happened after *Silverius* had sat One Year, Five Months, and Eleven Days, and consequently of the Vacancy that ensued upon his Expulsion; for just that time passed, according to *Anastasius*, between his Ordination and his Expulsion; whereas Two Years and Twelve Days passed, according to the same Writer, between his Ordination and his Death. For he was ordained, as the Bibliothecarian informs us, on the 8th of *June* 536. was driven from his See on the 18th of *November* 537. and died on the 20th of *June* 538. And truly, that his Expulsion was followed by a Vacancy of some Days, is manifest both from *Procopius* and *Libertatus*; of whom the former, after acquainting us, that *Belisarius* sent *Silverius*, Bishop of the City, into Exile, adds, *And a short time after he preferred Vigilus to the Pontificate, in his room* ^k. And the latter writes, That *Silverius* being deposed, *Belisarius*, the next Day, called together the Presbyters, the Deacons, and the Clerks, and commanded them to chuse another Pope^l. *Vigilius* was therefore, in all Likelihood, chosen the very next Day, the 19th of *November*, and ordained on the 22d of the same Month, which in 537. fell on a *Sunday*, the Day on which Bishops, especially those of *Rome*, were then commonly ordained. (A). That *Anastasius* speaks of this Vacancy, is owned even by most of the *Roman* Catholic Writers, and, among the rest, by the Two learned Critics *Papebroke* ^m and *Pagi* ⁿ, who therefore reject the whole Story of the Resignation and new Election of *Vigilius*, not only as a mere Fable, or a Dream, but as quite unnecessary; the Want of a Canonical Election being sufficiently supplied, according to them, by the Consent and Reception of the People and Clergy of *Rome*,

The Want of
a Canonical
Election cannot
be supplied by the
Consent and
Reception of
the People
and Clergy.

^k Procop. Bell. Goth. l. i. c. 25.
mens. Maium, in Vigil. Dissert. 13.

^l Libertat. c. 22. ^m Papebr. Propyl. ad
ⁿ Pagi ad Ann. 540. n. 4.

(A) In the Copy of *Anastasius*, which *Baronius* perused, the See is said to have been vacant Six Days; but Five only, in the *Louvre* Edition. And Five Days passed between the Expulsion of *Silverius*, on the 18th of *November*, and the Ordination of *Vigilius*, on the 22d of the same Month, if we include the Day on which the one was expelled, and the other ordained, which is not at all foreign to the Style of *Anastasius*. For that Writer frequently

reckons in the Vacancy of the See the Day on which the Pope died, and that on which his Successor was ordained; nay, he sometimes assigns the Day of the Pope's Death, both to his Pontificate, and to the Vacancy of the See; and to both he assigns here the Day of the Expulsion of *Silverius*, who otherwise would have sat One Year, Five Months, and not Eleven, but Ten Days only.

nay, of the whole Church, receiving and acknowledging *Vigilius* for lawful Pope.

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But, first, The Consent of the People and Clergy of *Rome* was not free, but extorted by Force. They were well apprised, that *Belisarius*, who, in Compliance with the Command of the Empress, had deposed *Silverius*, to make room for *Vigilius*, would never suffer them to think of any other; and therefore acknowledged, or rather obeyed *Vigilius*, not only after, but before the Decease of *Silverius*, when no one will say he was true Pope. Now Bishops, who were neither chosen by the Clergy, nor desired by the People, but imposed upon both, by the Oppression of Men in Power, are declared by several Canons of the *Latin* Church, and by Pope *Leo the Great*, to be no Bishops^o. II. If he is true and lawful Pope, who is received and acknowledged as such by the Church, those Apostates and Monsters, as *Genebrard* styles them^p, were true Popes, who possessed the Chair in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries, when *silly and impudent Whores*, to use the Words of *Baronius*^q, governed all at *Rome*; when they intruded their Lovers and Gallants into the See of *St. Peter*, disposed of Bishopricks, and changed Sees at their Pleasure. The Popes, thus intruded, were received, obeyed, and respected, by the whole Church, no otherwise, says *Baronius*, than *St. Peter* himself, no one giving himself the Trouble of inquiring into the Lawfulness of their Election^r. And yet the Writers of those Times speak of them as Intruders, Usurpers, Adulterers, and Wolves in Sheeps Clothing; and *Baronius* himself owns, that the Church was then without a Pope^s. He adds, that nevertheless she was not without a Head; Christ, her invisible Head, preserving her, amidst so many Dangers, with his Assistance alone, agreeably to his Promise, that he will be with her even unto the End of the World. If, pursuant to that Promise, he preserved her with his Assistance alone, when she had no Pope, he would in like manner have preserved her, though she had never again had a Pope. What Occasion therefore can there be for a Pope at all, or for any other Head of the Church, but Christ?

III. A secret Heretic, an Infidel, an Atheist, may be acknowledged and received by the Church as a true Pope; and some have, if a

^o Concil. Aurelian. 5. can. 11. Concil. Cabillon. 1. can. 10. Leo, ep. 92. ad Rustic. Narbon.
^p Genebr. chron. ad ann. 901. ^q Bar. ad ann. 908. ^r Idem ad ann. 892.
^s Idem ad ann. 908.

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very eminent Writer of the Church of *Rome* may be credited (A). Now, if such a Man were true Pope, he would of course be infallible, and consequently would teach with Certainty what he himself did not believe; would be the spiritual Head of the Church, and yet no Member of the Church. And what can be conceived more absurd, more repugnant to Reason and common Sense, than that a Heretic, an Infidel, an Atheist, should be infallible; that one, in whom there is no Truth, should guide the Church into all Truth?

The Ordination of Vigilus null, as well as his Election.

IV. The Ordination of *Vigilius* was null, as well as the Election. For, not to mention other Irregularities, he was ordained into a full See, that is, into a See legally possessed by another; and the Ordination of a Man into a full See was always looked upon by the Catholic Church as absolutely null, and the Person thus ordained, as no Bishop, no more than if he had never received Ordination. This St. *Cyprian* chiefly urged against the Ordination of *Novatian*, who caused himself to be ordained Bishop of *Rome*, after *Cornelius* had been lawfully chosen and ordained into that See. *Cornelius*, says St. *Cyprian*, *was made Bishop by the Testimony of the Clergy, and the Suffrages of the People, when no one had been ordained before him, and the Episcopal Chair was empty. Whoever, after that, pretends to be Bishop, has not the Ordination of the Church, whatever he may boast, or assume to himself. There cannot be a second Bishop after the first; and therefore whoever is made a Bishop after the first, is not a second Bishop, but no Bishop at all.* As *Novatian* was ordained into the *Roman* See, while it was lawfully possessed by *Cornelius*, so was *Vigilius* while it was lawfully possessed by *Silverius*: if therefore the Ordination of the former was, on that Account, null, the Ordination of the latter must, of course, be null too. That this was not the private Opinion of St. *Cyprian*

† Cypr. ep. 52. al. 55. ad Anton.

(A) The most noble *Ficus of Mirandula*, whose Words I shall here transcribe: “ We remember, says he, another ordained, and received for true Pope, who, in the Opinion of good Men, neither was, nor could be, true Pope, as he believed no God, and exceeded the utmost Pitch of Infidelity. It is

“ affirmed he confessed, to some of his
“ Domestics, that he believed no God,
“ even when he sat in the Papal Chair.
“ And I have heard of another Pope, who
“ owned to one of his Intimates, that he
“ did not believe the Immortality of the
“ Soul (1).”

(1) *Picus Theor. 4.*

only,

only, as some have pretended, but the received Opinion, and standing Rule, of the Catholic Church, may be proved by innumerable Instances. Thus was *Valens* declared, by the Bishops of *Italy*, to be no Bishop, as was *Majorinus*, the Father of the *Donatists*, by those of *Africa*, for no other Reason but because they had both been ordained into full Sees; *Valens* into the See of *Petavio*, while *Marcus*, the lawful Bishop, was still living; and *Majorinus* into that of *Carthage*, when it was legally filled by *Cæcilian*^w. The Fathers of the Council of *Nice*, for the same Reason, pronounced all, whom *Meletius* of *Lycopolis* had ordained, in *Egypt*, for Sees, that were not vacant at the Time of their Ordination, to be no Bishops; and, at the same time, issued a Decree, commanding them to be re-ordained before they were admitted to serve as Bishops in the Catholic Church^x. In like manner the Fathers of the Second Oecumenical Council, that of *Constantinople*, would not admit of the Ordination of *Maximus* the *Cynic*^y, though he had been ordained by Seven Bishops, but unanimously declared, That he was no Bishop, notwithstanding his theatrical and mock Ordination; that he never should be a Bishop; that the Clerks, ordained by him, should in no Degree whatever be received as true Clerks, all that had been done to him, or by him, being absolutely void and null, *because he had intruded himself into a See, that of Constantinople, legally filled by another, by Nestarius*^z. I shall add but one Instance more, that of the famous *Timotheus Ælurus*^a, whose Cause was the very same with that of *Vigilius*: for both usurped the Sees of lawful Bishops, and both were accessory to the Death of the Bishops, whose Sees they usurped. Now the Catholic Bishops, who were consulted by the Emperor *Leo* about the Ordination of *Ælurus* (and, by a circular Letter, he consulted all within the Empire), agreed to a Man in this; *viz.* That if *Ælurus* was guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge, that is, if he had driven out the lawful Bishop, to make room for himself, or was any-ways concerned in his Death, he neither was, nor ever could be, a Bishop^b. It is therefore, upon the Whole, as plain, I think, as Words and Authorities can make it, that, according to the Rules and Discipline of the antient Church,

^w Concil. Aquilei. in ep. Synod. Concil. t. 2. p. 995. et Optat. l. 1. p. 42.

^x Sacrat. l. 1. c. 9. Theodor. l. 1. c. 9.

^y See Vol. I. p. 223.

^z Concil.

Constantin. can. 4.

^a See above, p. 108, 109.

^b Epist. Synod. ad Leon.

Imper. ad calcem Concil. Chalced. part. 3. c. 38. et 55.

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Vigilius nei-
ther Pope
nor Bishop.

a Person ordained into a See legally possessed by another, was no Bishop; and consequently that *Vigilius*, who was thus ordained, as we have seen, was no Bishop. Hence it follows, First, That in *Vigilius* was evidently interrupted the so much boasted Succession of the Bishops of *Rome*: and, Secondly, What is of far greater Moment, that as he was no Bishop, he could have no Episcopal Power or Authority; and consequently, that the 46 Presbyters, and 81 Bishops, whom he is said to have ordained, during his long Pontificate, were, in Truth, neither Presbyters nor Bishops. And who can say, that the present Pope does not derive his Ordination and Authority from some of them? It is not, at least, certain that he does not; and consequently it is not certain, that he is a true Bishop, and true Pope. For no Divine of the Church of *Rome* will allow one to be true Pope, who is no Bishop, nor one, who has not been duly ordained, to be a true Bishop, though he were received and acknowledged as such by the whole Christian World. Now, if it is not certain, that the present Pope (and the same Argument may be urged against any other) is a true Bishop, and true Pope, how can his Definitions be certainly believed? Can a Man certainly believe even what is contained in any of the Books of Scripture, unless he first certainly believes such Books to be Canonical? or so long as he doubts whether they be Apocryphal or Canonical?

Whether an
Article of
Faith to be-
lieve, that
every parti-
cular Pope is
a lawful
Pope.

This is a knotty Point, and has reduced the Popish Divines to the greatest Streights. To solve it, they take different Ways. *Suarez*, *Valentia*, *Arriaga*, *Raynaudus*, *Caspensis*, *Martinonus*, and *Rhodius*, all Divines of great Note, maintain it can never happen, that an unlawful Pope should possess the Chair; and that it is an Article of Faith to believe every particular Pope lawful. If that is not an Article of Faith, say they, and very justly, no Faith can be founded on their Decrees. But, on the other hand, how can that be an Article of Faith, which so many Instances, and that of *Vigilius* among the rest, evidently prove to be false? He possessed the Chair 18 Years; was owned as lawful Pope by the 5th General Council, and the whole Christian World; and yet, that he was no lawful Pope, has been evidently shewn. *Formosus* held the Chair Five Years and upwards; was by all received and obeyed as true Pope; and nevertheless *Stephen VII.* declared, that he never was lawful Pope; nay,

* Suarez de fide, disput. 10. sect. 5. Mart. de fide, disput. 5. sect. 6.

that he was not even a Bishop; and accordingly re-ordained all whom he had ordained. If it is therefore an Article of Faith, that every particular Pope is a lawful Pope; *Stephen* erred in Faith, when he declared *Formosus* to have been no lawful one. *Nicolas II.* and *Julius II.* declared all Elections, in which any kind of Simony intervened, to be, *ipso facto*, null, and the Person simoniacally elected, to be no Pope, but an Apostate, a Thief, a Robber, an Heresiarch, a Magician, a Heathen, and a Publican ^d. Hence it cannot be an Article of Faith, with respect to any particular Pope, that he is true Pope, and not a Thief, a Robber, an Apostate, &c. unless it be likewise one that no kind of Simony intervened in his Election: and that no Man can certainly know, and consequently no Man can believe as an Article of Faith.

Others, aware of these Difficulties, maintain, that it matters *Whether a little* whether he, who possesses the Chair, be true Pope or no; *Pope, who is not a true, be infallible.* since his Definitions and Decrees will be no less infallible, if he is universally received as a true Pope, than if he really were a true Pope. *We affirm*, says *Duvall*, *that a Pope, esteemed for true, can never err; for God will never permit him to err, lest Falshood should be obtruded upon the Church for Truth* ^e. But this Answer is liable, as *Suarez* well observes ^f, to the very Difficulties which it is brought to solve. For as it is not certain, that every particular Pope is a true Pope, neither is it certain, that an unlawful Pope enjoys the Privilege of Infallibility: nay, the greatest Divines of the Church of Rome are of Opinion, that he does not; *That Prerogative*, says *Martinonius*, *being granted to none but a true Pope, to whom alone it was promised in Peter* ^g. As it is not therefore certain, that any Pope in particular is a lawful Pope; nor is it certain, that an unlawful Pope enjoys the Privilege of Infallibility; it evidently follows, that no Faith can be founded on the Definitions and Decrees of any Pope whatever; and consequently that their pretended Infallibility can be of no kind of Use or Advantage to the Church.

And now, to resume the Thread of the History, and return to *Vigilius*: A few Days after the Death of *Silverius*, he answered a *Letter from Profuturus*, Bishop of *Braga* in *Lusitania*, to that Pope, concerning certain Points, which occasioned some Disagreement among

Vigilius answers a Letter, from Profuturus of Braga, to Silverius.

^d Plat. in Nic. II. et Jul. II. apud Regnaud. p. 192. part. 2. quæst. 5. ^f Suar. de fide, disput. 10. sect. 6. ^g sect. 6.

^e Duvall de potest. Pont. ^h Martin. de fide, disput.

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the Bishops in those Parts. *Vigilius*, in his Answer, dated the 29th of June 538. condemns those who abstained from certain Meats, thinking them forbidden, or evil in themselves, as if they proceeded from an evil Principle; which was the Doctrine of the *Manichees*. II. He separates from his Communion all who sung or used the lesser Doxology, thus; *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son Holy Ghost*, since they could for no other Reason suppress the Conjunction, but because they believed the Son and the Holy Ghost to be one and the same Person. III. He commands those who had been re baptized by the *Arians*, or the *Priscillianists*, to be received, on their Return to the Church, by the Imposition of Hands used in the Reconciliation of Penitents, and not by the Invocation of the Holy Ghost. Lastly, he declares, That there is no Occasion to consecrate a Church built on the Foundations of one that had been consecrated h.

He writes to
Theodebert
King of Au-
stralia, and
to Cæsarius
of Arles.

About the same time *Vigilius*, being consulted by *Theodebert* King of *Austrasia*, about the Penance that ought to be imposed upon a Man who had married his Brother's Widow, wrote Two Letters on that Occasion, the one to the King, and the other to *Cæsarius* of *Arles*. He exaggerates in both the Enormity of the Crime, which, he says, cannot be expiated but by a long Penance. However, he leaves it in the Power of *Cæsarius*, who, as he was upon the Spot, could better judge of the Compunction of the Penitent, to shorten or lengthen the Time, as he should think proper; but he requires those, who were thus married, to be immediately parted (A). *Baronius* supposes *Theodebert* to be the Person who had

† Vigil. ep. 1. t. 5. Concil. p. 311.

† Vigil. ep. 3. t. 5. Concil. p. 314.

(A) The marrying of a Brother's Widow was forbidden by the Emperor *Constantius*, and the Children of those, who were thus married, declared spurious and illegitimate (1). That Law was confirmed by *Theodosius* the younger (2); and by the Canons of the Church such Marriages were condemned as incestuous, and the contracting Parties obliged to undergo public Penance. Thus the Council of *Neocæsarea* orders the Woman, who marries Two Brothers, to remain excommunicated till she is thought to be at the Point of

Death; and even then to be admitted to the Sacrament, only upon Condition, that she dissolves her Marriage, and submits to a public Penance, if she recovers (3). *St. Basil* argues strongly against such Marriages as incestuous and null, in an Epistle to *Diodorus Tarsensis*, under whose Name was forged a Treatise in Defence of them (4). These Laws and Canons are all founded on the Prohibition in *Leviticus*, *Thou shalt not uncover the Nakedness of thy Brother's Wife* (5); and, if a Man shall take his Brother's Wife, it is an unclean thing (6).

(1) Cod. Theod. l. 3. tit. 12. de incest. nup. leg. 2. (2) Ibid. l. 4. (3) Concil. Neocæsar. can. 2. (4) Basil. ep. 197. (5) Levit. xviii. 16. (6) Ibid. xx. 17.

Vigilius.

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had married his Brother's Widow ^k. But it is certain, that *Theodebert* never had a Brother.

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In the mean time the Emperor *Justinian*, hearing that *Silverius* was dead, and *Vigilius* was chosen in his room, but kept by *Theodora* quite in the Dark, with respect to the Circumstances attending the Death of the one, and the Election of the other, dispatched to *Rome* the Patrician *Dominicus*, to congratulate the new Pope on his Promotion, and, at the same time, to assure his Holiness, that he held, and ever would hold, the Faith which had been established by the Four General Councils, and was contained in the Letters of *Leo*.

The Emperor
congratulates
Vigilius on
his Promotion.
Year of
Christ 539.

On this Occasion *Vigilius* wrote a long Letter to the Emperor, commending his Piety, approving his Faith, and solemnly declaring, that he himself professed the same Faith, and had never professed any other. He had even the Assurance to tell the Emperor, that he defied his most inveterate Enemies to charge him with having ever done or attempted any thing, that was not intirely agreeable to the Decrees of the Oecumenical Councils, and the Constitutions of the Apostolic See ^l. He wrote, at the same time, to the Patriarch *Mennas*, commending him for the Zeal he exerted, in Defence of the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*, which he himself had lately condemned; and anathematizing, as detestable Heretics, those whom not long before he had admitted to his Communion, as united with him in one and the same Faith ^m.

The Pope, in
his Letter to
the Emperor,
confesses the
Faith, which
he had ana-
thematized
in his Letter
to the Em-
press.

The following Year 540. nothing happened worthy of notice. But the Year 541. is remarkable for the Disturbances that began then, and produced, in the End, the Fifth General Council. They began on the following Occasion: Some Monks of *Palestine*, offended at certain Propositions contained in the Works of *Origen*, applied to *Pelagius*, the Pope's *Apocrisarius* or Nuncio at the Court of *Constantinople*, and likewise to *Mennas* the Patriarch, begging they would cause the Works of that Writer to be condemned, together with his Memory, that People, looking upon him as a condemned Heretic, might be thenceforth deterred from perusing his

Some Monks
of Palestne
apply to the
Pope's Nun-
cio, and to
Mennas, for
the condemn-
ing of Ori-
gen.
Year of
Christ 541.

^k Bar. ad ann. 538. p. 299.

^l Vigil. ep. 4.

^m Idem, ep. 5.

But that Uncleanness the Pope can now wipe off, in virtue of his dispensing Power; and such Marriages, though for many Ages deemed incestuous and null, by the whole Church, and the Popes themselves, are

now only looked upon in that Light, when contracted without a Dispensation, which his Holiness refuses to none, who are able to purchase it.

Year of
Christ 541.

Who is con-
demned by the
Emperor, to-
gether with
his Doctrine.

The particu-
lar Proposi-
tions which
were con-
demned.

Writings, or at least be on their Guard, when they perused them. This *Pelagius* and *Mennas* readily undertook, chiefly with a View, as *Liberatus* informs us ⁿ, to confound the *Acephali*, who were all great Admirers of *Origen*, thinking he favoured their Doctrine, and, at the same time, avowed Enemies to *Mennas*, and the other Friends of *Rome*. As for the Errors of *Origen*, they had been condemned long before, and with them *Origen* himself ^o; so that there could be no Occasion to condemn them anew. However, *Mennas* and *Pelagius* having presented a Memorial to *Justinian*, containing some of the most remarkable Errors ascribed to *Origen*, the Emperor, who embraced with great Joy every Opportunity of interfering in Ecclesiastical Matters, immediately issued, at their Request, an Edict or Decree, condemning those Errors, and together with them, *Origen* himself, and all who should presume to defend either him, or his wicked, blasphemous, and execrable Doctrine. No Pope, no Council, could have defined, decided, and even anathematized, with more Authority than the Emperor assumes in that Edict. The Errors, which he condemns, and strives to confute from the Scripture, and the Fathers, are; I. That, in the Trinity, the Father is greater than the Son, and the Son than the Holy Ghost. II. That the Souls of Men existed before the Bodies, and were confined to the Bodies by way of Punishment for the Sins they had committed, while separated from them. III. That the Soul of Christ existed, like other Souls, and was united to the Word before the Incarnation. IV. That the Heavens, the Sun, the Moon, and the other Stars, are all animated, nay, and indued with a rational Soul. V. That, after the Resurrection, all human Bodies will be of a round Figure. VI. That the Torments of the Damned will have an End; and that as Christ has been crucified in this World, to save Mankind, so he is to be crucified in the next, to save the Devils. Each of these Opinions *Justinian* undertakes to confute; and, to do him Justice, he shews himself therein thoroughly acquainted with the Doctrine of the Church, and the Fathers, and well worthy of the high Commendations which the contemporary Writers have all bestowed on him as a Divine. He paints *Origen* as a profane, heathenish, wicked, and blasphemous Writer, as the first Author of all Heresies, as the common Father of all Heretics, as one who attempted to ingraft

ⁿ Liberat. c. 23.

^o See Vol. I. p. 280, et seq.

the Christian Religion on the Fables and Dreams of the Pagans. The Edict he addressed to *Mennas, the most Holy and most Blessed Archbishop of Constantinople, and Patriarch*; and ends it with commanding him to assemble forthwith all the Bishops, who were then at *Constantinople*, and the Heads of the Monasteries, to anathematize, jointly with them, *Origen*, his Doctrine, and his Followers, and to suffer no Bishop to be thenceforth ordained, nor Abbot appointed, within the Limits of his Jurisdiction, who had not first publicly received, without Restriction or Limitation, the present Constitution P. The Patriarchs were all strictly enjoined to receive it; and for that Purpose Duplicates of it were sent, by the Emperor's Order, to those of *Alexandria*, of *Antioch*, of *Jerusalem*, and likewise to *the most Holy and most Blessed Pope and Patriarch of Old Rome, Vigilius*. For the Emperor required the Pope to receive it, as well as the other Patriarchs; which, in Truth, was dictating to him, in Matters of Faith, as well as to the other Patriarchs.

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Christ 541.

He orders all
the Patri-
archs, and
the Pope him-
self, to re-
ceive his
Edict or
Constitution.

Origen, and his Followers, being thus condemned, *Justinian*, out of his great Zeal for the Unity of the Faith, for the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church, resolved to proceed in the same manner against the *Acephali*; and oblige all Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Bishops, and Ecclesiastics in his Dominions, publicly to anathematize the Tenets of that Sect, and publicly receive the Decree of *Chalcedon*, establishing Two Natures in Christ, on Pain of forfeiting their Sees, and every other Preferment they enjoyed in the Church. To ward that Blow, and, at the same time, to be revenged on *Pelagius*, on *Mennas*, and on the other Sticklers for the Council of *Chalcedon*, who had advised the Emperor to condemn *Origen*, *Theodorus*, Metropolitan of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, who held that Writer in great Veneration, and was, in his Heart, a zealous *Eutychian*, represented to *Justinian*, that the Edict, which he designed to issue against the *Acephali*, would, in all Likelihood, be attended with great Disturbances, whereas he could assure him, that the *Eutychians* were all to a Man disposed to receive the Council of *Chalcedon*, upon certain Terms which none could scruple to grant, who had the least Spark of Zeal for the Unity of the Faith, and the Peace of the Church. The Terms, which, he said, they required, were, First, That *Theodorus of Mopsuestia*, whom he styled the Ma-

The Emperor
resolves to
proceed in the
same manner
against the
Acephali.
Year of
Christ 542.

But is di-
verted from
it by Theo-
dorus of
Cæsarea, and
advised to
condemn cer-
tain Wri-
tings.

Year of
Christ 542.

ster of *Nestorius*, should be anathematized, together with his Writings. 2dly, That the Books, which *Theodoret* of *Cyrus* had published against *St. Cyril*, should be condemned. And, 3dly, That the Letter should be condemned, which *Ibas* of *Edeffa* had written to one *Maris* a *Persian*, concerning the Council of *Ephesus*, and Condemnation of *Nestorius*. These Writings, said *Theodorus*, give great Offence to the *Acephali*; and their imagining them to have been approved by the Council of *Chalcedon*, is what alone restrains them from receiving that Council.

What those
Writings
were.

In the Writings of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, who was raised to that See in 394. were several Expressions that seemed to favour the Doctrine of *Nestorius*. But, as he wrote before that Doctrine was condemned by the Council of *Ephesus*, the Council of *Chalcedon* would not condemn him as a Heretic, the rather, as in other Passages he seemed to acknowledge One Person and Two Natures in Christ. *Theodoret* was employed by *John* of *Antioch*, his Patriarch, to confute the *impious Doctrines* of *Cyril*, as the Patriarch styled them; and the Council of *Chalcedon*, satisfied with his condemning the Tenets of *Nestorius*, did not oblige him to retract or condemn what he wrote on that Occasion. *Ibas* succeeded *Rabulas* in the See of *Edeffa*, about the Year 430. While he was yet Presbyter of that Church, he wrote to one *Maris*, a *Persian*, and perhaps a Bishop, in that Neighbourhood, acquainting him with the Quarrel between *Cyril* and *Nestorius*, and the Condemnation of the latter, In his Letter he charged the Fathers of *Ephesus* with Rashness and Precipitation, in giving Sentence against *Nestorius*; found great Fault with the Doctrine, and more with the Conduct, of *Cyril* on that Occasion; and, reflecting, in the sharpest Terms, on *Rabulas*, who had not long before anathematized *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, as the first Author of the *Nestorian* Heresy, bestowed, in Opposition to him, the highest Encomiums on that Writer. This Letter was read in the Council of *Chalcedon*; and some of the Fathers of that Assembly, upon hearing it, and finding *Ibas* there acknowledged One Person and Two Natures in Christ, declared his Faith to be intirely Orthodox, without censuring the Commendations he bestowed on the Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, or requiring him to retract what he had written against *Cyril* and *Rabulas* 1.

1 See Vol. I. p. 392.

2 Concil. t. 4. p. 680. Facund. l. 6. c. 1, 2.

As none of these Writers had been condemned, nor their Writings censured, by the Council of *Chalcedon*, to censure or condemn them afterwards, was, in some degree, censuring and condemning that Council: And that the Metropolitan of *Cæsarea* had in View, in engaging the Emperor to condemn them. For *Justinian* readily fell in with the Proposal, being fully satisfied, that he should thereby gain over the *Acephali*, as had been suggested by *Theodorus*, and not aware, says *Liberatus* ^s, of the Views of the Party, nor sufficiently on his Guard against the Craft and Wiles of designing Men. An Edict was therefore immediately issued, condemning as *heretical*, as *impious*, *wicked*, and *blasphemous*, the Three above-mentioned Pieces, which became afterwards so famous under the Name of *The Three Chapters*, a Name, says *Liberatus* ^t, for our Sins, but too well known. The Edict was intituled, *The Emperor Justinian's Confession of Faith, addressed to the Assembly of the Catholic and Apostolic Church*. It contains an Exposition at large of the Catholic Faith, which the Emperor proposes to the whole World, in order to unite all Christians in one Belief. He begins with explaining the Catholic Faith concerning the Trinity; then passes to the Mystery of the Incarnation; and, having anathematized the various Errors concerning that Mystery, and those who broached or maintained them, namely, *Arius*, *Eunomius*, *Macedonius*, *Apollinarius*, *Nestorius*, and *Eutyches*, he adds to his other Anathemas one against *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, and his Writings; another against the Books which *Theodore* wrote against *Cyril*; and the Third against the Letter of *Ibas* to *Maris* the *Persian*. He pretends that the Writings which he condemns, were all condemned before by the Council of *Chalcedon*; which was certainly false. Not satisfied with condemning the Letter of *Ibas*, he anathematizes all who should maintain it, or any Part of it, to be Orthodox, which, in the Opinion of *Facundus*, was evidently contradicting the Council of *Chalcedon*, since the Fathers of that Assembly had, according to him, from that very Letter, concluded the Faith of *Ibas* to be Orthodox ^u.

This Edict alarmed the Orthodox Party, and much more the positive Order sent by the Emperor to all the Patriarchs, enjoining them to receive it. *Mennas* of *Constantinople*, *Zoilus* of *Alexandria*, *Ephrem* of *Antioch*, and *Peter* of *Jerusalem*, remonstrated against it in the strongest Terms, as highly injurious to the Council of *Chal-*

Year of
Christ 542.
The Design
of Theodo-
rus in advi-
sing the Em-
peror to con-
demn them.

Justinian
condemns
them under
the Name of
the Three
Chapters.

Enjoins all
Patriarchs
to receive his
Edict con-
demning
them.

^s Liberat. in Breviar. prope fin. ^t Idem ibid. ^u Facund. pro defens. cap. l. i.

Year of
Christ 542.

cedon, and suggested by the *Acephali* with no other View, but to derogate from the Authority of that Council. But, finding the Emperor would hearken to no Remonstrances, they complied in the End, and chose rather to sign the Edict, however injurious to the Council of *Chalcedon*, than to forfeit their Sees, and be driven into Exile; for the Emperor threatened with Deposition and Exile all, without Dis-

The Three
Chapters con-
demned by al-
most all the
Eastern Bi-
shops.

The Impe-
rial Edict
is opposed by
the Western
Bishops.

tinction, who did not receive it. The Example of the Patriarchs was followed by the far greater Part of their Suffragans: so that the Edict was, in a very short time, received, and the Three Chapters condemned, by almost all the Bishops in the East. But in the West it met with a no less vigorous than general Opposition. *Vigilius*, and the other Bishops of *Italy*, as well as those of *Gaul* and *Africa*, all declared unanimously against it, as evidently striking at what they called the very Foundation of the Catholic Faith, the Authority of Councils. This Opposition the Emperor ascribed chiefly to *Vigilius*; and therefore sent him a peremptory Order to repair, without Delay, to *Constantinople*, not doubting but, having him once in his Power, he should be able to prevail upon him, by some means or other, by Force or Persuasions, by Threats or by Promises, to acquiesce in the Edict; which, he thought, would put an End to all Opposition in the West. In Compliance with this Order, the Pope set out for *Constantinople*, in the Latter-end of the present Year, much against his Will, says *Victor Tununensis*, foreseeing the Storm that threatened him, and apprehending the Displeasure of the Emperor, if he did not yield, and the Reproaches of the Western Bishops, if he did.

The Pope or-
dered to re-
pair to Con-
stantinople.

The Biblio-
thecarian's
Account of his
Departure
from Rome.

The *Bibliothecarian* writes, that, at his Departure, the *Roman* People, highly incensed against him on account of the Death of *Silverius*, and his unheard-of Cruelty (for he charges him with having killed his own Secretary in a Transport of Passion, and having caused his own Sister's Son to be whipped to Death), pursued him with Curses, and Showers of Stones, to the *Tiber*, where he embarked, crying out, *Hunger and Pestilence go with thee! Evil hast thou done to us, and may Evil overtake thee where-ever thou art!* But the Authority of *Anastasius* is not to be relied on; for he tells us in the same Place, that the Empress, to be revenged on *Vigilius* for not communicating with the *Acephali*, agreeably to his Promise, dispatched one *Anthimus* with Orders to apprehend him, and bring him Prisoner to *Constantinople*; that he was accordingly seized in the

Church of *St. Cæcilia*, and, being put on board a Vessel that lay in the *Tiber*, conveyed strait into the East. But *Procopius* ^x, *Victor* ^y, *Tununenſis* ^z, and *Pacundus* ^z, who lived at that very time, ascribe his Journey to a positive Order he received from the Emperor.

As *Rome* was then closely besieged by the brave *Totila* King of the *Goths*, and reduced to great Streights for want of Provisions, the Pope, in his Way to *Constantinople*, landed in *Sicily*, with a Design to send from thence a Supply of Corn to the distressed City. He sent accordingly a great Number of Vessels, laden with Corn; but unluckily they fell all into the Enemy's Hands, and, with them, *Valentinus*, Bishop of *Silva Candida*, now *Santa Ruffina*, in *Tuscany*, whom *Vigilius* had appointed to govern the *Roman* Church in his Absence, with the Character of his *Vicar*. The Bishop was immediately carried to the King, who, having narrowly examined him, and found him in several Instances inconsistent with himself, ordered both his Hands to be cut off^a.

While *Vigilius* was still in *Sicily*, he received Advice from *Stephen*, who had succeeded *Pelagius* with the Character of Nuncio from the Apostolic See to the Court of *Constantinople*, that a Council had been held there, and the Three Chapters condemned by almost all the Bishops, who were present. As it was to assist in Person at a Council, in which the Subject of the Dispute concerning the Three Chapters was, as the Emperor pretended, to be impartially examined, that the Pope had been summoned into the East, he was no less surprised than provoked to hear, that the Council had met, and taken such a Step, without his Concurrence, or even his Knowledge. Upon the first Notice, therefore, of what had passed, he wrote to the Emperor, begging, that whatever had been done in his Absence, might be declared null; and at the same time to *Mennas*, who had presided at the Council, and signed the Imperial Edict against the Three Chapters, threatening to cut him off from his Communion, if he did not withdraw his Subscription. The Emperor, in Answer to his Letter, assured the Pope, that he had nothing in View but the Purity of the Faith, and the Peace of the Church; that, as to the Affair of the Three Chapters, he did not at all question, but, were his Holiness present, it would, by his Means, be settled to the inspire Satisfaction of both Parties; and therefore earnestly intreated him to pursue, without farther Delays, his Journey to the Imperial City, where he had

Year of
Christ 542.

He sends
from Sicily a
Supply of
Corn to
Rome, which
is intercepted
by the Enemy.
Year of
Christ 545.

He learns in
Sicily, that a
Council had
been held at
Constanti-
nople, and
the Three
Chapters
had been
condemned by
it without
him.

But is pre-
vailed upon
by the Empe-
ror to pursue
his Journey.
Year of
Christ 546.

^x Procop. bell. Goth. l. 3. c. 15.
l. 4. c. 3.

^y Vict. Tun. ad ann. 544.
^z Procop. bell. Goth. l. 3. c. 15.

^z Pacund.

Year of
Christ 546.

been long expected by a great Number of holy Bishops, and himself, all ready to concur with him in such Measures, as should be judged the most proper to put an End to the present, and prevent all future Disputes.

Arrives at
Constanti-
nople.

Year of
Christ 547.

He declares
against the
Imperial
Edict, and
excludes from
his Commu-
nion all who
received it.

The Pope, encouraged by the kind Expressions the Emperor used in his Letter, set out from *Sicily* in the Latter-end of the Year 546. and, arriving at *Constantinople* on the 25th of *January* 547. was there received with uncommon Marks of Respect and Esteem, both by *Justinian* and *Theodora*, flattering themselves, says *Theophanes*, that he might thus be gained over to their Measures. But he had yet been but a few Days in *Constantinople*, when he not only declared against the Imperial Edict condemning the Three Chapters, as evidently derogating from the Authority of the great Council of *Chalcedon*, but excluded from his Communion *Mennas*, and, with him, all the Bishops who had signed or received it. This Conduct in the Pope obliged the Emperor to change his. Having therefore sent for *Vigilius* to the Imperial Palace, and there, in a private Conference, attempted, but in vain, to convince him, that the Condemnation of the Three Chapters was no-ways derogatory to the Authority of the Council of *Chalcedon*, he told him at last, in plain Terms, that, since the impious Doctrine of *Nestorius* was evidently contained in the Writings of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, of *Theodoret*, and *Ibas*, he must either join the other Patriarchs, who had all condemned them, or lay aside all Thoughts of ever returning to *Rome* or *Italy*, where his Presence would only serve to increase and maintain the Misunderstanding that began to prevail between the East and the West. Of this Violence the Pope loudly complained, as more becoming a *Dioclesian* than a Christian Prince; and at the same time let the Emperor know, that though he might dispose of his Person as he thought fit, his Authority was not capable of Restraint or Controul; and that no Force or Violence should ever induce him to prostitute that Authority to the wicked Views and Designs of those, who were alike Enemies to the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Catholic Faith. But the Resolution and Firmness, shewn by *Vigilius* on this Occasion, soon forsook him; and a few Months after, the Desire he had of returning to *Rome* prevailing over the Regard he pretended to have for the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Catholic Faith, he not only readmitted to his Communion the Bishops who had signed the Imperial Edict, but, the following Year, seeing nothing would satisfy the Emperor but a solemn

But yields to
the Menaces
of the Empe-
ror; and con-
demns the
Three Chap-
ters in a
Council of 70
Bishops, by a
solemn De-
cree styled
Judicatum.
Year of
Christ 548.

Con-

Condemnation of the Three Chapters, he solemnly condemned them in a Council consisting of Seventy Bishops, assembled for that Purpose in *Constantinople*. It was on that Occasion he issued the famous Decree styled *Judicatum*, containing the Condemnation of the above-mentioned Articles, and, with it, a solemn Declaration, that he did not thereby intend to derogate in the least from the Authority of the Council of *Chalcedon*, tho' he had till then maintained the Condemnation of those Articles to be evidently derogatory to the Authority of that Council.

Year of
Christ 548.

The *Judicatum* was a definitive Sentence pronounced by the Pope in a Council, and approved by the far greater Part of the Bishops, who composed that Assembly. And yet, of the many Bishops in the West, who stood up in Defence of the Three Chapters condemned there by the Pope, not one acquiesced in that Sentence, but all declared loudly against it; nay, *Facundus*, of *Hermiana* in *Africa*, who was then at *Constantinople*, taxed the Pope, to his Face, with Perfidiousness, Venality, and Prevarication, with favouring the *Acephali*, and betraying underhand the Catholic Cause ¹. The Bishops

What Regard
paid to that
Decree in the
West.

of *Illyricum* not only condemned the *Judicatum*, in a very name-
rous Synod assembled to examine that Decree; but deposed *Benena-
tus*, Metropolitan of *Justiniana Prima*, for pretending to defend it
in Opposition to the rest of his Brethren ². The *African* Bishops

Condemned by
the Bishops of
Illyricum.

Year of
Christ 549.

went still farther: for they, not satisfied with rejecting the *Judica-
tum*, in a full Council, as tending to establish the *Eutychian* Heresy
on the Ruins of the Catholic Faith, separated themselves, with one
Consent, from the Communion of the Pope, nay, and declared him
unworthy of the Catholic Communion, unless, returning to him-
self, he repented, and repaired, so far as in him lay, the Mischief
he had done ³. *Vigilius* was, on this Occasion, abandoned, and
warmly opposed, even by some of his own Ecclesiastics, whom he had
brought with him in his Retinue to *Constantinople*, namely, by the
Two Deacons *Rusticus* and *Sebastianus*, by several Subdeacons, by
the Defenders of the *Roman* Church, and by his own Secretary and
Notaries. These, separating themselves, with the Two Deacons at
their Head, from the Communion of their Bishop, wrote Letters, in
Justification of their Conduct, to their Friends and Correspondents
in the different Provinces of the West, especially in *Italy*, *Gaul*, and

Vigilius ex-
communicated
by the African
Bishops.

Year of
Christ 550.

His own Ec-
clesiastics se-
parate them-
selves from
his Commu-
nion.

¹ Facund. contr. Mocian.
ad ann. 550.

² Vi&t. Tunun. ad ann. 549.

³ Vi&t. Tun.

Year of
Christ 550.

Africa, acquainting them with the Fall, Prevarication, and, as they styled it, Apostasy, of *Vigilius*. At the same time the Deacon *Rufinus*, who is said to have been one of the most learned Men of the *Roman* Church, published a Treatise in Defence of the Three Chapters, filled with most bitter Reflections on *Vigilius*, whom he painted there as a secret Friend to the *Acephali*, as an Enemy to the Council of *Chalcedon*, as one who was ready to sacrifice both the Church, and the Faith, to the Will of the Emperor ^b.

Vigilius repents what he had done.

The Pope, alarmed at so general an Opposition, began to repent what he had done; and even to entertain some Thoughts of revoking the *Judicatum*, which had given so great Offence to his Collegues in the West. But the Emperor, on the other hand, was unalterably bent on the Condemnation of the Three Chapters; had even written in Defence of the *Judicatum*, against the Bishops of *Africa* and *Illyricum*; and had sent those among them into Exile, who had distinguished themselves the most by their Warmth in opposing it. *Vigilius*, therefore, not doubting but he should meet with the like, if not a more severe Treatment, were he to revoke a Decree, which the Emperor seemed determined, at all Events, to maintain, continued thundering Anathemas against all who did not receive it; though he was, at this very time, firmly resolved, in his own Mind, to revoke it, and only waited for a favourable Opportunity of executing, without Danger, the Resolution he had taken. To his Anathemas the Bishops of the opposite Party paid no kind of Regard; but, retorting them upon him, separated themselves from his Communion, and from the Communion of all who did not anathematize both his *Judicatum* and him. Thus was the whole Church rent, to use the Expression of *Justinian*, from East to West; the Decree of the Pope, which the Emperor had flattered himself would have put an End to the Dispute, serving only to increase the Animosities that prevailed before, and render the Two Parties more averse to each other, and more irreconcilable. This *Vigilius* himself, who wanted only a plausible Pretence to recall his Decree, represented to the Emperor in the strongest Terms, adding, that, since the *Judicatum* had been issued without the Consent and Approbation, and even without the Knowledge, of the Western Bishops, they were not, after all, so greatly to blame for not receiving it: but, were the Three Chapters condemned in a General Council, none would dare to oppose the

*He over-
reaches the
Emperor, and
gets his Judi-
catum re-
voked.*

^b Concil. l. 1. n. 25. p. 1228.

Year of
Christ 550.

A General
Council as-
sembled by
the Emperor,
at the Request
of the Pope.
Year of
Christ 551.

The Western
Bishops de-
cline assisting
at the Coun-
cil.

Sentence and Judgment of such an Assembly. He therefore advised the Emperor to assemble one, as the only Means of composing the present unhappy Divisions, to summon the Western Bishops to it, especially those of *Africa* and *Illyricum*; and in the mean time, lest they should think themselves only summoned to approve or condemn what was already approved or condemned, to leave Matters in the Condition they were in before the Imperial Edict, and the *Judicatum*, were published. The Emperor, not suspecting in the least the Sincerity of *Vigilius*, consented to the Proposal as soon as it was offered; and it was agreed, that no Regard should be had to any former Determination concerning the Points in Dispute, but that the Whole should be referred to the Decision of a Council, at which the Western Bishops should be present, those especially of *Africa* and *Illyricum*, who had signalized themselves above the rest in the Defence of the Three Chapters. The Pope was well apprised, that the Western Bishops would not be easily prevailed upon to assist at a Council held in *Constantinople*, where they could not but know, that they should be obliged in the End to submit to the Will of the Emperor; and it was only to gain Time, and for the sake of a Pretence to get the *Judicatum*, in the mean while, revoked, that he proposed the Assembling of a Council, at which the Bishops both of the East and the West should assist. Of this *Justinian* was not aware, and therefore, acquiescing in the Proposal of *Vigilius*, summoned the Bishops in the different Provinces of the Empire to meet, without Delay, at *Constantinople*, and there determine, by their unbyassed Suffrages, the present Dispute. The Eastern Bishops met at the appointed Time, and, with them, some from *Italy*, but Two only from *Africa*, and not one from *Illyricum*. The Emperor waited some time, with great Impatience, the Arrival of other Bishops from the West; but, finding they declined, under various Pretences, complying with his Summons, and at the same time apprehending he had been over-reached by the Pope, in agreeing to refer the Decision of the Controversy to the Judgment of a Council, at which the Bishops of *Africa* and *Illyricum* should be present, ordered those, who were then at *Constantinople*, and *Vigilius* among the rest, to assemble without them. This occasioned a warm Dispute between the Pope and the Emperor, the Pope pretending, that, by the Terms of the Agreement, the Council was not to meet till the Arrival of the Western Bishops; and the Emperor, that he had fulfilled the Agreement by summoning them to

Year of
Christ 551.

And likewise
the Pope.

Justinian, by
a new Edict,
condemns the
Three Chap-
ters.

His Edict op-
posed by the
Pope, and
the Western
Bishops.

the Council; that, since they had not thought fit to obey that Summons, it was not reasonable, that those, who had, should be kept any longer at a Distance from their Sees. The Pope declared, that, since the Number of Western Bishops at *Constantinople* was yet so very inconsiderable, he would neither assist at the Council, till others arrived, nor receive the Decisions of such an Assembly as the Decisions of a Council. His thus refusing to assist at the Council without the Western Bishops, when he knew they could not be prevailed upon to come to it, convinced the Emperor, that he designed to change Sides, and that he only wanted to gain Time, and had, with that View, proposed the Assembling of a General Council. *Justinian* therefore, not thinking himself bound to wait the Decision of a Council, pursuant to the late Agreement between him and the Pope, issued a new Edict, and caused it to be set up in the great Church, and other public Places of the Imperial City, condemning the Three Chapters in the strongest Terms, and anathematizing all, without Distinction, who should thenceforth presume to defend them. Against this Edict *Vigilius* loudly exclaimed, as an open Violation of the late Agreement, as highly injurious to the Authority of the Apostolic See, and of the Ecclesiastical Order in general, to whom alone it belonged, as he pretended, to define and decide in all Matters of Faith and Religion. Having therefore assembled both the *Latin* and *Greek* Bishops, who were then at *Constantinople*, in the Palace of *Placidia*, where he lodged during his Stay in that City, he there solemnly protested, in their Presence, against the Imperial Edict; earnestly intreated them to use what Interest they had with the Emperor to get it revoked, or, at least, suspended till the Meeting of the Council; and, lastly, exerting *the Authority of St. Peter vested in him*, declared all, who should sign, receive, or any-ways approve it, suspended, the Moment they did so, from the Communion of the Prime Apostle, and that of his See. At the same time *Dacius of Milan*, who was present at that Meeting, after inveighing with great Warmth and Liberty against the Edict, as calculated to shake the very Foundation of the Catholic Faith, the Authority of Oecumenical Councils [as if the Catholic Faith had no better Foundation], let his Collegues know, with great Noise and Bawling, *magna vociferatione*, that they must either condemn and reject that Edict, or renounce his Communion,

Communion, and not his only, but that of all their Brethren in *Gaul, Burgundy, Spain, Liguria, Emilia, and Venetia* c. Year of
Christ 551.

Of the many Eastern Bishops, who were present, not one joined the Pope but *Zoilus of Alexandria*, who was thereupon deposed the same Day by an Order from the Emperor. As for *Vigilius*, he privately withdrew, as soon as the Assembly broke up, from the Palace of *Placidia*, and, with *Dacius of Milan*, took Refuge in the Church of *St. Peter*. But the Emperor was too much provoked to pay any Regard to the Sacredness of the Place; and therefore ordered the Prætor, whose Province it was to apprehend Thieves, Robbers, Murderers, and such-like Criminals, to seize on *Vigilius* even in the Church, and drag him, as a common Malefactor, from the Altar itself, should he there take Sanctuary, to the public Gaol. In Compliance with this Order, the Prætor entered the Church at the Head of a numerous Band of his own Men, supported by a Body of regular Troops, to awe the Populace, and prevent the Disturbances they might raise on such an extraordinary Occasion. The Prætor no sooner appeared, than the Pope, who expected no such Visit, not thinking the Emperor would have come to such Extremities, flew, in great Consternation, to the Shrine of the Martyr *St. Sergius*, and, embracing the Pillars that supported the Altar over the Shrine, continued there, while the Ecclesiastics, who attended him, strove to divert the Prætor from so wicked an Attempt, from laying violent Hands on the First Bishop of the Catholic Church, at the very Shrine and Altar of so renowned a Martyr and Saint. But the Prætor, not hearkening to them, ordered his Men to seize the refractory Bishop, who, seizing him accordingly, some by the Feet, others by the Hair, and some by the Beard, strove to force him from his Sanctuary. But as the Pope, who was a Man of an uncommon Size, and of Strength in proportion to his Size, in spite of all their Efforts, still kept his Hold, the Pillars gave Way, and the Altar fell down. In the mean time the Populace, who are commonly on the Side of those who suffer, whether guilty or innocent, flocking to the Church at the Noise, and touched with Compassion in seeing a Bishop so cruelly used, without any Regard to his Rank and Character, fell on the Prætor with such Fury, that, not being duly supported by the soldiery, he was glad to save himself by Flight, and leave the Pope safe

*The Pope flies
to a Sanctu-
ary.*

*The Emperor
orders him to
be taken from
thence.*

*But he is res-
cued by the
Populace.*

Year of
Christ 551.

in his Asylum^d. This proved a great Disappointment to the Emperor, who was resolved to employ Arguments, which, he well knew, *Vigilius* was not a Man to have long withstood, had he had him in his Power.

A solemn De-
putation sent
him by the
Emperor.

The Emperor, being informed of what had passed, sent, the next Day, a solemn Deputation to the Pope, consisting of several Persons of the First Rank, among whom were *Belisarius*, and *Justin*, the Emperor's own Nephew, and afterwards his Successor in the Empire. These were to persuade the Pope to quit his Asylum, and return to the Palace of *Placidia*; to promise, upon Oath, in the Emperor's Name, that, if he returned of his own accord, he should meet with no ill Treatment; but to let him know, at the same time, that, if he did not return upon such Assurance, neither the Church, where he had taken Shelter, nor the turbulent and rebellious Mob, in whom he seemed chiefly to confide, would screen him from the Punishment due to his treasonable Obstinacy and Disobedience. *Vigilius* thought it advisable to comply, nay, and to acquiesce in the Form of the Oath, which the Deputies were to take, as it was worded by the Emperor, though he was well apprised, that it might be easily eluded, and scarce afforded him any kind of Safety (A). He had accordingly no sooner

He is pre-
vailed upon
to quit his
Asylum.

^d Vigil. & Cler. Ital. ibid. Theoph. ad ann. 544. & 547.

(A) This Oath the Deputies took, in the Emperor's Name, touching the Keys of St. Peter (what Keys I know not), and a Cross, in which was inclosed a Piece of the holy Cross, and swearing by them (1). To swear by any Creature whatever, either in Heaven, or on Earth, was looked upon, in the time of *Optatus*, that is, towards the latter End of the Fourth Century, as rank Idolatry. For that Writer charges the *Donatists* with Impiety, Sacrilege, and Idolatry, in swearing by *Donatus*, and the Martyrs of their Sect, whereas Men, says he, ought to swear by God alone; and to swear by a Creature, is transferring to a Creature the Worship which is due to none but to God (2). But what was deemed Impiety, Sacrilege, and Idolatry, in the time of *Optatus*, became

afterwards the common Practice of the Church, Men swearing sometimes only by Angels, and Saints, or the Reliques of Saints; and sometimes by God and the Saints; but seldom or never by God alone. In one of *Justinian's* Novels, we have the Form of the Oath which he obliged all Governors of Provinces to take, when they first entered upon their Office. It was as follows: "I swear by God Almighty, and his only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost, and the most holy glorious Mother of God, and ever Virgin *Mary*, and by the Four Gospels, which I hold in my hand, and by the holy Archangels *Michael* and *Gabriel*, that I will keep a pure Conscience, and pay faithful and true Allegiance to their most sacred Majesties

(1) Vigil. ep. 7. t. 1. Epist. Rom. Pont. l. 2. p. 58.

(2) Optat. l. 3. p. 65. 69. &

sooner quitted his Asylum, than the Emperor began anew to insist, with Threats and Menaces, on his receiving the Edict against the Three Chapters, or, at least, admitting those to his Communion who received it. *Vigilius* could not be prevailed upon to do either: and the Evils he suffered on that account, notwithstanding the Oath which the Emperor had taken, were, as he informs us, quite inexpressible. The *Bibliothecarian* writes, that he was one Day dragged through the chief Streets of *Constantinople*, with a Rope about his Neck; that, another Day, one of the Emperor's Officers, striking him on the Face, reproached him with the Murder of his Predecessor, and of the Son of a Widow, whom he beat, or caused to be beaten, to Death; that he himself was once beaten almost to Death by the Ministers of the Emperor's Cruelty and Revenge, and carried, in that Condition, to the public Gaol, where he was kept for some time upon Bread and Water^f. But with these Particulars the contemporary Writers seem to have been utterly unacquainted; though they all agree, that he was treated with great Severity; insomuch that the Emperor, apprehending he might be tempted, by the evil Treatment he met with, to return to his Asylum, and there, as he had the Mob on his Side, bid him Defiance, ordered Centries to be placed round

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*Is ill used by
the Emperor,
and in a man-
ner kept Pri-
soner.*

* Vigil. ep. 7.

^f Anast. & Platin. in Vigil.

"*Justinian*, and *Theodora* his Consort, who have put me into this Office. And I swear by the same Oath, that I neither gave, nor will give, nor promised to give, any thing whatever to any one, for his Patronage and Interest in procuring me this Administration; but as I received it without Bribery, so I will execute it with Purity, and be satisfied with the public Salary that is appointed me (3)." *Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God*, says *Moses* (4), *and shalt serve him only, and swear by his Name. How shall I be favourable unto thee?* says God by the Prophet *Jeremiah* (5); *thy Children have forsaken me, and sworn by those who are no Gods. To swear, therefore, by those who are no Gods, by Saints, by Reliques, by the Cross, is forsaking God, and bestowing on Creatures the Worship that is due to him alone. However, Men are allowed,*

by the Catechism of Trent (6), *to swear by the Cross, and the Reliques of Saints; and in the Church of Rome, few Oaths are now administered in the Name of God alone. When the Emperors came to Rome, to take the Imperial Diadem at the Pope's Hands, the following Oath was tendered them, "I King of the Romans swear by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by the Wood of the Cross, and by these Reliques," &c. In this Oath the Wood of the Cross, and the Reliques of Saints, are placed in the same Rank with the Trinity, and are consequently honoured with the same divine Worship. This kind of Idolatry seems to have crept into the Church in the time of Justinian, the above-mentioned Oath, which he obliged all Governors of Provinces to take, being the first of that Nature which I find to have been allowed by the Church.*

(3) Justin. Novel. 9.
second. Præcept. Decal. p. 267.

(4) Deut. vi. 13.

(5) Jer. v. 9.

(6) In

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But makes his
Escape, and
gets safe to
Chalcedon.

Is invited, by
a solemn De-
putation from
the Emperor,
to return to
Constanti-
nople.

He returns,
upon the Em-
peror's re-
voking his
Edict.

the Palace where he lodged, and all the Avenues to it to be carefully guarded Night and Day by regular Troops. The Sight of the Troops alarmed the Pope to such a degree, that, looking upon every Day as the last of his Life, he resolved, at all Events, to attempt an Escape.

He attempted it soon after; and, climbing, by the Favour of a dark Night, over a Wall that was building, but was not yet raised to its due Height, got safe and unobserved to the Sea-side. There he embarked on a small Vessel, and, crossing over to *Chalcedon*, on the opposite Shore, took Sanctuary in the Church of the Martyr *St. Euphemia*, the most revered Asylum of all the East &c.

The Emperor was greatly disturbed at the Flight of *Vigilius*; the rather, as he could not doubt but the Pope, mindful of the ill Usage he had met with, would be more upon his Guard, and be hardly prevailed upon to put himself again in his Power. However, he dispatched to *Chalcedon* the same Persons whom he had employed in the former Deputation, to treat with him about his Return to *Constantinople*, charging them to agree to the Terms, with respect to his Safety, which he himself should require. But *Vigilius*, finding himself now in a Place where he could apprehend no Violence, because it would not have been safe for the Emperor, or his Ministers, to have used any; and, on the other hand, knowing, by Experience, how little he could depend on the Faith of the *Greeks*; told the Deputies, that they attempted in vain to entice him, with fair Words and Promises, from his Asylum; that there he was safe, and there he was determined to continue, till the Scandal was removed, which had raised such Disturbances in the Church; that is, till the Imperial Edict condemning the Three Chapters was revoked, and the Decision of the Dispute concerning them was left intire to the unbiassed Judgment of a General Council, pursuant to the former Agreement between him and the Emperor. *Justinian* thought it the Height of Insolence in the Pope to require him to revoke an Edict which he had but lately issued, and caused to be set up, with great Solemnity, in all the public Places of the Imperial City. However, as he was extremely desirous, that the Council should meet, not doubting but the Three Chapters would be condemned by the far greater Part of the Bishops who composed it, he yielded at last; revoked the Edict; and, that no Pretence might be left for the Pope,

and the Western Bishops, to absent themselves from the Council, declared anew, void and null whatever had been done, till that time, for or against the Points in Dispute &c. Year of
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With that Declaration the Pope pretended to be satisfied; and therefore leaving *Chalcedon* towards the Latter-end of the present Year 552. he returned at last to *Constantinople*. There he received, a few Days after his Arrival, a Letter from *Eutychius*, who had succeeded the Patriarch *Mennas*, deceased some Months before, containing a Confession of his Faith, lest his Orthodoxy should be called in Question, and, at the same time, earnestly intreating the Pope, that, since it was absolutely necessary, for the Peace and Unity of the Church, that the present Controversy concerning the Three Chapters should be determined in an Assembly of Bishops, his Holiness would be pleased to concur with his Brethren in determining it, and thereby put a speedy End to the fatal Divisions that had already but too long prevailed among the Bishops, who professed the same Faith and Religion. That no room might be left for Disputes about Place or Precedency, *Eutychius* generously yielded the First Place to the Pope, telling him, in his Letter, that his Holiness should preside; that the controverted Points should be fairly and impartially examined; and that, the Four holy Gospels being placed in the midst of the Assembly, nothing should be determined but what was agreeable to the Definitions and Doctrine of the Four Oecumenical Councils; not of the Four Gospels, which indeed were allowed a Place in all Councils, but were scarce ever consulted, or opened. This Letter was addressed, by *Eutychius*, to the most Holy and most Blessed Vigilius, his Fellow-Bishop; and signed by him, and Three other Patriarchs; viz. by *Apollinaris*, who had been intruded into the See of *Alexandria*, in the room of *Zoilus*, by *Domnus* of *Antioch*, and by *Elias* of *Thessalonica*. *Is intreated
by the Bishop
of Constantinople to
assist at the
Council.*

To that Proposal *Vigilius* agreed, by a Letter dated the 8th of January 553. and addressed to his well-beloved Brother *Eutychius*, and the Bishops under his Jurisdiction. But, at the same time, he represented to the Emperor, that were he to assist, and even to preside, at a Council, consisting chiefly of Eastern Bishops, it was greatly to be apprehended, that his Brethren in the West would not acquiesce in the Decrees and Decisions of such an Assembly. He there- *Vigilius con-
sents to the
assembling of
a Council,
and promises
to assist at it
in Person.*
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*He proposes
to the Empe-
ror the decide-
ing of the
Controversy
by an equal
Number of
Greek and
Latin Bi-
shops; which
the Emperor
agrees to.*

fore advised him, if he was truly desirous of seeing the present Dispute determined, to the intire Satisfaction of both Parties, to cause it to be determined by an equal Number of both. *Vigilius* was well apprised, that the Western Bishops were no less unalterable in their Resolution to defend, than the Eastern Bishops were in theirs to condemn the Three Chapters; and, consequently, that, were they both equal in Numbers, there would be a Majority on neither Side, and the Question would remain still undecided; Truth and the Holy Ghost being, in all Councils, supposed to be on the Side of the Majority, but not more on the one than on the other, so long as the Division is equal (A). *Justinian*, suffering himself to be over-reached a Second time by the Pope, embraced his Advice; and it was agreed between them, that an equal Number of *Greek and Latin* Bishops should meet some time before *Easter*, which in 553. fell on the 20th of *April*; and that the Controversy should be finally decided by them alone ^h.

*The Eastern
Bishops refuse
to stand to
that Agree-
ment.*

This Agreement was no sooner notified to the Eastern Bishops, than they all, to a Man, protested against it, remonstrating, in a Memorial, which, on that Occasion, they presented to the Emperor,

^h Vigil. ep. 8. et Coll. prima quint. Synod.

(A) Had the Pope been really persuaded, that whatever is defined by the Majority of a Council must be Truth, he would never have taken so much Pains, nor used so many Shifts, to avoid the Sentence of a Council consisting chiefly of *Greeks*. He saw, it is true, a Majority on the other Side; but that was only a Majority of private Judgments, which must have changed, if they were wrong, and the Council was infallible. The Successors of *Vigilius* seem to have no more believed the Infallibility of Councils than he. For we find them striving, in all Oecumenical Councils, to gain a Majority by such means as leave no room to doubt of their supposing the Holy Ghost to be quite out of the Question. Thus, for Instance, in the Council of *Trent*, a Council of the greatest Authority in the Church of *Rome*, Care was taken, that the *Italian* Bishops should be sent thither in such Numbers as might carry every Question against all the rest. If any Accession of Bishops came from *France*, or other Places beyond the Mountains, others were sent, on whom

the Pope could depend, to secure a Majority still on his Side. Thus were there, at last, in that Council 187 *Italians*, and only 83 of other Nations. The *Italians* all voted, as is well known, according to the Directions they received from *Rome*, not doubting but they should receive there a suitable Reward for their good Behaviour; which gave Occasion to the profane Saying, That *the Holy Ghost was sent from Rome to Trent in a Budget*. Had the Popes really believed, that all private Opinions and Engagements would be overruled by the infallible Spirit of Councils, by the unerring Direction of the Holy Ghost, and consequently that the Bishops, who composed those Councils, could not, like *Balaam*, speak any other Word, but what God put in their Mouths, whatever might have been promised or given them, their Holinesses would have learned, from the Example of *Balak*, to be wiser than to have thus wasted their Treasures to so little Purpose, to receive, perhaps, a Curse instead of a Blessing.

that

that Matters of Faith and Religion concerned all Bishops alike, and, consequently, that all alike had a Right to be consulted in such Matters, and to deliver their Opinion; that many of them were come, for that Purpose alone, from the most distant Provinces of the Empire; that, since the Western Bishops had been summoned, as well as they, it was highly unreasonable, to say no more, in the Bishop of *Rome*, to think of excluding from the Council his Fellow-Bishops in the East, who had obeyed the Summons, because his Brethren in the West had not thought fit to obey it; that there was actually then at *Constantinople* a far greater Number of Western Bishops than had yet been present at any of the Four preceding Councils; that, at the Council of *Chalcedon*, consisting of 630 Bishops, not one of the *Latins* was present, besides the Legates of Pope *Leo*; that the Council of *Nice*, the most revered of all, was composed of *Greeks* alone (A); that the *Latins* being very few in Number, Fifteen in all, a Council consisting of them, and an equal Number of *Greeks*, would not deserve the Name of an Oecumenical Council; and, lastly, That were the Numbers on both Sides equal, the Controversy would remain undecided, it being well known, that the *Latins* were unalterably determined to defend the Three Chapters, in Opposition to the *Greeks*, who condemned themⁱ.

These Reasons *Justinian* could not withstand; and therefore, without any Regard to the Agreement between him and the Pope, he ordered all the Bishops, who were then at *Constantinople*, to meet on the 5th of *May* (B), in the *Secretarium* (C) of the Patriarch. To

The Emperor, without any regard to that Agreement, orders the Council to Vigilius meet.

ⁱ Vigil. in Constat. ad Justinian.

(A) The *Greeks* were therein certainly mistaken; for at the Council of *Nice* were present the Two Roman Presbyters *Vitus* and *Vincentius*, with the Character of the Pope's Legates; and, besides them, the famous *Ofus* of *Cordova*, who distinguished himself above all the rest (1), and is said, by some, to have presided at that Assembly; at least, his Name is placed the first in the Subscriptions, even before the Names of the Pope's Legates (2).

(B) The Council was appointed to meet, according to the printed Copies, *ad IV. Nonas Maii*; but, in Two ancient Manuscripts, we read, *Die III. Nonas Maias*,

that is, on the 5th of *May*, which in 553 fell on a *Monday*. And truly *Monday* was, generally speaking, the Day on which Councils were opened, and the Sessions begun, the Bishops, who were to compose them, having, with great Solemnity, performed Divine Service the preceding *Sunday*. Thus the Council of *Nice* began to sit on the 14th of *June*; the First of *Constantinople*, on the 24th of *May*; that of *Ephesus* on the 22d of *June*; and that of *Chalcedon* on the 8th of *October*; which, in the Years those Councils were held, fell all on *Mondays* (3).

(C) The *Secretum* or *Secretarium* was

(1) Euseb. vit. Constantin. l. 3. c. 8.

(2) Concil. t. 2. p. 50. Socrat. l. 1. c. 13.

(3) Vide Gassner. Dissert. de Quint. Syn. General. c. 5.

Vigilius he sent some Persons of the first Rank, to acquaint him with what was *unanswerably objected*, by the *Greeks*, against his Proposal; to convince his Holiness of the Unreasonableness of it; and to persuade him to concur with the other Catholic Bishops in restoring Peace and Tranquillity to the Church. But the Pope wanted only a Pretence to absent himself from the Council, being well apprised, that the Three Chapters would be condemned by a great Majority of the Bishops who composed it. Deaf therefore to all Reason, he told the Deputies, without offering to answer the Objections of the *Greeks*, that he was ready to assist at the Council, on the Terms agreed to by him and the Emperor; that he neither would nor could, on any other; but should, in due time, acquaint *Justinian* in particular with his real Sentiments concerning the Points in Dispute^k.

*The Council
meets.*

In the mean time the Day, fixed for the Meeting of the Council, being come, the Eastern Bishops met, pursuant to the Emperor's Order, at the appointed Place; in all 165; while those from the West assembled apart, with the Pope, in the Palace of *Placidia*. At the Council, the first Place was allotted to *Eutychius* of *Constantinople*, the Second to *Apollinaris* of *Alexandria*, the Third to *Domnus* of *Antioch*, the Fourth to the Deputies of the Bishop of *Jerusalem*; and the rest were all ranked according to the Dignity of their Sees. When they were all seated, *Diodorus*, Archdeacon, and *Primicerius Notariorum*, or Chief of the Notaries (A), let the Fathers know, that *Theodorus* the *Silentiarius* (B), sent by the Emperor to the

* Vigil. *ibid.* et Coll. prim. Quint. Synod.

a large and capacious Building, adjoining to the Church, where the Consistory or Tribunal of the Church was kept. *Secretum* and *Secretarium* were known Names for the Courts of the Civil Magistrate, and borrowed, without all Doubt, of them, by the Ecclesiastics. We read of several Councils held in the *Secretarium* of such a Church or Basilic; and find the Sessions sometimes called *Secretaria*, from the Place where they were held.

(A) The chief Business of the Notaries was to write the Acts of the Councils, and set down the Heads of the Disputes or Debates that happened during the Sessions, as

well as of the Speeches that were made on either Side. It was likewise their Province to recite all Instruments, Allegations, Petitions, and whatever else of the like Nature was offered or read in the Council.

(B) The *Silentiarii* were a Civil Magistrate, in the Emperor's Palace, whose Business it was to keep Peace there. They are joined, in the *Theodosian* Code, with the *Decuriones* (1). Some think they were called *Silentiarii*, because they were allowed to enter the Emperor's private Chamber, named *Silentium*; and that they answered to our Lords of the Bed-chamber.

(1) Cod. Theod. l. 6. tit. 23.

Council, attended at the Door. Hereupon *Eutychius* having ordered him to be admitted, he presented a Letter from the Emperor, addressed to *the most Religious Bishops, assembled in Council in the Royal City of Constantinople*, which was immediately read. The Letter begins thus: *It has ever been the Care and Study of pious and orthodox Emperors to cut off Heresies, as they sprung up, by assembling in Council the Catholic Bishops, and to keep the Holy Church of God in Peace and Tranquillity, by causing the right Faith to be sincerely preached by her Ministers.* To prove this, he instances the Four General Councils, assembled by his religious Predecessors *Constantine, Theodosius the elder, Theodosius the younger, and Marcian.* Not a Word here of the Pope; and no Wonder, since it was not known till many Ages after, till the Time of the *Lateran* Council, under *Leo X.* that *he alone had a Right to assemble, translate, and dissolve Councils at his Pleasure.* That Council even defined it to be evident, that such a Right was vested in the Pope alone, *manifeste constat*¹; whereas it is undeniably evident, if History may be relied on, that the first Six General Councils were all assembled by the Emperors; nay, *Baronius* himself owns, that the Second and the Fifth, *i. e.* the present Council, were assembled against the Will of the Popes *Damasus* and *Vigilius*^m. And indeed, that the present Council was assembled against the Will of the Pope, is manifest from what has been said. In the next Place, the Emperor acquaints the Fathers of the Council with the Steps he has taken to check the Growth of the *Nestorian* Heresy, which, he says, some have lately attempted to introduce into the Church, not indeed under the Name of *Nestorius*, which alone would have proved a sufficient Antidote against his poisonous Tenets, but as the Doctrine of *Theodorus of Mopsuestia*; recommending, at the same time, and for the same Purpose, the Writings of *Theodore* against *St. Cyril*, and the impious Letter of *Ibas* to *Maris the Persian*, which they pretend to have been approved by the Council of *Chalcedon*. He adds, that concerning these Three Chapters he had already consulted an Assembly of Catholic Bishops, who had all condemned them; but nevertheless, as they were still obstinately maintained by some, he had convened a greater Number of Prelates, that by them the Dispute might at last be finally determined, and the Church suffered

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The Emperor's Letter
to the Fathers
assembled.

General
Councils as-
sembled only
by the Empe-
ror.

¹ Concil. Lateran. Sess. II.

^m Bar. ad ann. 553.

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The Emperor
complains of
the Conduct
of the Pope.

to enjoy that Peace, which he had so long been striving to procure. With respect to *Vigilius*, the Emperor told the Council, that his Holiness, having, on his Arrival at *Constantinople*, examined, with great Attention, the above-mentioned Chapters, had solemnly condemned them, even in Writing; and relates the very Terms, in which he condemned them, transcribed from his *Judicatum*. His Words are: *Since, in the Writings, that have been put into our Hands, under the Name of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, many things are found repugnant to the true Faith, we, following the Advice of St. Paul, Prove all, hold fast that which is good, do anathematize the said Theodorus, who was Bishop of Mopsuestia, with all his Writings; and all who defend him We likewise anathematize the impious Letter, which Ibas is said to have written to Maris the Persian, as inconsistent with the true Christian Faith, and with it all who defend it, or maintain it to be agreeable to the Doctrine of the Catholic Church. We anathematize too the Writings of Theodoret against those of St. Cyril. Vigilus*, continues the Emperor, not satisfied with thus condemning the Three Chapters, in the most solemn manner, anathematized, excommunicated, and deposed Two of his own Deacons, *Rusticus* and *Sebastianus*, for presuming to defend them. But his Holiness, adds *Justinian*, has lately changed his Mind, and now he defends what he formerly condemned; the above-mentioned Writings were once, in his Opinion, repugnant, but are now intirely agreeable, to the Catholic Faith. He closes his Letter with exhorting the Bishops assembled to examine those Writings, and declaring, in a long Confession of Faith, that he receives the Definitions of the Four preceding Councils, and with them the Doctrine that has been taught by the Fathers, the holy Doctors of the Churchⁿ. The Doctrine of the Fathers, and the Councils, was now the only Standard of the Christian Faith.

The Pope invited to the Council by a most solemn Deputation.

The Emperor's Letter being read, *Theodorus* was ordered to withdraw; and then were read the Letter of *Eutychius* to the Pope, and his Answer, whereby he consented to the Meeting of the Council, and promised to assist at it in Person. As he nevertheless did not appear, the Fathers agreed to acquaint him, by a solemn Deputation, that the Council was met; and, putting him in mind of his Promise, invite and even press him to concur with the rest of his Bre-

ⁿ Syn. Quint. Coll. 1.

thren, in restoring the wished-for Tranquillity, both to the Church and the State. Pursuant to this Agreement, the Three Patriarchs of *Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch*, with Twenty Metropolitans, were appointed to attend the Pope, in the Palace of *Placidia*, and invite him to the Council; the most honourable and solemn Deputation that had ever before, or has ever since, been sent to a Pope. The Bishops flattered themselves, that, by thus gratifying the Pride of the Pope, they should more effectually induce him to comply with their Request, than by any Arguments they could use or allege. But *Vigilius*, being, or pretending to be, indisposed, told them, that he was not then in a Condition to assist at the Council; but should let them know, the next Day, what he thought of their Assembly. Hereupon the Deputies, returning to the Council, made their Report; and the Assembly was adjourned to the next Day °.

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*Who excuses
himself from
assisting at it.*

The following Day, the 6th of *May*, the Council met again, when the same Deputies were sent anew to the Pope, for his Answer; and the Answer he gave them was, That he did not chuse to assist at a Council consisting of so many *Greeks*, and so small a Number of *Latin* Bishops. The Deputies replied, That it was he who first proposed to the Emperor the assembling of a Council; that he had lately consented to the assembling of one, and even promised, in Writing, to assist at it in Person; and it was to challenge that Promise they were sent by the Council. As to the Number of the *Latin* Bishops, they owned it to be small, if compared with that of the *Greeks*; but added, that still it exceeded the Number of the *Latin* Bishops that had yet assisted at any General Council. *Vigilius* answered, That the *Greeks* were all prejudiced against the Three Chapters, and resolved to condemn them; that therefore the Numbers on both Sides ought to be equal; that the present Controversy might be as well determined by a small as by a great Number of Bishops, by the Three Patriarchs, and a Fourth Bishop of their Party on the one Side, and himself and Three *Latin* Bishops on the other. Against that Proposal the Deputies remonstrated as above; *viz.* That thus the Dispute would still remain undecided; that an Assembly consisting of Eight Bishops only, would not deserve the Name of an Oecumenical Council; nor would their Decisions be received as the Decisions of an Oecumenical Council; that, as to the supposed Prejudice of the *Greeks* against the Three Chapters, the Followers of *Arius, Nesto-*

*The Reasons
be alleged.*

*His Propo-
sal, and the
Bishops An-
swer.*

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rius, and *Eutyches*, might, under the like Pretence, have declined assisting at the Councils, that condemned their Doctrine, or refused to submit to their Decisions. To that the Pope made no Reply; but promised, in the Space of Twenty Days, to return a final Answer, and acquaint the Council with his real Sentiments concerning the controverted Articles p.

The Council
examines the
Points in
Dispute,
without the
Pope.

With this Answer the Deputies acquainted the Council, on the 8th of *May*, the Day on which they met the Third time; when it was unanimously resolved by all, who were present, that since the Pope could by no means be prevailed upon to assist at their Assembly, and could therein have no other View but to prevent them from coming to any Determination, the Cause should be determined without him (A). This Resolution being approved by the Emperor, the Fathers, in the following Sessions, held on the 9th, the 17th, and the 19th of *May*, examined, with great Attention, the Writings of *Theodorus of Mopsuestia*, of *Theodoret* against *Cyrl*, and the Letter of *Ibas to Maris the Persian*; and, with one Voice, declared them to contain the *impious* and *execrable* Doctrine of *Nestorius*. In the mean time *Vigilius*, finding he attempted in vain to put a Stop to the Proceedings of the Council, by absenting himself from it, resolved to interpose his Authority, and, by openly undertaking the Defence of the Three Chapters, restrain the Eastern Bishops from

The Pope, in
a Council of
Western Bi-
shops, issues
his Constitu-
tion, in De-
fence of the 3
Chapters.

condemning them. Having therefore assembled all the Western Bishops, who were then at *Constantinople*, Sixteen besides himself, with the Archdeacon, and Two Deacons of the *Roman Church*, he issued, in Conjunction with them, a *Constitution, Statute, Decree, Definition*, or *definitive Sentence*, for so he styles it, declaring his and their Opinion concerning the present Controversy. For this *Constitution*, which, in the Annals of *Baronius*, takes up no fewer than 28 Pages in Folio, we are indebted to that Writer, who copied it from a very antient Manuscript, lodged in the *Vatican*. It is dated the 14th of *May* 553. and addressed by *Vigilius, Bishop, to his most Glorious and most Clement Son Justinian*. The Pope begins it with

¶ Synod. Quint. ibid.

(A) If the Pope, says Cardinal *Cusanus* Case, may and ought to provide for the (1), being invited, does neither come nor Peace and Safety of the Church without send to a Synod; the Synod, in that him.

(1) Lib.-2. de Concil. ord. Cath. c. 2.

con-

confuting and condemning, as heretical, blasphemous, and repugnant to the Doctrine of the Councils and the Fathers. Sixty Propositions, taken out of the Works of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, and condemned by the present Council, in their Fourth Session. But as to the Person of *Theodorus*, *Vigilius* declares it unlawful to condemn any Man after his Death, who, not having been condemned in his Life-time, had died in the Communion of the Church. *As it is not lawful*, says the Pope, *to judge Persons who are dead, and are found not to have been condemned while they lived, we dare not condemn Theodorus of Mopsuestia, nor will we allow him to be condemned by others.* With respect to the Second Chapter, concerning the Writings of *Theodoret* against *Cyril*, *Vigilius* declares, that, seeing those Writings had not been condemned either by *Cyril* himself, or by the Council of *Chalcedon*, to condemn them now would be *contrary and evidently repugnant to the Judgment of that Holy Council*; and therefore forbids any Doctrines or Opinions whatever to be censured or anathematized under the Name of *Theodoret*. Concerning the Third Chapter, the Letter of *Ibas*, the Pope expresses himself thus: *As the Fathers of Chalcedon pronounced the Letter of Ibas to be Orthodox, and thence concluded his Faith to be right, and truly Catholic, we, following in all things the Judgment of those holy Fathers, do pronounce, declare, and define, by this our present Constitution, the said Letter of the venerable Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, to be truly Orthodox; and therefore will by no means condemn it ourselves, or suffer it to be condemned by others.* This Constitution the Pope closes with the following remarkable Words: *These things being thus settled by us, with all Care, Diligence, and Circumspection, we ordain and decree, statuimus et decernimus, that henceforth it shall be lawful for no Person in holy Orders, however dignified or distinguished, to write, speak, or teach any thing touching these Three Chapters, contrary to what we have, by our present Constitution, taught and decreed; nor shall it be lawful for any one, after this our present Definition, to move any Question about them. But if any thing relating to them be said, done, or written, or shall henceforth be said, done, or written, contrary to what we have here taught and decreed, we declare it null, by the Authority of the Apostolic See, in which, by the Grace of God, we now preside &c.*

^a Bar. ad ann. 553. p. 427—455.

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Christ 553.

The Consti-
tution sent by
the Pope to
the Emperor,
and by the
Emperor to
the Council.

Read there,
with several
other Pieces.

His Judi-
catum and
Constitution
compared.

This was not a private Instruction, but, as I have observed above a *Constitution*, a *Decree*, a *definitive Sentence*, or *Judgment*, delivered by the Pope, speaking *ex cathedra*, as a public Direction, in Matters of Faith, to the whole Christian World, *universo Orbi Catholico*; and as such it was signed by the Pope himself, and by near as many other Bishops as were present at some Sessions of the Council of *Trent* (A). The Constitution, thus signed, was sent by the Pope to the Emperor, and by the Emperor, as soon as he had perused it, to the Council. But *Justinian*, to oppose *Vigilius* to *Vigilius* himself, and prevent the Fathers of the Assembly from paying, as some perhaps might, any kind of Regard to his Judgment, however express and definitive, took care to send, at the same time, a Copy of his *Judicatum*, wherein he approved the Condemnation of the Three Chapters, and condemned them himself, in the strongest Terms; and with it Copies of Three other Pieces, to be all publicly read in the Council. These were Copies, or rather Translations into *Greek*, of the Sentence of Excommunication and Deposition, which *Vigilius* had formerly pronounced against his Two Deacons *Rusticus* and *Sebastianus*, for *presuming to find fault with the Judicatum, and to defend the Three Chapters, condemned by the Authority of the Apostolic See*; and of the Two Letters, which he wrote on that Occasion to *Valentinianus* of *Tomi*, and *Aurelianus* of *Arles*, to justify his Conduct, and convince those Prelates, that, by condemning the Three Chapters, he had done nothing but what was intirely consistent with the Doctrine, and no-ways derogatory to the Authority, of the Holy Council of *Chalcedon* ^r. These Papers were all read in the Seventh Session, held on the 26th of *May*; and, at the same time, were compared the Passages in the Pope's *Judicatum*, condemning the Three Chapters, with others in his

^r Synod. Quint. Coll. 7.

(A) *Juvante Deo, et per ipsius gratiam, Vigilius Episcopus sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Urbis Romæ huic Constituto nostro subscripsi. Joannes Episcopus Ecclesiæ Marforum huic Constituto consentiens subscripsi. Zachæus Episcopus Ecclesiæ Scyllacenæ huic Constituto consentiens subscripsi.* Thus signed all the other Bishops, and the Three Roman Deacons. Among the Bishops was

Valentinus of Silva Candida, whose Hands Totila had ordered to be cut off; and for him signed Zachæus of Scyllatium or Squillaci, in the following Words: Zachæus Episcopus rogatus a fratre Valentino Episcopo Silvæ Candidæ, ipso præsentē, et consentiente, et mihi distantē, huic Constituto pro ipso subscripsi.

Constitution, defending them; viz. *We anathematize Theodorus, who was Bishop of Mopsuestia, with all his Writings, and all who defend them; we dare not condemn Theodorus of Mopsuestia, nor will we allow him to be condemned by others: We anathematize the Writings of Theodoret against those of St. Cyril; we forbid any Doctrines or Opinions whatever to be censured or anathematized under the Name of Theodoret: We anathematize the impious Letter, which Ibas is said to have written to Maris the Persian, as inconsistent with the true Christian Faith, and with it all who defend it, or maintain it to be agreeable to the Doctrine of the Catholic Church; we pronounce, declare, and define, by this our present Constitution, the Letter of the venerable Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, to be truly Orthodox; and therefore will by no means condemn it ourselves, nor suffer it to be condemned by others.*

Baluzius, in his *New Collection of Councils*, has published, from an ancient Manuscript, some other Pieces, which he supposes to have been likewise read in the present Session. These are Two Letters from *Vigilius* to *Justinian*, and to the Empress *Theodora*, wherein the Pope declared, that he neither was, nor ever had been, a Heretic, or a Favourer of Heretics; and that he therefore condemned and anathematized the impious Letter of *Ibas*, the Writings of *Theodoret* against *Cyril*, and the Person as well as the Writings of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*. In the manuscript Copy of his Letter to the Empress were these Words: *And I believe there is in Christ but one Will, or one Operation* (A). These Letters were written in 547. the Year *Vigilius*

Other Writings, shewing that Vigilius had solemnly promised to condemn the Three Chapters.

(A) When these Letters were read in the Sixth General Council, the Pope's Legates pretended the Words, *And I believe*, &c. to have been added by the *Monothelites*, maintaining, that there was in Christ but One Will, or One Operation. Hereupon the *Greek* and *Latin* Copies of the Fifth Council being called for, and carefully examined, the above-mentioned Letters were not found in the *Latin*; but it appeared, that they had been added by the Patriarch *Paul*, with the Words, *And I believe*, &c. to the *Greek* Copy, which was lodged in the Archives of the Patriarchal Church of *Constantinople*. *Baronius* will have both those Letters to have been

forged. But that they were not, is manifest from *Theophanes* (1), from *Facundus* (2), and from the Words of *Justinian*, in his Letter to the Three Patriarchs, and the other Bishops of the Council (3). Besides, the Pope's Legates, at the Sixth Council, allowed the Letters themselves to be genuine; and only maintained the Words favouring the Doctrine of the *Monothelites*, not to be his, but to have been afterwards added to his Letter. And truly I am inclined to think, that they were not his; but were added by *Paul* of *Constantinople*, to support, by the Authority of *Vigilius*, the Doctrine of the *Monothelites*, which he himself professed, and zealously defended.

(1) Theoph. ubi supra.

(2) Facund. ubi supra.

(3) See below, Note B.

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Vigilius arrived at *Constantinople* ^s. With them *Baluzius* had published, from the same Manuscript, the Form of a solemn Oath, which *Vigilius* took in the Presence of *Theodorus* of *Cæsarea*, and the Patrician *Cethegus*, binding himself by that Oath to anathematize the Three Chapters himself, and to engage, so far as in him lay, the other Bishops to anathematize them, as repugnant to the Faith of the Catholic Church, and the Council of *Chalcedon*. This Oath, dated the 15th of *August* 550. is mentioned by *Theophanes* ^t, by *Facundus* ^u, and the Emperor, in a Letter, which he wrote, on the 14th of *July* 553. to the Three Patriarchs, and the other Bishops, charging his Holiness with a Breach of the most solemn Oath a Christian could take (B).

The Council
proceeds to a
final Determination of
the Dispute.

On the 2d of *June* the Council met again, when, after a summary Repetition of every thing that had passed from their first Meeting, on the 5th of *May*, till that time, the Fathers unanimously agreed to proceed, without farther Delay, to a final Determination, or, as they styled it, a definitive Sentence, that all Men might know what was truly agreeable, and what repugnant, in the present Dispute, to the Faith of the Catholic Church, and the Council of *Chalcedon*. Having therefore premised a Confession of Faith, declaring, that they received the Four preceding Councils, and condemned both the Errors and Persons, whom those Holy Councils had condemned, they first delivered their Judgment concerning the Three Chapters in general, and in the following Terms: *We anathematize the Three Chapters, the Defenders of the said Three Chapters, and*

Their Judgment concerning the Three Chapters in general.

^s Theoph. ad ann. Incarn. secund. Alexandrin. 539. Facund. l. contr. Mucian. Vide Baluz. Nova Collect. Concil. p. 1546. ^t Theoph. ibid. ^u Facund. ibid.

For to alter, falsify, and interpolate the Writings of the Antients, and make them say what they never dreamt, is a Practice that began to prevail, in the earliest Times, among the Catholics, as well as among those whom they styled Heretics. *Daillé*, in his excellent Treatise on the right Use of the Fathers, supposes the above-mentioned Letters of *Vigilius* to *Justinian* and *Theodora* to have been forged; because they were not originally inserted into the Acts of the Fifth Council (4). But from their not having originally had a Place there,

we can only conclude, that they were not read in that Council.

(B) *Religiosissimus Papa antiquioris Romæ*, says *Justinian*, in that Letter, *cum hæc examinasset, et the Three Chapters, et condemnavit, et satisfactionem in scriptis exposuit tam nobis quam piæ recordationis tunc conjugii nostræ. . . . Sed et sacramenta terribilia in scriptis juravit, ut in eadem permaneret voluntate in condemnatione et anathemate prædictarum trium Capitulorum, &c* (1),

(4) *Daillé du vrai usage des Peres, c. 3. in præfat. ad Acta Concil. v. n. 2. et p. 1544.*

(1) Vide Baluz. Nova Coll. Concil.

all who have hitherto written, who now write, or shall write hereafter, in Defence of them, or presume to say (as Vigilius did in his Constitution), that the impious Doctrine they contain was approved and authorized by the holy Fathers, and the Council of Chalcedon.

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After this general Sentence, the Council proceeds to condemn each of the Three Chapters severally, and in particular, thus: *If any one defends the impious Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and does not anathematize both him, and his impious Writings, let him be accursed. If any one defends the Writings of Theodoret against Cyril, and does not anathematize the said Writings, let him be accursed. If any one defends the impious Epistle of Ibas to Maris the Persian, which denies God to have been born of the Virgin Mary, which taxes Cyril with Heresy, which condemns the holy Council of Ephesus, defends Theodorus, and his Disciple Nestorius, with their impious Writings; if any one does not anathematize that Epistle, those who defend it, and all who maintain it, or any Part of it, to be right, let him be accursed^w.* Such was the Sentence of the Council; and, when it was read, the Fathers, to confirm it, joining all as one Man, cried out aloud; *Let Theodorus be accursed; let him be accursed, who does not accurse Theodorus; we all accurse Theodorus, and his Writings. Let the impious Writings of Theodoret against Cyril be accursed; let him be accursed, who does not accurse them. We all accurse the impious Epistle of Ibas; if any one defends that Epistle, or any Part of it, if any one does not accurse it, and all who defend it, let him be accursed^x.* Thus did the Council not only reverse, with one Consent, the Judgment of the Pope, but anathematize and accurse all who did not anathematize and accurse what the Pope had defined, speaking *ex cathedra*, and thence instructing the whole Christian World.

The Fathers of the Council, not satisfied with thus condemning the Three Chapters, in direct Opposition to the definitive Sentence of the Pope, undertook to confute, one by one, the Reasons and Arguments on which his definitive Sentence was grounded. These were, with respect to the First Chapter, the Condemnation of Theodorus: I. That no Man ought to be condemned after his Death; the Power of *loosing and binding*, or absolving and condemning, having been granted to the Church only with respect to those who are *on*

The Reasons on which the Pope's Constitution was grounded, confuted by the Council.

^w Synod. Quint. Col. 8.

^x Synod. Quint. *ibid.*

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Whether a
Man may be
anathema-
tized after
his Death.

Earth, or among the living, agreeably to the Words of our Saviour, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, &c.* II. *Theodorus* died in the Peace and Communion of the Church; and none, who thus die, ought to be condemned after their Death. III. *Theodorus* was not condemned by former Fathers and Councils; and therefore must not be condemned now. In Answer to these Reasons, the Council first declares, and defines, That *a Man may be lawfully condemned after his Death*; adding, *And those who say he may not* (which *Vigilius* did in his Constitution), *shew no kind of Regard to the Word of God, to the Doctrine of the Apostles, to the Tradition of the Fathers.* They then allege several Arguments, calculated to prove, from the Practice of the preceding Councils, and the Doctrine of the Fathers, the Definition of the Pope to be false and erroneous, and their own to be true; viz. I. Because the Council of *Constantinople*, the Second Oecumenical Council, condemned and anathematized, by Name, *Arius* and *Macedonius*, though both dead long before: Pope *Damasus*, and the Council of *Sardica*, anathematized the Bishops who had departed from the Faith of *Nice*, whether *dead or alive*: the Council of *Chalcedon* condemned *Domnus* of *Antioch*, after his Death, because he had spoken contemptuously of *St. Cyril*, and his Writings. Having thus proved the Definition of the Pope repugnant to the Practice, and consequently to the Doctrine, of the universal Church, as represented by General Councils; they shew it, in the next Place, no less inconsistent with the Doctrine and Practice of some particular Churches, namely, of the *African*, and the *Roman* Church herself. To that Purpose they produce the Canon of an *African* Council, commanding those who bequeathed their Estates to Heretics, to be anathematized *even after their Death*; and put his Holiness in mind of the Sentence of Excommunication, which one of his Predecessors, *Boniface II.* had solemnly pronounced, but Twenty-three Years before, against *Dioscorus*, his deceased Competitor, causing it to be signed by several Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops, and to be placed, thus signed, in the Archives of the *Roman* Church: *And this*, say the Fathers of the Council, *all, who live at Rome, know to be true*; which was saying, that the Pope knew it to be true, though he had defined the contrary. To the Authority of the Councils they add that of the

† Constit. Vigil. apud Bar. ad ann. 553. n. 179.

* See above, p. 327, 328.

Fathers, especially of St. *Austin*, saying of *Cecilianus* of *Carthage*, dead an Hundred Years before, that were he found guilty of the Crimes, which the *Donatists* laid to his Charge, he would still anathematize him ^a. As to the Words of our Saviour, alleged by *Vigilius* to prove, that the Church has the Power of binding and loosening those only, who are *on Earth*, or among the Living, the Council explodes his Interpretation of that Passage; and will have the Words *on Earth* to refer to the Party that loosens or binds, not to the Party that is loosened or bound, thus; *Whatever ye shall bind or loose, while you are on Earth, &c* (A).

To the Second Reason of *Vigilius*, in Defence of *Theodorus*, viz. that he died in the Peace and Communion of the Church, the Fathers returned the following Answer: *It is said by some, that Theodorus died in the Peace and Communion of the Church; but to say so, is a Lye and a Calumny against the Church*, mendacium est et calumnia adversus ecclesiam; *for he alone dies in the Peace and Communion of the Church, who holds the Doctrine of the Church till his Death; which Theodorus certainly did not, as is evident from the Blasphemies he uttered.* To confute the Third and last Reason of *Vigilius* against the condemning of *Theodorus*, viz. that he was not condemned by former Fathers and Councils, they quote several Passages from the Fathers, especially from *Proclus* of *Constantinople*, and *Cyril*, speaking of him as an avowed Heretic, as one whose Blasphemies exceeded even those of the *Jews* and the *Pagans*. As to Councils, they allege the Decree of the First of *Ephesus*, condemning the Doctrine of *Nestorius*, and all who had held, till that time, or should thenceforth hold, the same Doctrine; which was condemning, though not by Name, *Theodorus*, who not only held, but was the first who taught that Doctrine (B).

Con-

^a Aug. ep. ad Bonif.

(A) The Council does not mean, that the Church can really bind or loose a Man after his Death; that her Censures or Absolution can render his Condition in the other World worse or better; but only, that, upon any new Discovery of his Guilt or Innocence, he may be excluded from, or admitted to Communion, even after his Death; that is, his Name may be struck out of the Dptychs, or placed in them, be omitted or mentioned in the Prayers and Oblations of the Church. *Let him be*

anathematized after Death, let not his Name be written or recorded among the Priests of God, are the Words of the Decree, in the African Code, against a Bishop who should bequeath his Effects or Estate to a Heretic. This was the only Method of binding or loosening, condemning or absolving, Men after Death, that was ever practised in the Church.

(B) *Vigilius* positively affirms, that *Theodorus* was not condemned by the Council of *Ephesus*. *I have perused, says he,*
the

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The Pope
grossly mis-
taken with
respect to the
Writings of
Theodoret.

Concerning the Second Chapter, the Writings of *Theodoret* against *Cyrl*, the Pope would not condemn those Writings himself, nor suffer them to be condemned by others, under the Name of *Theodoret*, *because they were not his, but had been fathered upon him by his Enemies*. But that the Pope was therein grossly mistaken, that the Writings against *Cyrl*, under the Name of *Theodoret*, were truly his, was undeniably proved by the Fathers of the Council from the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the concurring Testimony of all the contemporary Writers, nay, and from the Testimony of *Theodoret* himself, owning those Writings, in the several Letters he wrote on that Occasion to the Friends of *Nestorius*, and his own. The whole Assembly expressed the greatest Surprize at the Pope's denying, or even questioning a Truth, that was so well known, and might so easily be made to appear. And indeed none had ever questioned it before him, nor has it ever been questioned since his time.

Whether the
Letter of
Ibas was ap-
proved by the
Council of
Chalcedon.

As for the Third and last Chapter, the Letter of *Ibas*, the Pope, in his Constitution, pronounced, declared, and defined that Letter to be Orthodox, *because it was approved by the Council of Chalcedon*. On the other hand, the Fathers of the present Council pronounced, declared, and defined, in their Turn, that whole Letter, and every Part of it, to be heretical, to be blasphemous, to be repugnant to the Definition of the Council of *Chalcedon*; *Tota epistola hæretica est, tota Epistola blasphema est, contraria est per omnia definitioni, &c* ^b. Here they distinguish the private Judgment of some of the holy Bishops, assembled in the City of *Chalcedon*, from the public Judgment of the whole Council, or of the greater Part of the venerable Prelates, who composed it. They own the Letter was approved by Two or Three Bishops, who were present at that great and numerous Assembly; but, at the same time, take the Liberty to reprove his Holiness, and in very sharp Terms, as one who

^b Synod. Quint. Collat. 6.

the Acts of that Council with the greatest Care and Attention, diligentissima investigatione; but could find nothing there concerning the Condemnation of *Theodorus* (1). But Pope *Pelagius*, chosen in 557. affirms, and no less positively, that *Theodorus* was condemned by the Council of *Ephesus*.

The holy Ephesine Synod, says that Pope, condemned *Theodorus* after his Death. He adds, that an impious Creed, which he had composed, being read in that Council, the Fathers anathematized both the Creed and its Author (2).

(1) Vigil. Constit. ap. Bar. n. 173. (2) Pelag. ep. 7.

argued

argued with all the Craft and Subtlety of an Heretic, *astutia hæretica*, in presuming to pass upon them the private Opinion of a few, for the public Definition or Judgment of a whole Council. And truly, that the Letter of *Ibas* was not approved by the Council of *Chalcedon*, as was boldly asserted by the Pope in his Constitution, sufficiently appears from the Acts of that Council. When it was read there, *Eunomius* of *Nicomedia* found fault with some Expressions it contained, reflecting on the Conduct of *Cyril*, and the other Bishops of the Council of *Ephesus*. But as *Ibas* seemed to acknowledge Two Natures, and One Person, in Christ, the Legates of Pope *Leo*, and with them *Maximus* of *Antioch*, declared that, in their Opinion, the very Letter of *Ibas* was a sufficient Proof of the Orthodoxy of his Faith. *Juvenalis* of *Jerusalem* spoke much to the same Purpose. The other Bishops neither approved nor disapproved that Letter; but only required *Ibas*, after it was read, to anathematize *Nestorius*, and all who held the same Doctrine; which he readily did, and was thereupon restored to his See, from which he had been driven by *Dioscorus*, in the Second Council of *Ephesus*. It cannot therefore be said, as the Fathers of the present Council observe, that the Letter of *Ibas* was approved by the Council of *Chalcedon*, but only that it was approved, in some Degree, by Two or Three of the Bishops, who were present at that Council.

The Three Chapters being thus condemned, in the strongest Terms, by the unanimous Consent of all the Bishops who composed that Assembly, and the Arguments offered by the Pope, in Defence of the said Chapters, unanswerably confuted, the Emperor caused Copies of the Acts to be sent to *Vigilius*; and, at the same time, let him know, that he must either agree with his Brethren, and condemn what they had condemned, or forfeit his See, and be sent into Exile. The Pope answered, That the Emperor might dispose of him as he thought fit: but, as he could not sign the Acts and Decrees of such an Assembly without renouncing the holy Faith of *Chalcedon*, he was ready to suffer, and suffer with Joy, both Exile and Death, in so good a Cause. This Answer was no sooner known to the Emperor, than he caused the Pope to be seized, and conveyed, under a strong Guard, to *Proconnesus*, an inhospitable Island in the *Propontis*. The other Bishops in the West, who refused to sign

The Pope refuses, at first, to sign the Decrees of the Council.

Is sent into Exile.

* Anast. in Vigil. Liberat. Brev. c. 22.

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the Condemnation of the Three Chapters, and were Subjects of the Empire, met with no better Treatment than the Pope, being all driven, without Mercy, from their Sees, and sent into different Exiles. Among these the Two *African* Bishops, *Victor Tunnunensis*, and *Facundus* of *Hermiana*, distinguished themselves above the rest. *Victor* was first confined to an abandoned Place in *Egypt*, and thence sent for to *Constantinople*. But as he still continued, in spite of all the Threats and Promises the Emperor could use, to defend the Three Chapters, he was never suffered to return to his See, but shut up for Life in a Monastery. *Facundus* wrote no fewer than Twelve Books in Defence of the condemned Chapters, all interspersed with most bitter Invectives against *Justinian*, for presuming, though only a Layman, to interfere in Matters of Faith and Religion (A). However, by abandoning his See, and keeping himself concealed, he had the good Luck to escape the Punishment, with which he was, by the provoked Emperor, deservedly threatened. These Two, and, after their Example, for they were both leading Men, several other Bishops in the West, especially in *Africa*, stood up, to the last, in Defence of the Three Chapters, chusing rather to be driven from their Sees, to be stript of all their Effects, and to perish with Famine in the Deserts, than to condemn those Articles, or communicate with any who condemned them. But *Vigilius* was a Man of a very different Temper, and had already changed his Opinion Three times in the present Dispute. He first defended the controverted Points, as intirely agreeable to the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*;

(A) In his Ninth Book is a remarkable Passage concerning the Eucharist, which has put all the *Roman* Catholic Divines to a Stand. *Facundus* undertakes there to explain, in a Catholic Sense, all the Propositions that, in the various and almost innumerable Works of *Theodorus*, had been condemned as heretical, and this among the rest, *Christ was the adopted Son of God*. To prove that Proposition capable of a Catholic Meaning, he argues thus: *Christ received the Sacrament, or Sign of Adoption, which may be called the Adoption itself, as the Faithful, receiving the Sacrament, or the Signs of the Body and Blood of Christ, are said to receive his Body and his Blood; not that properly the Bread is his*

Body, and the Cup his Blood, but because they contain in themselves the Mysteries of both (1). Would *Facundus* have ever argued thus, had it been then believed by the Church, that the Faithful received in the Eucharist the true and real Body of Christ, his true and real Blood; or had the Fathers, saying, *We receive the Body and Blood of Christ*, been then understood by the Church, as the Church of *Rome* now understands them? That Writer shews here in what Sense the Body and Blood of Christ are said to be received by the Faithful. And who ever undertook to shew in what Sense a Thing is said to be received, which is really and truly received?

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then condemned them as intirely repugnant to that Doctrine; and again, after examining them *with all possible Care and Attention*, *omni undique cautela atque diligentia*, he declared them anew, nay, and defined them *ex cathedra*, intirely agreeable to the same Doctrine. No Wonder therefore, if, in the present Circumstances, he changed his Opinion once more. He soon grew sick of his Abode in the Island of *Proconnesus*; the Emperor had not only caused his Name to be struck out of the Diptychs, as the Name of a condemned and deposed Heretic, but was actually soliciting the *Roman* People and Clergy to chuse another Pope in his room: he knew the Emperor was not to be moved, and that nothing but an intire Compliance with his Will could redeem him from so painful an Exile. As for his Brethren in the West, he had already forfeited their good Opinion, and with them brought into the utmost Contempt, by his former Changes, both himself and his Sec. In these Circumstances he first wrote a most submissive Letter to the Patriarch *Eutychius*, owning that, in opposing, as he had hitherto done, the rest of his Brethren, he had been guilty of a Breach of that Union and Concord which ought to prevail among the true Followers of Christ, especially the Ecclesiastics and Bishops. He adds, that as, upon examining the Three Chapters with more Care and Attention (he had already examined them *with all possible Care and Attention*), he was fully convinced, that they had been deservedly condemned, so he was not ashamed openly to acknowlege it, and own, that he had done wrong to defend them; imitating therein the Example of *St. Austin*, who was not ashamed, when he discovered the Truth, to condemn and retract whatever he had written against it. He then relates the chief Errors, which, with the Help of the Air of *Proconnesus*, he had lately discovered in the Writings of *Theodorus of Mopsuestia*, of *Theodoret*, and *Ibas*; and concludes thus: *We make it known to the whole Catholic Church, that we condemn and anathematize all Heresies and Heretics, namely, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and his impious Writings; the Writings of Theodoret against St. Cyril, and the Council of Ephesus; and the Letter to Maris the Persian, which is said to have been written by Ibas. We likewise anathematize all who shall presume to defend the said Three Chapters, or shall think them capable of being maintained or defended. We acknowlege for our Colleagues and Brethren, those who have condemned them; and by these Presents annul whatever has been done;*

He changes his Opinion the Fourth time, concerning the Three Chapters.

He condemns the Three Chapters, in his Letter to the Patriarch.

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said, or written, by us, or by others, to defend them^d. This Letter is dated from the Island of *Proconnesus*, the 8th of *December* of the present Year; so that the Pope had scarce been Five Months there when he wrote it, having, in so short a time, more plainly discovered the Truth in that Island, than he had done in Seven whole Years at *Rome* and *Constantinople*; for so long had the present Controversy lasted.

And afterwards by a
solemn Constitution.

The Emperor was not satisfied with that Letter; but insisted on the Pope's condemning the Three Chapters, as repugnant to the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*, no less solemnly than he had approved them before, as agreeable to that Doctrine. This *Vigilius* at first strove to decline; but, finding the Emperor unalterably bent on his condemning those Articles by a solemn Constitution, as he had by a solemn Constitution formerly approved them, he issued one soon after, that is, on the 23d of *February* 554. which was so well received both by the Emperor and the Patriarch, that he was immediately released from his Exile, and recalled to *Constantinople*. In that Constitution he points out, and confutes, the many execrable Blasphemies, as he styles them, contained in the Writings of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, of *Theodoret*, and in the Letter which is said to have been written by *Ibas* (A); alleges a great many Reasons to prove,

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^d Baluz. Nova Collect. Concil. p. 595.

(A) In the present Constitution *Vigilius* will not allow *Ibas* to have been the Author of that Letter, though in his former Constitution he had approved it as written by him; and indeed it is agreed to have been his by all but the Annalist, who, finding his High Pontiff had thus contradicted himself, thought, perhaps, that he could not do less than contradict himself too. For, having positively affirmed, I believe in more than Twenty Places, that *Ibas* was, without all Doubt, the Author of that Letter; that it is manifest, from the Tenth Session of the Council of *Chalcedon*, that *Ibas* wrote the controverted Letter; that *Ibas* himself, who of all Men knew best whether it was his or no, owned it (1); after having thus, I say, positively affirmed that Letter to have been written by *Ibas*, while the Pope thought so; he

no less positively affirms, when the Pope thought otherwise, the disputed Letter not to have been written by *Ibas*; nay, that it was found by the Council of *Chalcedon*, as is manifest from the public Acts of that Council, not to be his (2). Upon the Whole, when the Pope thought *Ibas* was the Author of that Epistle, it was certainly written by him; it was manifest from the Acts of the Council, that it was his: when the Pope thought *Ibas* was not the Author of that Letter, it certainly was not written by him; it was manifest from the Acts of the Council, that it was not his. There was no Occasion either for the Pope or the Cardinal to trouble themselves about the Author of that Piece, since the Dispute was not about its Author, but the Doctrine it contained.

(1) Bar. ad Ann. 448. n. 71. 77. et ad ann. 553. n. 191, 192, 193. 196, 197, &c.
(2) Idem ad ann. 432. n. 71.

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that the Letter of *Ibas* was condemned by the Council of *Chalcedon*, as heretical and blasphemous, the very Letter, which, in his former Constitution, he had declared and maintained to have been approved, by that Council, as Catholic and Orthodox; answers one by one the Arguments, which, in his other Constitution, he had offered in Defence of that Letter; and concludes thus: *We therefore anathematize and condemn the Three above-mentioned impious Chapters; viz. The Letter, which Ibas is said to have written to Maris the Persian, as containing the execrable Blasphemies, which I have above pointed out; the impious Theodorus of Mopsuestia, with his detestable Writings; and what Theodoret impiously wrote against St. Cyril, and the Council of Ephesus. As for what we or others may, at any time, have said or written in Defence of the said Three impious Chapters, we declare the Whole, by the Authority of this our present Constitution, absolutely null*^e. This was the Fourth and last Change of *Vigilius*, in the famous Dispute concerning the Three Chapters. And now the Emperor, satisfied with his Conduct, not only received him with extraordinary Marks of Honour, on his Return to *Constantinople*, but granted him, at last, the so much and so long wished for Liberty of returning to *Rome*.

I cannot dismiss this Subject without some Observations, which naturally arise from it, and may probably have occurred to every Reader. And, first, It is to be observed, that the present Council was not convened by the Pope, but by the Emperor, against the Will of the Pope; that the Pope neither assisted at it in Person, nor by his Legates. And yet this very Council was received by the whole Catholic Church; has been approved by all the Popes, who have governed the *Roman* Church since the Time of *Vigilius* to the present; and is ranked, by all the *Roman* Catholic Divines, among the lawful and Occumenical Councils. Hence it evidently follows, that a Council may be lawful and Occumenical, may determine and define, censure and condemn, without the Consent or Concurrence of the Pope. But the present Council, says *Baronius*^f, was neither lawful nor Occumenical; it did not even deserve the Name of a private Synod^g; it was no Council at all, till *Vigilius* approved it;

^e Baluz. Nova Collect. Concil. p. 1551. Evagr. l. 4. c. 38. Phot. ep. ad Mich. Bulg. Princ. Zonar. l. 4. Cedren. ad ann. 25. Justin. Euthym. Panopl. part. 2. tit. 24. in append. Niceph. l. 17. c. 27. Liberat. c. 22.

^f Bar. ad ann. 553. n. 224.

^g Idem ibid. n. 219.

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it was his Approbation, his last Constitution, that raised it to the Rank of a lawful and Oecumenical Council ^b: which is as much as to say, that while it was in being, it was no Council at all; but, when it was no more, it then became a Council, a lawful and Oecumenical Council; for it was not approved by the Pope till Five Months after it was dissolved, and the Bishops, who had composed it, were all returned to their Sees. The surprising Virtue of Papal Power, to change thus the Nature of things, and make them be when they have no Being, what they never were while they had a Being!

If the Pope
is infallible,
both Parts of
a Contra-
diction may
be true.

2dly, The Pope defined, as we have seen, the controverted Articles to be, and defined them not to be, repugnant to the Doctrine of the Catholic Church, and the Council of *Chalcedon*; and both he defined *ex cathedra*. If therefore the Pope is infallible, if what he defines *ex cathedra* is infallibly true, Two contradictory Propositions may be infallibly true. That the Pope erred on this Occasion, is owned even by the most sanguine Sticklers for his Infallibility. But he did not err, say they, in Matters of Faith, since the Dispute was not concerning Matters of Faith. It is certain, says *Baronius*, it is evident, it is demonstrable, that the Controversy concerning the Three Chapters was no Controversy concerning the Faith ⁱ. The chief Controversy was, whether the Doctrine contained in the Works of the Three often-mentioned Writers was Orthodox or heretical, was agreeable or repugnant to the Doctrine of *Chalcedon*, and the Belief of the Church. If that was not, I should be glad to know what other ever was, or could be truly called, a Controversy concerning the Faith. *Baronius* himself owned it was a Controversy concerning the Faith, when he was not yet apprised, that he could by no other Means defend the chimerical Prerogative of Infallibility, but by denying it was a Controversy concerning the Faith. For, speaking of the Imperial Edict condemning the Three Chapters, he inveighs against the Emperor, and in a most abusive Dialect, for taking upon him to issue Edicts, to make Laws, and to dictate to the Bishops, in *Matters of Faith and Religion* ^k; and that Edict he constantly styles a *Decree of Faith, Decretum Fidei* ^l. If the Emperor's Decree was a *Decree of Faith*, or about *Matters of Faith and Religion*, the Pope's Decree was surely so too; and consequently,

^b Idem ibid.

ⁱ Bar. ad ann. 547. n. 30. et ad ann. 553. n. 231.

ann. 546. n. 41. 43. 50.

^l Id. loc. cit. et alibi.

^k Idem ad

If the Pope erred, and that he did err is as certain as that both Parts of a Contradiction cannot be true, he erred, even according to *Ba-ronius*, in Matters of Faith and Religion. Year of Christ 554.

3dly, The whole Church was, at this Time, rent, as *Justinian* expressed it, *from East to West*, that is, was divided into Two opposite Parties, the one condemning, and the other defending, the Three Chapters. But by neither was the Pope acknowledged for an infallible Judge in the Dispute, that occasioned this Division: not by the former; for they continued to condemn those Chapters, when the Pope defended them: not by the latter; for they continued to defend the same Chapters, when the Pope condemned them; nay, and separated themselves from his Communion, because he condemned them. I defy the Popish Writers to name a single Bishop, either in the East or the West, who changed Opinion upon the Pope's changing his; that is, a single Bishop, who, so late as the Middle of the Sixth Century, owned the Pope for an infallible Judge in Matters of Faith. *The Pope's Infallibility not known in the 6th Century.*

4thly, In the present Dispute, *Vigilius* contradicted himself, again and again, as we have seen. Now, as the same Pope may contradict himself in Matters of Faith, why may not one Pope contradict another? Why may not one Pope retract the Sentence of another, as well as the same Pope his own? If he may, how can a Man, in common Sense, receive the Decrees of any particular Pope as infallibly true, till he is sure, which he never can be, that no other Pope will ever retract them? *One Pope may contradict another in Matters of Faith.*

But to return to *Vigilius*: Released from his Exile, and recalled to *Constantinople*, he was impatient, as we may well imagine, to quit the East, where he had made so contemptible a Figure, notwithstanding the extraordinary Honours that were paid him there upon his Recantation. However, as he was, at the same time, sensible, that his last Change would greatly disoblige the People and Clergy of *Rome*, all zealous Defenders of the Three Chapters, he did not leave *Constantinople* till he had obtained of the Emperor a Constitution, with several Grants, Privileges, and Exemptions, not for the *Romans* only, but for the Inhabitants of *Italy* in general, that Country being then reduced to a most deplorable Condition, by the War between the *Goths* and the *Greeks*, which had been carried on, without Intermission, from the Year 535. to the present 554. when the Reduction of *Italy* was completed by *Narses*. With that Constitution, *He obtains of the Emperor several Privileges for the People of Italy.*

Year of
Christ 554.

dated the 13th of *August*, *Vigilius* embarked, after a Seven Years Absence, on his Return to *Rome*, not doubting but the ample Privileges, which he had procured for the People of *Italy*, would sufficiently atone with them for his late Conduct. But he had not the so much wished for Satisfaction of seeing *Rome* or *Italy* again. For, being taken in the Voyage with a violent Fit of the Stone, a Complaint to which he had been long subject, he put in at *Syracuse*; and, not being able ever after to bear the least Motion, he continued

Vigilius dies.
Year of
Christ 555.

there to his Death, which happened not long after; that is, some time before the 11th of *April* of the following Year 555. for on that Day his Successor, *Pelagius* I. was ordained, as we shall see hereafter. As to the Month, or the Day of the Month, in which he died, neither is mentioned by the contemporary Writers. The Bibliothecarian supposes him to have governed the *Roman* Church 17 Years, 6 Months, and 26 Days^a. But as *Vigilius* was ordained on the 22d of *November* 537. his Computation must be certainly false. The Body of the deceased Pope was conveyed from *Syracuse* to *Rome*, and there interred in the Church of St. *Marcellus*, on the *Salarian* Way.

His Character, while Antipope, by Baronius.

Of *Vigilius* I find, in *Baronius*, Two different Characters; the one of the Antipope *Vigilius*, the other of Pope *Vigilius*; for he was Antipope, as we have seen, before he was Pope. While Antipope, he was not only ambitious, beyond all Measure, says the Annalist, but quite mad with Ambition; a second *Lucifer*, striving to ascend into Heaven, and exalt his Throne above the Stars; but by the Weight of his enormous Sacrileges, and heinous Crimes, brought down to Hell; a Schismatic, a Simoniac, a Murderer, not the Successor of *Simon Peter*, but of *Simon Magus*, not the Vicar of Christ, but an Antichrist, an Idol set up in the Temple of God, the Abomination of Desolation standing in the Holy Place, a Wolf, a Thief, a Robber^b; but yet a good Catholic, *Homo revera Catholicus*^c, and known for such to the People and Clergy of *Rome*, who therefore raised him, by divine Inspiration, to the Pontifical Throne, *Divinitus inspirato Consilio evehunt ipsum in Pontificium Thronum*^d. *Baronius* speaks here of the Election, which he supposes to have happened upon the Death of *Silverius*, and which he elsewhere e

^a Anast. in Vigil. ^b Bar. ad ann. 538. n. 9. 17, 18, 19, 20. ^c Idem ad ann. 540. n. 8. ^d Idem ad ann. 540. n. 7, 8. ^e Idem ad ann. 540. n. 5.

ascribes, not to the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, but to the powerful Influence of the Empress *Theodora*, and her Servant *Belisarius*. For, speaking there of this imaginary Election, he tells us, that *Vigilius* resigned the Papal Dignity, not with a Design to quit it, but to act, as it were, a Part in a Comedy, and to make the World believe, that he really did what he never intended to do. The crafty Man, says he, came down from the Throne; but was first well assured, that by means of *Belisarius*, he should soon reascend it. The Electors did not chuse him on Account of his Piety, his Virtue, or any Episcopal Qualifications, which they discovered in him; for he was quite destitute of all Merit and Virtue, and sullied with the blackest Crimes ^f.

Such was *Vigilius* while yet an Intruder, and an Antipope. But no sooner was he placed, by what the Annalist calls a *lawful Election* (A), on the Throne of St. *Peter*, than God gave him another Heart, and he was turned, at once, into another Man, having nothing in View, nothing at Heart, but the Welfare of the Catholic Church, and the Purity of the Catholic Faith. However profligate and abandoned before his Election, he was suddenly after it indued with every Virtue, that could be required in the Successor of St. *Peter*, in the Vicar of Christ upon Earth; it being the peculiar Privilege of the Apostolic See, to change even wicked Men, who are raised to it, immediately into Saints, *Quos iniquos accepit, solet mox reddere sanctos* &c. A valuable Privilege indeed! but, very unfortunately, the quite contrary has happened; for some who had good Characters when raised to that See, have become very bad Men after their Exaltation, by a natural Effect of the Pride and Ambition attending great Power. Among the other eminent Virtues of Pope *Vigilius*, the Annalist admires and extols his Firmness and Constancy,

His Character, by the same Writer, when, according to him, lawful Pope.

^f Idem ibid. n. 7.

^g Idem ad ann. 540. n. 15.

(A) *Baronius* tells us elsewhere, that *Vigilius* was, by the sacred Laws of the Church, incapable of being ever preferred to the Episcopal Dignity; and that, when he was proposed by *Belisarius* to the People and Clergy of *Rome*, they could not think, without Horror, of placing on the Throne of St. *Peter* a Man sullied with so

many Crimes, anathematized by his holy Predecessor, and excluded by the Canons from every Preferment in the Church (1). If so, how could his Election ever be lawful, an Election made in Defiance of the sacred Laws and Canons of the Church? And how could *Baronius* pretend it was made by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost?

(1) Bar. ad ann. 540. n. 7.

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Christ 555.

even in the Dispute about the Three Chapters; which, if said by any but a *Baronius* or a *Bellarmino*, would be justly looked upon as a Satire or Irony. It is true, says *Baronius*, in that Dispute, he changed his Opinion, he condemned what he had approved, and approved what he had condemned; but that was no more a Mark of Inconstancy in him, than the like Change was in *St. Paul*, who condemned Circumcision, and yet circumcised *Timothy*^h. *Baronius* could not but see the wide Difference there is between an immutable Doctrine of Faith, which must ever be true, and a mutable Ceremony, which in some Circumstances may be expedient, and not in others. The Annalist adds, that *Vigilius*, though now a Saint, was nevertheless punished by Heaven for his former Crimes; for, having hastened the Death of his holy Predecessor, by confining him to an Island, he died himselfⁱ, by a just Judgment of God, in an Island; as if it were a Judgment upon a Man to die in an Island.

Baronius gives him elsewhere a very different Character.

But how can we reconcile what that Writer says of the sudden and miraculous Change of *Vigilius*, with what he tells us elsewhere? *viz.* That it never more evidently appeared, than in the Time of *Vigilius*, that the Boat of *St. Peter* was immediately steered either by that Apostle, or by him, whose Vicar he was; since he, who then sat at the Helm, was either asleep, though the Wind was boisterous, or, if he watched, it was only to consult his own Safety, without any Concern about that of the Vessel^k. And indeed, that such was his true Character, sufficiently appears from his whole Conduct. However, in Process of Time, a Place was allowed him in some Martyrologies^l; and he was once honoured by several Churches as a Saint, and a Martyr. But he has been long since unfainted; and *Baronius* himself has not thought him worthy of a Place in the *Roman Calendar*.

He is faint-ed and unfainted.

^h Bar. ad ann. 553. n. 235.
ⁱ Calend. Vet. Trevir. 31. Januar.

^k Bar. ad ann. 555. n. 1.

^l Idem ibid.

JUSTINIAN.

PELAGIUS,

Fifty-ninth BISHOP of Rome.

VIGILIUS was succeeded by *Pelagius*, a Native of *Rome*, and the Son of one *John*, formerly Vicar to the *Præfectus Prætorio*^a. He was first employed by *Silverius*, and sent by that Pope to *Constantinople*, with the Character of his *Apocrisarius*, or Nuncio; but betraying him, in the manner we have related above^b, he seconded the wicked Attempts of *Vigilius*, the Usurper of his See. In the famous Dispute concerning the *Three Chapters*, he adhered to *Vigilius* in all his Changes, condemning or approving those Articles as the Pope condemned or approved them. With him he was banished, for rejecting the Fifth Council; but recanting, when the Pope recanted, he was with him released from his Exile, and recalled to *Constantinople*. He attended *Vigilius* on his Return from the Imperial City; and, the Pope dying in the Island of *Sicily*, he hastened to *Rome*, the Emperor having promised to raise him to that See, if he survived *Vigilius*, upon his engaging to cause the Fifth Council to be universally received in the West. But, arriving at *Rome*, he found both the People and Clergy incensed against him, to such a Degree, on Account of his having approved the last Constitution of *Vigilius*, that, instead of chusing him for their Bishop, they all separated themselves, with one Consent, from his Communion. *Pelagius*, however, knowing he had the Emperor on his Side, resolved to cause himself to be ordained in Defiance of the Canons, as well as the Electors (A).

The Conduct of Pelagius, while Nuncio to Silverius, and to Vigilius, at the Court of Constantinople.

The Emperor promises to raise him to the Papal Dignity.

The People, instead of chusing him, separate themselves from his Communion.

Having therefore applied to the Bishops, without consulting either the People or the Clergy, he prevailed upon Two, *John* of *Perusia*, and *Bonus* of *Ferentinum*, to perform the Function: but, to the everlasting Glory of the *Italian* Prelates, a Third could not be found in all *Italy*, who would be any-ways concerned in so illegal an Ordination. In his room therefore was substituted, by a new Breach of

^a Lib. Pont.^b See above, p. 366. Note B.

(A) The Canons of several Councils forbid a Bishop to be obtruded on the People, against their Consent.

Year of the Canons (B), one *Andrew*, a Presbyter of *Ostia* (C): and by the
 Christ 555. above-mentioned Bishops, and that Presbyter, was *Pelagius* ordained
 He is illegally Bishop of *Rome* (D).
 chosen, and
 ordained.

But, the People of *Rome*, highly provoked at his thus obtruding himself upon them, to shew their Resentment, separated themselves anew from his Communion, declaring, that, as he was not elected by them, but had, by an open Breach of the Canons, and against their Consent, seized on the See, they would never acknowledge him for their lawful Bishop. In these Circumstances *Pelagius* had no other Resource but to recur to the Emperor; and to him he applied, without Delay, acquainting him with his unhappy Situation, and ascribing the Hatred, which the *Romans* bore him, to his having approved the late Council, and joined the Eastern Bishops in condemning the *Three Chapters*. He renewed, on that Occasion, the Promise he had made of causing the Fifth Council to be universally received in the West: and there wanted no more to engage the Emperor in his Favour, who not only confirmed him, without any farther Inquiry, but wrote to *Narses*; who, having completed the Reduction of *Italy*, governed that Country with an absolute Sway,

He recurs to
 the Emperor,
 who supports
 him in his
 Usurpation.

Lib. Pont. Anast. Biblioth.

(B) The Council of *Nice* requires all the Bishops of the Province to assist at the Ordination of a new Bishop. But adds, if they cannot all conveniently attend, Three shall be sufficient, provided the Metropolitan, and the rest, send their Consent in Writing (1). Ordination performed by fewer than Three was always deemed illegal; nay, the First Council of *Orange* commands both the ordaining Bishop, and the Ordained, to be deposed (2); and the Council of *Riez* actually deposed *Armentarius*, because he had not been ordained by Three Bishops (3). The Fathers of that Assembly even seem to have looked upon such an Ordination as null: *Ordinationem, say they, quam canones irritam definiunt, nos quoque vacuandam esse censuimus; in qua, prætermisssa trium præsentia, &c. prorsus nihil, quod Episcopum faceret, ostensum est* (4). But it must be allowed, that Ordination, tho' performed by Two

Bishops only, or even by one, was never deemed null by the Church.

(C) The Bishop of *Rome* was, from the earliest Times, as he still is, consecrated by the Bishop of *Ostia*. But the present Bishop of that City declining to consecrate one, who thus obtruded himself on the People, contrary to the known Laws of the Church, it was thought expedient to bring a Presbyter, at least, from *Ostia*; and from thence was brought accordingly the above-mentioned Presbyter.

(D) It appears from his Epitaph (5), and is agreed on all Hands, that he was ordained on the 11th of *April*. As to the Year, concerning which there has been some Dispute, it is manifest, from his Letter to the Bishops of *Tuscany*, dated the 15th of *February* 556. that he was then Pope; and consequently, that if he was ordained on the 11th of *April*, it was on the 11th of *April* of the preceding Year 555.

(1) Con. Nicen. can. 4. (2) Con. 1. Arausiæ. can. 21. (3) Con. Reien. can. 1.
 (4) Con. Reien. ibid. (5) Apud Bar. ann. 559. p. 494.

Pelagius.

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commanding him to support the new Pope with all his Interest and Power. In Compliance with the Emperor's Command, *Narses* spared no Pains to reconcile the People of *Rome* with their Bishop; and succeeded therein so far as to gain over, in a very short time, the greater Part of the Nobility and Clergy. Their acknowledging *Pelagius* for their lawful Bishop was urged against those, who did not, as a lawful Election; so that, *Narses* interposing his Authority, they were, in the End, all prevailed upon to acquiesce ^d.

Year of
555.

Narses prevailed on the Nobility and Clergy to acknowledge him for their Bishop.

Pelagius, finding himself now in the quiet Possession of his See, undertook, with great Zeal, the Work which the Emperor, to whom alone he was indebted for his Dignity, had so much at Heart. As the Bishops of *Tuscany* were the nearest to *Rome*, and the most of all incensed against the Pope, on Account of his receiving the Fifth Council, having, on that Score, even erased his Name out of the Diptychs; to them he wrote, in the first Place, alleging several Arguments to convince them, that the Constitution of *Vigilius*, condemning the *Three Chapters*, was no-ways derogatory to the Decrees or Faith of *Chalcedon*. He adds, That the Apostolic Sees had all received that Constitution; and, consequently, that such as did not receive it, ought to be deemed Schismatics; the Church being founded, according to St. *Austin*, on the Apostolic Sees, and the Unity, so much recommended by the Fathers, consisting in the Union of the other Churches with them ^e. *Pelagius* does not pretend, as we may observe here by the way, the Church to have been founded on the See of *Rome* alone; nor that See alone to be the Centre of Unity. He closes his Letter with a Confession of Faith, declaring, that he receives the Four first Councils, with the Doctrine contained in the Letter of *Leo*; and, laying before them the Evils attending a Schism, or Misunderstanding, among the Prelates of the Church, he advises them, if they still question the Orthodoxy of his Faith, to send some of their Brethren to *Rome*, assuring them, they will be thus fully satisfied, that his Faith and theirs is one and the same ^f. The Answer of the *Tuscan* Bishops to this Letter, if they returned any, has not reached our Times. But from History it appears, that, apprehending the Decree of the Fifth Council, condemning the *Three Chapters*, to be inconsistent with the Faith of *Chalcedon*, they continued for many Years separated from the Bishops of *Rome*, who received it.

He writes to the Bishops of Tuscany, in favour of the Council. Year of Christ 556.

^d Lib. Pont.

^e Pelag. ep. 6.

^f Idem ibid.

Year of
Christ 556.

*The Fifth
Council re-
jected by al-
most all the
Western
Bishops.*

It was not only by the Bishops of *Tuscany* that the Fifth Council was rejected, though approved by the *Roman* Church, and the Pope. Those too of *Liguria* and *Venetia* in *Italy*, the Bishops of *Illyricum*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and even of *Ireland*, declared loudly against the Decree of that Assembly; nay, the *Italian* Bishops, and likewise the *Irish*, censuring the Conduct of the Pope, in the sharpest Terms, as if he had betrayed the Faith, to engage the Emperor in his Favour, in case of a Vacancy, separated themselves from his Communion &. As for the Bishops of *Africa*, they had, with one Consent, renounced the Communion of *Rome*, ever since the Year 550. when they excommunicated *Vigilius*, for condemning the *Three Chapters*, by his famous *Judicatum* ^b.

Pelagius
writes a cir-
cular Letter,
addressed to
the whole
Church.

Pelagius, finding himself thus abandoned by almost all the Bishops in the West, as if he had condemned Doctrines, which the Council of *Chalcedon* had defined, to remove that Suspicion, wrote a circular Letter, addressed to the whole Church, solemnly declaring, that he approved the Four first Occumenical Councils; that he held the Doctrine which they had defined; anathematized all, who had been anathematized by them; and received those whom they had received; namely, the Two Catholic Bishops *Theodoret* and *Ibas* ⁱ. But this Declaration, however solemn, did not satisfy the dissenting Bishops. They still continued to defend the *Three Chapters*, anathematizing, as Betrayers of the Faith of *Chalcedon*, all who presumed, or should ever presume, to condemn them. The Pope, therefore, finding he could by no other means overcome the Obstinacy of the refractory and schismatic Bishops, as he styled them, resolved, in the End, to recur to the secular Power; and accordingly wrote several very pressing Letters to *Narses*, recommending to that General the Unity of the Church, and exhorting him to restrain, by his Authority, those whom the Authority of *St. Peter*, and his See, could not restrain, or bring to a Sense of their Duty. *Narses*, tho' a great Warrior, was a Man of a mild Disposition, of great Moderation, and, in Matters of Religion, utterly averse to Persecution and Violence. Unwilling therefore to exert his Authority, he strove, by gentle Methods, by Intreaties and Persuasion, to gain over the *Italian* Bishops, who were Subjects of the Empire. This Method of acting was agreeable to the Temper of the General, but not of the

*He strives to
stir up Narses
against the
dissenting
Bishops.*

*The great
Moderation
of that Gene-
ral.*

^a Greg. Mag. l. 2. epist. c. 36.

^b See above, p. 385.

ⁱ Pelag. ep. 7.

Pelagius.

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Bishop; who, finding it was not attended with the wished for Success, wrote anew to *Narſes*, encouraging him to change his Conduct, and employ some more effectual Means than Intreaties and Persuasion, to bring to Reason the public Disturbers of the Tranquillity of the Empire. Year of
Christ 556.

“ Be not alarmed, says he, at the idle Talk of some, crying
“ out against Persecution, and reproaching the Church, as if she de-
“ lighted in Cruelty, when she punishes Evil with wholesome Seve-
“ rities, or procures the Salvation of Souls. He alone persecutes, The Pope
exhorts him
anew to use
Force and
Violence.
“ who forces to Evil: but to restrain Men from doing Evil, or to
“ punish them because they have done it, is not Persecution, or
“ Cruelty, but Love of Mankind. Now that Schism, or a Separation
“ from the Apostolic Sees, is an Evil, no Man can deny; and that
“ Schismatics may and ought to be punished, even by the secular
“ Power, is manifest both from the Canons of the Church, and the
“ Scripture.” In what Part of the Scripture it is said, that those,
who separate themselves from the Apostolic Sees, may and ought
to be punished by the secular Power, the Pope did not think fit to
let us know, He closes his Letter with exhorting *Narſes* to cause
the Heads of the Schism to be apprehended, and sent, under a strong
Guard, to *Constantinople*; assuring him, that he need not scruple to
use Violence, if it may be so called, in the present Case, seeing the
Civil Power is allowed, nay, and required by the Canons, not on-
ly to apprehend, but to send into Exile, and confine to painful Pri-
sons, those who, dissenting from their Brethren, disturb the Tran-
quillity of the Church^k. Might not the *Arians*, the *Nestorians*,
and the *Eutychians*, have justified, by the same Principles, and Me-
thod of Reasoning, used here by the Pope, all the Cruelties they
practised on the Catholics, when they prevailed, and had the Civil
Power on their Side?

Narſes was no less desirous than the Pope, of seeing an End put
to the Schism, being well apprised, that *Justinian* had nothing more
at Heart, and that his effecting it would rivet him for ever in the Em-
peror's Favour. However, instead of hearkening to the Suggestions
of the Pope, he still pursued his former Conduct; acting therein more
like a Bishop than a Soldier, while the Bishop acted more like a Sol-
dier than a Bishop. Some Bishops of *Tuscany*, and some of *Liguria*,
were, in the End, prevailed upon by *Narſes* to renew their Commu-
But in vain.

^k Pelag. ep. 3.

Year of
Christ 556.

Some Bishops
persuaded by
Narses to re-
new their
Communion
with Rome.
The Bishops
of Istria
separate
themselves
from the Com-
munion of the
Pope, and ex-
communicate
Narses.

Year of
Christ 557.

The Pope
takes thence
an Opportu-
nity of stir-
ring him up
anew against
them.

nion with *Rome*; but could by no means be persuaded to receive the Vth Council, and condemn the *Three Chapters*, condemned, as they said, by the Predecessor of *Pelagius*, and *Pelagius* himself, merely to gratify the Emperor, and redeem themselves from Exile, and the Hardships they suffered. As for the Bishops of *Istria*, having assembled about this time a Council in *Aquilea*, at which presided *Paulinus* Bishop of that City, they declared all to a Man in Favour of the *Three Chapters*, rejected the Council which had condemned them, separated themselves from the Communion of the Pope, and, at the same time, excommunicated *Narses* for concurring with him, and striving to establish a Faith different from that, which was established at *Chalcedon*. Of this *Pelagius* was no sooner informed, than he wrote anew to *Narses*, exhorting him to revenge the Affront, which the Schismatics had offered to him, and, in him, to the Emperor, whom he represented. To deter others from Attempts of the like Nature, and teach them the Respect, that is due to the See of the prime Apostle, and the Majesty of the Empire, he advises *Narses* to send *Paulinus* Prisoner to *Constantinople*, to drive all the rest from their Sees, and banish them the Province. He complains of *Paulinus* in particular, not only as a Schismatic, but as one, who, having been unduly ordained, ought not to be looked upon, nor ought to be treated, as a lawful Bishop, but as an Intruder. “ By a Custom, says “ he, which has long obtained, the Bishops of *Aquilea* and *Milan* “ ordained each other: but the Ceremony was to be performed in “ the Church of the Ordained, that no room might be left for the “ Ordainer to claim any Superiority or Jurisdiction over the other; “ and, at the same time, he might be well assured, that the Person, “ whom he ordained, was acceptable to the People. This Custom, “ continues the Pope, was not observed in the Ordination of *Paulinus*, the pretended Bishop of *Aquilea*. He was not ordained in “ his own Church, but in that of *Milan*; and therefore must not be “ looked upon as a lawful Bishop, but only as an Intruder, and an “ Usurper¹.” What the Pope urges here against the Ordination of *Paulinus*, might have been unanswerably urged against his own. If the Bishop of *Aquilea* was to be looked upon only as an Intruder, and an Usurper, because the above-mentioned Custom was not observed in his Ordination, ought not *Pelagius* himself, with much more Rea-

¹ Pelag. ep. 5.

Year of
Christ 557.

son, to have been looked upon as an Intruder, and an Usurper, seeing he had been ordained contrary to a more antient Custom, a Custom established, and strictly enjoined, by an express Canon of the most revered Council, that ever was held in the Church^m; nay, and against the Consent, and declared Will, of the whole People? But, not remembering his own illegal Ordination, or thinking *Narses* did not remember it, he had even the Assurance to tell that General, it was incumbent upon him to see, that the Customs and Laws of the Church were as punctually complied with as those of the Empire, and to punish all, who presumed to transgress them within the Bounds of his Jurisdiction: that the Bishops of *Aquilea* and *Milan* were both guilty of a notorious Transgression of the said Laws; which he cannot connive at, without betraying the Trust reposed in him by the most religious Emperor; nor, in so flagrant a Case, do less than remove both Bishops from their Sees, and send them Prisoners to *Constantinople*ⁿ. Thus *Pelagius*; but yet the Two Bishops kept Possession of their Sees to the Day of their Death. And truly, had *Narses* been persuaded by the Pope, that it was incumbent upon him to proceed, with so much Severity, against those who presumed to transgress the Customs and Laws of the Church within the Bounds of his Jurisdiction, he must have begun with his Holiness himself, whom he well knew to be the most notorious Transgressor of all.

In the mean time a Report being spread all over *Gaul*, that the Pope, by approving the Vth Council, condemned the Doctrine, which had been defined and established in the Council of *Chalcedon*, *Childebert*, King of the *Franks*, dispatched one *Ruffinus* to *Rome*, to acquaint *Pelagius* with that Report, and, at the same time, to require a Confession of his Faith. Were an Ambassador now sent to *Rome* on such an Errand, he would there meet with a very indifferent Reception: but, as the Popes had not yet begun to think themselves infallible, *Pelagius*, tho' a Man of no meek Spirit, instead of resenting it in the King, that he should have thus questioned the Orthodoxy of his Faith, received his Ambassador with uncommon Marks of Respect and Esteem; and, in Compliance with his Demand, drew up, signed, and sent into *Gaul*, an ample Confession of his Faith, solemnly declaring, that he not only received, but was ready to defend, even at the Expence of his Life, the holy Faith of *Chalcedon*; that he

*Childebert
King of the
Franks sur-
speaks the
Faith of the
Pope.*

*Who sends to
the King an
ample Con-
fession of his
Faith.*

^m See above, Note (A)

ⁿ Idem ibid.

Year of
Christ 557

anathematized all, who did not hold the same Faith, as well as the Doctrine contained in the Letter of *Leo*; and that nothing had been defined in the Vth Council, but what was intirely agreable to that Faith and Doctrine^o. This Confession the King immediately communicated to the *Gallican* Bishops. But they, not satisfied with it, still continued, in spite of the Pope's repeated Protestations, to defend the *Three Chapters*; and it was not till many Years after that the Vth Council was universally received in *Gaul*.

Several other
Letters written
in different
Years by
Pelagius.

Several other Letters, or Fragments of Letters, have reached our Times, written, in different Years, by *Pelagius* to *Narses*, to *Childebert*, to *Sabaudus* of *Arles*, and others. In one to *Sabaudus*, he appoints that Prelate his Vicar, vesting him with the Metropolitan Jurisdiction, not only over the Provinces that were subject to *Childebert*, but all *Gaul*^p. In his Letters to *Narses*, he complains of several Bishops, whom he charges with Incest, with Murder, with Adultery, and other heinous Crimes, which, he says, it is the Duty of the Civil Magistrate to punish, since the Church could not, with all the Severity such Enormities deserved^q. In another Letter he acquaints the Person, to whom he writes, that the People of *Syracuse*, which See was immediately subject to that of *Rome*, having chosen one for their Bishop, who was married, and had Children, he had refused to ordain him; but finding the People, after they had been a whole Year without a Bishop, were still determined to chuse no other, he had, in the End, thought it adviseable to ordain the Person, whom they had chosen; but it was upon Condition that he should not misapply the Goods of the Church, nor bequeath the least Share of them, at his Death, to his Wife, or his Children^r.

Pelagius dies.
Year of
Christ 560.

This Letter, and another concerning the Building of new Churches, which the Pope will not allow to be built on Ground where any Person whatever has been buried, seem to have been written in 558. and most Authors suppose *Pelagius* to have died the following Year. But from his Epitaph it appears, that he governed the *Roman* Church 4 Years, 10 Months, and 18 Days^s; and, consequently, as he was ordained on the Eleventh of *April* 555^t. that his Death must have happened on the First of *March* 560. He had the Mortification to see the Authority of the *Roman* Church universally disregarded, and brought to

^o Pelag. ep. 10. ^p Idem, ep. 15.
ep. 11. et frag. 1. tom. 5. Concil. p. 805.
^r See above, p. 420, Note (D).

^q Idem, epist. 4. ^r Idem,
Apud Bar. ad Ann. 559. p. 494.

John III.

BISHOPS of Rome.

427

Year of
Christ 560.

the lowest Ebb, even in the West, the Bishops of *Gaul, Spain, Africa, Ireland, and Italy*, continuing, in spite of all his Efforts, of his repeated Protestations, and Decisions, to condemn and reject a Council, which he had approved and received; nay, and to suspect the Orthodoxy of his Faith, because he received it † (E). *Pelagius* is said, in the Pontificals, to have died when he had just laid the Foundation of the famous Church in *Rome*, dedicated to the Two Apostles St. *Philip* and St. *James*.

JUSTINIAN,

J O H N III.

JUSTIN the younger.

Sixtieth BISHOP of Rome.

PELAGIUS being dead, *John*, the Third of that Name, the Son of *Anastasius*, a Person of no small Distinction in *Rome*, was chosen to succeed him, and ordained on the 18th of *July*, which, in 560. fell on a *Sunday*, after the See had been vacant Four Months, and Seventeen Days †. These long Vacancies are ascribed, by some, to the Intrigues of the Candidates, or Pretenders to the Papal Dignity. But what seems chiefly to have occasioned them, was, that the Elect, by what Number soever elected, could not be ordained till his Election was approved and confirmed by the Emperor; so that the Emperor was to be acquainted with the Election, was to issue a Decree confirming it, and that Decree was to be sent to the Exarch of *Ravenna* (F), and notified by him to the *Roman* People; which, in those times,

John III.

chosen, after
a Vacancy of
Four Months.

What occasioned these
long Vacancies.

† Lib. Pontif.

‡ Lib. Pontif.

(E) Did those Bishops believe him infallible? It is evident they did not; nor, indeed, did he himself: else he would not have failed, as we may well suppose, to plead that Prerogative, or at least, to mention it, on so urgent an Occasion.

(F) The Provinces of *Italy* had, ever since the time of *Constantine the Great*, been governed by *Consulares, Correctores, and Praesides*, no Alteration in the Government having been made either by the Emperors who succeeded *Constantine*, or by the Kings of the *Goths*. But the *Goths* being driven out by *Narses*, and all *Italy* united anew to the Empire, *Longinus*, who

was sent to succeed that General, suppressed the antient Magistrates; and, in their room, placed, in each City of Note, a Governor, whom he distinguished with the Title of Duke. For himself, he assumed the Title of *Exarch*, which was given by the *Greeks* to those who presided over a Diocese, and, consequently, over the many Provinces of which the Diocese was composed. The same Title was adopted by the Successors of *Longinus*, who, residing, as he had done, at *Ravenna*, were thence styled *Exarchs* of *Ravenna*. They governed *Italy* with an absolute Authority, placing and displacing the Dukes at their Plea-

Year of
Christ 560.

times, could seldom be done till several Months after the Election, on account of the Irruptions of the Barbarians, and the Wars in *Italy*. In the mean time the Archpriest, the Archdeacon, and the *Primicerius*, or Chief of the Notaries, supplying the room of the Pope, transacted all Business, and disposed of the Revenues of the See, as they thought fit. It was their Province to acquaint the Emperor, the Exarch, the Judges, and likewise the Bishop of *Ravenna*, with the Decease of the Pope, as soon as it happened, and afterwards with the Election of his Successor; nor did they resign their Charge, till they received the Imperial Decree confirming the Election. Their thus waiting till the Will of the Emperor was known, often occasioned a considerable Delay in the Ordination or Consecration of the Pope. But how long soever the Delay was, the Elect did not, in the mean time, exercise any Authority as true and lawful Pope, nor was he looked upon as such, but still yielded the First Place in the Church to the Archpriest (K). Hence it appears, that the Papal Dignity, whatever Power or Jurisdiction it imports, was not then thought to be conferred by Election alone, but by Election and Consecration. It was on this Consideration that the antient Writers have not allowed a Place, in the Catalogue of the Popes, to *Stephen*, who was chosen in 782. but died before he could be consecrated. But in the Year 1059. *Nicolas II.* decreed, That if the Pope could not be consecrated, he should nevertheless exercise his Authority as true and lawful Pope, in governing the *Roman* Church, and disposing of the Goods of the Holy See w. However it was still disputed in the 13th Century, whether the Pope had a Power to issue Bulls before his Consecration; and many maintained, that he had no such Power. But *Clement V.* put an End to the Dispute in 1306. by a Bull, forbid-

Whether the
Papal Dignity
be conferred by
Election
alone.

w Gratian. dist. 23. can. in nomine Domini.

Pleasure; and to them the People had recourse in all Matters of Moment. They maintained the Power and Authority of the Emperors in *Italy* for the Space of 183 Years, that is, from the Year 568. when *Longinus* was sent into that Country, to the Year 751. when *Eutychius*, the last Exarch, was driven out, and *Ravenna* was taken by *Astolphus* King of the *Lombards*, as we shall have Occasion to relate hereafter.

(K) Thus *John IV.* being elected Pope, while he was Archdeacon, signed nevertheless, in the Second place, and after the Archpriest, the Letter, which the *Roman* Clergy wrote to the *Scots* before his Election was confirmed by the Emperor, styling himself only Deacon, with the Addition of *Elect, Joannes Diaconus, et in nomine Dei electus* (1).

(1) Bed. l. 2. c. 19. Epist. 15. Martini Pap. et Lib. diurn. Rom. Pont. tit. 1. ding,

ding, on Pain of Excommunication, any such Question to be brought into Debate *; and it is now a settled Point in the Schools, that the Pope receives all Papal Authority from his Election alone (A). Year of
Christ 560.

But to return to the present Pope: He held the See Thirteen Years, wanting a few Days; and yet I find nothing recorded of him by the contemporary Writers, that is worthy of Notice. In the West Affairs, continued in the same Situation, in which his Predecessor had left them, some Bishops there receiving, but the far greater Part continuing still to condemn, the Fifth Council, and all who received it. What Pains the Pope took to heal these Divisions, to unite the Bishops among themselves, and with his Sec, we know not, nor indeed whether he took any; for of the several Letters that are ascribed to him, not one is allowed, by the Learned, to be genuine. *Nothing recorded of this Pope worthy of Notice.*

In the East the Fifth Council was universally received; but yet the Ecclesiastics were there too at Variance among themselves, with respect to another Point, and no less divided than their Brethren in the West. The State enjoyed often a settled Peace, but the Church scarce ever. The Point at present in Dispute was, *Whether the Body of Christ was, before he rose from the Dead, Corruptible or Incorruptible.* This important Question had occasioned, some Years before, great Diffensions and Divisions among the *Eutychians*, and even a Schism in that Party, some of them obstinately maintaining, that the Body of Christ was, and others, no less obstinately, that it was not, subject to Corruption. The Question was first moved, about the Year 531. by some Monks of *Egypt*, a Set of Men, who, indulging themselves, for want of a better Employment, in Speculations of that Nature, took particular Delight in communicating them to the World, and seeing the Ecclesiastics as well as the Laity engaged in Disputes and Quarrels about them. For such was the Humour, such the Temper of Men in those Days, more especially of the Ecclesiastics, that every Conceit, however absurd, however im-

* Extravag. com. l. 5. c. 4. tit. 10.

(A) This Opinion the modern Writers are all bound to maintain, and consequently to place the above-mentioned *Stephen*, though never consecrated, in the Catalogue of the Popes; which has occasioned a Disagreement between them and the Antients, in the Number of the *Stephens*, and the manner of numbering them. For thus

Stephen styled the *Second* by the Antients, is reckoned the *Third* by the Moderns; the *Third* is called the *Fourth*; and, in the same manner, the rest to the *Ninth*, whom the Moderns call the *Tenth*; with great Confusion in History, and Contradiction among Writers.

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Christ 560.

pertinent and idle, was looked upon by them, on Account of some far-fetched Deductions and Consequences, as a Matter of the utmost Importance to the Faith, as the Subject of a serious Dispute and Inquiry. And indeed what else but idle Conceits, but trifling, absurd, and impertinent Speculations, calculated only to confound our Belief, and, by multiplying Mysteries, render the Christian Religion quite unintelligible, was the Subject of most of the Disputes; for the determining of which, after they had long rent the Church into irreconcilable Parties and Factions, Bishops were summoned, as we have often seen, from all Parts of the Christian World, and General Councils assembled?

The first Rise
and Progress
of this Dis-
pute.

Of the Rise and Progress of the present Controversy, the contemporary Writers deliver us the following Account: A Monk of *Egypt*, repairing to *Severus*, the famous *Eutychian* Bishop of *Antioch*, who had been obliged to quit the See he had usurped, and take Refuge in *Alexandria*, asked him, Whether he thought the Body of Christ was *Corruptible* or *Incorruptible* before his Resurrection. *Severus* answered, after a short Pause, That the Fathers had all believed it *Corruptible*; and that his Faith was the same with theirs. The Monk, not satisfied with that Answer, being perhaps himself of a different Opinion, or wanting to divide the leading Men of that Party among themselves, for the Good of the Church, went strait from *Severus* to *Julian*, the *Eutychian* Bishop of *Halicarnassus*, who had been likewise forced to abandon his See, and fly into *Egypt*, and asked him the same Question. *Julian* returned Answer, That the Fathers had all believed the Body of Christ to have been, from its Conception, *Incorruptible*, and that he durst not hold a Doctrine that was not held by them. Neither Bishop recurred to, or ever once thought of the Scripture, as if there had been no such Book, or they had never heard of it. It was now become quite unfashionable to quote it. The Fathers held the Place of the inspired Writers with the Heterodox as well as the Catholics, and were alone consulted by both, in all Doubts and Disputes about the Faith.

The Euty-
chians di-
vided among
themselves
as to it.

The Monk had acquainted *Julian* with the Answer of *Severus*, and now, returning to *Severus*, acquainted him with the Answer of *Julian*; and there wanted no more to set the Two Chiefs at Vari-

See above, p. 293.

ance, and kindle a War in that Party. Both Bishops were zealous Defenders of the Doctrine of *Eutyches*; and having, on that Account, been driven from their Sees, they had hitherto lived, as Fellow-sufferers for the same Cause, in the greatest Friendship and Intimacy. But *Severus*, who was a Man of a most haughty and imperious Temper, impatient of all Contradiction, and highly conceited of himself and his Talents, no sooner understood, that *Julian* had presumed to contradict him, than, looking upon him no longer as a Friend, but as his Antagonist, he published a Writing to prove, that the Fathers had all believed the Body of Christ to have been *Corruptible*; and that nothing but the grossest Ignorance could excuse those from Heresy who maintained the contrary Opinion. This Writing was immediately answered by *Julian* with another, to prove, that the Fathers had all believed the Body of Christ to have been *Incorruptible*; and that it was not only rank Heresy, but downright Blasphemy, to maintain the contrary Opinion (A). War being thus declared, the whole Party were divided at once into Two opposite Factions, some siding with *Severus*, and some with *Julian*. The Opinion of *Severus* was warmly espoused by *Timotheus*, then Bishop of *Alexandria*, and a most zealous *Eutychian*; and the Opinion of *Julian* by a Deacon of the same Church, named *Themistius*, who

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(A) The Dispute was not concerning the Mortality or Immortality of the Body of Christ; nor whether it could be resolved into the Principles, of which it was originally composed? but whether it required Nourishment, like other Bodies, and could not naturally subsist without Food, Drink, and Sleep? Whether Christ suffered Hunger and Thirst *by Nature*, or only because he *chose* to suffer them? The Defenders of the *Corruptibility* maintained Christ to have been, by his Nature, hungry, thirsty, wearied, &c. to have slept, and used Nourishment, to satisfy those natural Appetites, and to have divested himself of that *Corruptibility* at his Resurrection. On the other hand, the Asserters of the *Incorruptibility* would not allow Christ to have used any kind of Nourishment, or to have rested, because he was *by Nature* hungry, thirsty, or tired, but because he chose to be so, eating before his Passion,

in the same manner as he did after his Resurrection, not because he wanted Food, but only to shew, that he was a true and real Man. That Christ really and truly suffered Hunger, Thirst, Weariness, &c. both Parties allowed; and only disagreed with respect to the manner in which he suffered them; the one maintaining, that he suffered them in the same manner as we do, by the natural Constitution of his Body; and the other, that he suffered them only by Choice; insomuch that had he abstained from all Food, yet he had not been hungry, unless he had chosen to be so. These were styled *Incorrupticolæ* or *Aphthartodocitæ*, *Phantasiastæ*, and *Gaianitæ* from one *Gaianus*, whom they chose for Bishop of *Alexandria*, their Antagonists being distinguished with the Names of *Corrupticolæ*, and *Theodosiani*, from one *Theodosius*, chosen by them, in Opposition to *Gaianus* (1), as the Reader will find in the following Page.

(1) Liberat. Brev. c. 19. Leont. de sectis, act. 5. Niceph. l. 17. c. 29.

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likewise professed the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, and had no less distinguished himself by his Zeal in defending it, than by his Parts, and his Learning. The leading Men being thus divided, from them the Division soon passed to the rest of the Clergy, and from the Clergy to the Laity; nay, and to the riotous Multitude; which occasioned endless Disturbances, and threw the whole City into the utmost Confusion. In the mean time *Timotheus* died; and the Two Parties not agreeing about the Election of his Successor, *Theodosius*, who maintained the *Corruptibility*, was chosen by the one, and *Gaianus*, who denied it, by the other. Thus were their Animosities heightened to such a Degree, that had not the Civil Power interposed, a bloody War had been kindled in the Bowels of the City. For the Populace on either Side had already begun to look upon each other as declared Heretics, as *avowed Enemies to the human Nature of Christ*; and some Battles were fought, not only in the Streets and the Squares, but in the Churches themselves. This Schism or Division among the *Eutychians* was not confined to *Alexandria* or *Egypt* alone, but soon extended to *Constantinople*, to *Antioch*, and to all the other Cities in the East &c.

Justinian
issues an
Edict in fa-
vour of the
Incorruptibi-
lity.

Year of
Christ 565.

As for the Catholics, they at first wisely declined engaging in the Dispute, and would, in all likelihood, have continued neuter, had not *Justinian*, who took particular Delight in Disputes of that Nature, drawn them into the Quarrel. For the Emperor, not satisfied with declaring for the *Incorruptibility*, and warmly espousing the Cause of those who maintained it, undertook this Year to have that Opinion universally approved and received by the Church. With that View he published an Edict, declaring the Body of Christ to have been *Incorruptible*, agreeably to the Doctrine of the Fathers, and requiring all to teach, hold, and believe, what they had taught, held, and believed. As this Edict was peremptory, and no room was now left for the Neutrality, which the Catholic Bishops had hitherto observed, the Division, which had so miserably rent the *Eutychian* Party, was at once introduced among them; some of them readily complying, while others could by no means be prevailed upon to comply, with the Commands of the Emperor. Among the latter were the Two Patriarchs, *Eutychius* of *Constantinople*, and *Anastasius* of *Antioch*, who, boldly opposing the Imperial Definition, or Edict, as utterly

Which is op-
posed by the
greater Part
of the Catho-
lic Bishops.

† Liberat. Breviur. c. 19. Leont. de sect. act. 5. Niceph. l. 17. c. 29.

inconsistent with the Faith of the Church and the Fathers, drew after them the far greater Part of the Catholic Bishops. These, well apprised of the Diffensions and Divisions which such an Edict would inevitably raise in the Church, jointly applied to the Emperor, earnestly intreating him to revoke it, and refer the Decision of the Dispute to the Judgment of a Council. But *Justinian*, instead of hearkening to their Remonstrances, or the Reasons they alleged to convince him, that the Doctrine of the *Incorruptibility* was repugnant to the Belief of the Church, issued a new Edict, confirming the former, and commanding all Bishops to receive it, on Pain of forfeiting their Sees, and being driven into Exile. This last Edict was no sooner published than several Bishops, ready to teach any Doctrine rather than to part with their Sees, shifting Sides, began publicly to defend the Opinion, which they had hitherto anathematized, and anathematize that which they had hitherto defended. Thus, in a very short time, would the Imperial Decree have been universally received, and the Doctrine of the *Incorruptibility* established in the East, had not the Two Patriarchs withstood the Emperor with great Firmness and Constancy; and by the Writings they daily published, encouraged some of their Brethren to follow their Example, even at the Expence of their Sees. On them therefore *Justinian* resolved to wreak his Vengeance; and, beginning with *Eutychius*, he ordered him to be apprehended by a Band of Soldiers; and he was apprehended accordingly, even in the Imperial Palace, after he had performed Divine Service in a Chapel, which the Emperor had lately built there. From the Palace he was conveyed, under a strong Guard, as a public Malefactor, to a Monastery in the Neighbourhood of *Chalcedon*, and there kept Eight Days, strictly guarded, and most cruelly used by the soldiery. In the mean time the Emperor, looking upon him as a Heretic, and consequently as one who had forfeited the Episcopal Dignity, appointed in his room *Joannes Exscholasticus*, a zealous Stickler for the *Incorruptibility*, and then *Apocrisarius* or Nuncio, at the Imperial Court, from the Bishop of *Antioch*. By the new Patriarch was assembled, in great Haste, pursuant to the Emperor's Order, a Council at *Constantinople*, to judge *Eutychius* late Bishop of that City. He was accordingly summoned to appear before that Assembly, and clear himself from the Crimes which they pretended to have been laid to his Charge. But with that Summons *Eutychius* was so far from complying, that he excommunicated on the Spot both those

Eutychius of Constantinople seized, and deposited by the Emperor, for opposing his Edict.

Year of
Christ 565.

Tried by a
Council, and
sent into
Exile.

who came with it, and those who sent them. The Council therefore, having summoned him Three times, agreeably to the Canons, declared him, upon his not obeying their Third Summons, guilty of the Crimes with which he was charged; and he was immediately delivered up to the Soldiery, and carried by them to an Island in the *Propontis*, known by the Name of *The Prince's Island*. There he passed Three Weeks, treated the whole time with the utmost Barbarity, by the Soldiers appointed to guard him. From thence he was conveyed to *Amasea*, the Metropolis of *Helenopontus*, where he was confined for Life to the Monastery, in which he had been educated, and was afterwards Archimandrita or Abbot ² (A).

He resolves
to proceed in
the same
manner
against Ana-
stasius of
Antioch.

One of the chief and most zealous Defenders of the *Corruptibility* being thus removed, the Emperor, in the next Place, resolved to proceed, with the same Severity, against the other, *Anastasius* of *Antioch*, a Prelate no less conspicuous for his Piety than his Learning. Having therefore first attempted anew, but attempted in vain, to bring the Patriarch over to his Opinion by fair means, he at last let him know, that if he did not, within a limited time, sign the Edict establishing the Catholic Doctrine of *Incorruptibility*, he must expect no better Treatment than his Brother of *Constantinople* had met with. *Anastasius*, well apprised of the Inflexibility of the Emperor, who was never known to have quitted an Opinion, which he had once taken up, began to prepare for Exile; and on that Occasion wrote an exhortatory Discourse, or Oration, to the *Antiochians*, encouraging them to maintain, even at the Expence of their Lives, the Catholic Doctrine of *Corruptibility*. His Zeal had cost him dear, had *Justinian* only lived a few Days longer. But Providence interposed, says *Evagrius* ², and at the same time a Period was put to the Life of the Emperor, and to his wicked Attempts on the Servants of God, and the Catholic Church. *Justinian* died on the 14th of *November* 565. in the 83d Year of his Age, having reigned 38

But is pre-
vented by
Death.

² Euseb. in vit. Euty. c. 5. Theoph. ad ann. 564. Cedren. ad ann. Justiniani 38.
² Evagr. l. 4. c. 40.

(A) However, upon the Death of *Joannes Scholasticus*, or *Exscholasticus*, which happened in 577. he was recalled to *Constantinople*, by the Emperors *Justinus the younger*, and *Tiberius Constantinus*, and restored to his See, which he held to his Death,

that is, to the Year 582 (1). He is now honoured as a Saint, both by the *Greeks* and the *Latins*; and the Reader will find, in *Baronius*, a very particular Account of the many Miracles he is supposed to have wrought (2).

(1) Theophan. ad ann. Alex. 569.

(2) Apud Bar. ad ann. 564. p. 525—527-
Years,

Years, 7 Months, and 13 Days (A). Of all the Emperors he concerned himself the most in Ecclesiastical Matters, as appears from his *Nouvelle*, Year of Christ 565.

(A) *Zonaras* gives him the following Character: "He was easy of Access; and no less ready to hear Informers than to punish Offenders. He coveted Money, but spent it as idly, as he had acquired it unjustly. As he was thus ever indigent, the surest Means of earning his Favour was to suggest new Methods of acquiring new Wealth." He is highly commended by all the contemporary Writers, even by those who, in other respects, seem to have been prejudiced against him, for his uncommon Parts, and extraordinary Knowledge, especially in Divinity, in Philosophy, in Jurisprudence, in Architecture, and even in Music, a Hymn, which he composed, and set to Music, being sung to this Day in the Greek Churches (1). However, *Baronius* will have him to have been quite illiterate, and often inveighs against him for presuming to dictate in Matters of Religion, though he could not so much as read the Title of the Bible. Into this gross Mistake the Annalist was led by an incorrect Copy of the Lexicon of *Suidas*, printed at Milan, which alone he seems to have perused. For in that Copy the name of *Justinian* is put, by an Error of the Press, instead of the Name of *Justin*, who was quite illiterate, as I have elsewhere observed from *Procopius* (2). Had *Baronius* consulted any of the several manuscript Copies of *Suidas*, lodged in the Vatican Library, he had found in them the Name of *Justin*, where we read that of *Justinian* in the Milan Edition.

In Points of Religion, however uncertain and disputable, he was no less positive, obstinate, and peremptory, than the Popes themselves, treating all as Heretics, the Pope himself not excepted, who differed from him, without hearkening to any Reasons or Arguments against the Opinion, which he had once embraced. He was a Match for the Popes; and though the rest of the World often yielded to them for the sake of Peace, *Justinian* never would;

we have seen one of the Popes obliged to yield to him, and condemn the Opinion which he had once maintained (3).

Justinian was engaged in War with some Nation or other, during the greatest Part of his Reign. But his Wars he managed abroad by his Lieutenants, especially by the Two renowned Commanders *Belisarius* and *Narses*, while he employed his whole time at home, in disputing about Matters of Religion, or in Building. Of his religious Disputes we have spoken already; and as to his Buildings, they were almost without Number; for he is said to have restored no fewer than 150 Cities, which he found intirely ruined, or very much decayed, to have erected Castles in every Province of the Empire, and to have filled with Churches and Hospitals not only *Constantinople*, but all the East. But of all the Churches he built, that called *Santa Sophia* and *Magna* was by far the most expensive and magnificent. It was begun by *Constantine the Great*, and finished 34 Years after, by his Son *Constantius*, but burnt down, and intirely consumed in 532. the Sixth Year of the Reign of *Justinian*, who the same Year undertook to rebuild it, or rather to build another far more magnificent in its room. The Foundation of the new Church was laid on the 23d of February 532. and the whole Edifice completed and dedicated on the 28th of December 537. It is celebrated by all the Writers, who speak of the Buildings of *Justinian*, as the Glory and Wonder of the World; insomuch that the Emperor himself, when he had finished it, was heard to say, *νίκηκα σε, Σολομών, I have outdone thee*, Solomon. In this Church particular Notice is taken by the Antients of the Holy Table, composed, according to *Cedrenus* (4), of Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Metals, and all Sorts of Materials, which either the Earth or the Sea could afford, melted and mixed together. Round it was the following Inscription, written by *Justinian*

(1) Vide Aleman. in notis ad hist. Arcan. Procop. c. 18. (2) See above, p. 291. in Note B. (3) See above, p. 411, 412. (4) Cedren. hist. compend. ad ann. 32. *Justinian*.

Year of
Christ 565.

He acted,
during the
whole time of
his Reign, as
the supreme
Head and
Governor of
the Church.

vella, which contain so many Edicts relating to the Discipline of the Church, that he is reckoned among the Ecclesiastical Writers. He enacted several Laws concerning the Ordination of Bishops, their Age, Qualifications, Residence, Privileges, &c. He regulated the Convocation of Councils, and prescribed their Time; issued several Orders concerning the Manners and Conduct of the Clergy, of the Monks, and the sacred Virgins; enforced the Observance of the Canons; established the Penalties, no less than Deposition and Degradation, to be inflicted on the Metropolitans, Bishops, and other Ecclesiastics, who should transgress them; and finally restrained the Bishops, no Bishop excepted, from excommunicating, without a just Cause, that is, without a Cause specified in the Canons, and till the Crime was fully proved ^b. In short, he acted, in every respect, as the supreme Head and Governor of the Church; and the Laws he enacted as such, were received both in the East and the West, by the Bishops of *Constantinople* as well as by those of *Rome*, without the least Opposition or Complaint, as appears from *Gregory the Great* ^c, from *Hincmarus* ^d, and others (B).

In

^b Novel. 5, 6, 7. 22. 120. 123, &c.
opuscul. c. 17.

^c Greg. l. 2. ep. 54.

^d Hincmar.

Justinian himself: We thy Servants, Justinian and Theodora, offer unto thee thy own Gifts, which we beseech thee favourably to accept, O Son and Word of God, who wast made Flesh, and crucified, for our sake. Keep us in the true Orthodox Faith; and this Empire, which thou hast committed to our Trust, augment and preserve to thy own Glory, by the Intercession of the Holy Mother of God and Virgin Mary. It appears from the last Words of this Inscription, that, in the 6th Century, the Prayers of Saints were thought available, though we meet with very few Instances, even in that Age, of any addressed to them. Of the wonderful Works and Buildings of *Justinian* the Reader will find a very minute and particular Account in *Evagrius* (5), *Procopius* (6), and *Agathias* (7). I shall only observe here, that he neither hoarded up, nor applied to the Gratification of any unlawful Inclination, the

exorbitant Sums, which he levied on his Subjects, but employed them either in carrying on his great Works, or in paying his numerous Forces; so that they may be said to have returned to the public. *Justinian* may deservedly be called the last Roman Emperor; for in him the Majesty of the Empire seemed to revive; but it soon vanished again, and fell to Decay.

(B) *Justinian* is greatly commended, even by some of the Popes, notwithstanding the little Regard he paid to the Decisions and Judgment of their See. Pope *Gregory the Great* constantly styles him an Emperor of pious or blessed Memory (8); and Pope *Agatha*, in the Two Letters he wrote to the Emperors *Tiberius* and *Heraclius*, prefers him to *Theodosius the Great*, to *Marcian*, and all the Emperors who reigned before him, for his true Piety, for his Zeal in maintaining the Purity of the

(5) *Evagr.* l. 4. c. 31.
l. 5.

(6) *Procop. de Ædific.* Justin. l. 1. c. 1.

(7) *Agath.*

(8) *Greg.* l. 2. ep. 10. l. 3. ep. 4. l. 7. ep. 126.

In the room of *Justinian* was proclaimed, and crowned, on the 14th of *November*, by the Patriarch *Joannes Exscholasticus*, *Justin the younger*, the Son of *Dulcissimus*, by *Vigilantia*, the deceased Emperor's Sister. As the Bishops and Clergy were, at the time of his Accession, every-where at Variance in the East, about the *Corruptibility* and *Incorruptibility* of the Body of Christ, in the West, about the *Three Chapters*, and the Church was reduced, by their Disagreement and Feuds, to a most deplorable Condition, the Pastors being more intent on cursing each other than instructing their Flocks, the first Care of the new Emperor was, to reconcile them, if possible, and, banishing all Discord, establish that Peace in its room, which Christ left to his Disciples, as his last Legacy, before he returned to his Father. *Justin* was well apprised, that the Points which occasioned such warm Disputes, which thus divided the Christian Prelates, and rent the Church into Parties and Factions, were no Articles of the Catholic Faith, but impertinent Speculations of idle Men, which every Christian might receive or reject, believe or disbelieve, without deserving the Name of Heretic, or being in the least suspected of Heresy. Instead therefore of declaring for either of the contending Parties, or persecuting either, as his Predecessor had unadvisedly done, he issued an Edict, containing and explaining the indisputable Articles of the Christian Faith, and anathematizing, as Heretics, all who did not receive them; but, at the same time, declaring every Man free, with respect to the disputable Articles, to hold and profess that Opinion, or Doctrine, which should appear to him to be the best grounded. The Emperor, after exhorting all Christians to Peace and Concord, observes, in the End of his Edict, that it was about Words only they frequently quarrelled, nay, that a single Syllable had set them at Variance, and given Occasion to long Disputes. He probably alluded to the Syllables *of* and *in*, about which the Dispute had lasted, in

Year of
Christ 565.

He is succeeded by Justin the younger.

The wise Measures he took to restore Peace to the Church.

With that View he publishes an Edict.

Year of
Christ 566.

• See above, p. 62.

Catholic Faith, and his Care of the Ecclesiastical Discipline; and adds, that his Memory ought ever to be revered by all the Nations of the Christian World (2). However, *Evagrius* gravely tells us, that he was damned, *ad supplicia justo Dei judicio apud inferos laudanda profectus est* (3); and

Baronius seems strongly inclined to believe him, because that Writer lived in the time of *Justinian* (4); whereas those, who commend him, lived after; and consequently could not be so well informed, as he, of what happened to the Emperor in the other World.

(2) Extant in Synod. sexta, Act. 4. ann. 565. p. 531.

(3) *Evagr.* l. 3. c. 1.

(4) *Bar. ad*

Year of
Christ 566.

his time, above One hundred Years, and was not yet ended, nor likely to end. *Justin* closes his Edict with strictly forbidding all Disputes of that Nature, those especially concerning the *Corruptibility* or *Incorruptibility* of the Body of Christ, and the *Three Chapters*, the Church being divided in the East by the one, and in the West by the other^f.

Peace re-
stored in the
East by his
Edict.

The Emperor, not satisfied with issuing that Edict, dispatched *Photinus*, the Son-in-law of *Belisarius*, into *Egypt*, where the Dispute about the *Corruptibility* and *Incorruptibility* had first begun, and was carried on with most Warmth, charging him to settle, if by any means he could, those Churches in Peace; and vesting him, for that Purpose, with an unlimited Power, says *Theophanes*, over all Persons and Things^g. But that Power *Photinus* had no Occasion to exert; the Imperial Edict was received, without the least Opposition, not in *Egypt* only, but in all the Provinces of the East, and thereby an End put at once to all further Disputes, both Parties being, in their Hearts, desirous of Peace, as *Theophanes* observes, tho' neither could ever be prevailed upon to yield to the other.

Two Galli-
can Bishops,
deposed by a
Council, recur
to the Pope.
Year of
Christ 570.

Their
Crimes.

The Dispute about the *Corruptibility* and *Incorruptibility* was, it seems, intirely confined to the East: for I do not find, that either the Pope, or any of the Western Bishops, were ever concerned in that Controversy, or were ever consulted by the contending Parties, about it. An undeniable Proof, that the Pope was not looked upon, by either Party, as an unerring Judge in Matters of Faith and Religion. Of the present Pope not the least Mention is made, by the antient Writers, from the time of his Election till the Year 570. the Eleventh of his Pontificate, when he is said to have restored Two *Gallican* Bishops deposed by a Council. These were *Salonius* and *Sagittarius*, Two Brothers, the former Bishop of *Ebredunum*, or *Ambrun*, the latter of *Vapuncum*, or *Gap*. They were accused by one of their Brethren, *Victor* Bishop of *Augusta Tricastinorum*, now *St. Paul de Trois Chateaux*, of several most enormous Crimes, of Murders, Adulteries, Robberies, &c. having even attacked that Prelate, at the Head of a Band of Ruffians, on his Birth-day, which he designed to have passed in innocent Mirth with his Friends, and used him in a most barbarous manner, beaten his Domesticks, plundered his House, and carried off the Utensils, as well as the Provisions, which the good Bishop had prepared for the Entertainment. These Crimes being proved, by a

^f Evagr. l. 5. c. 4. et Card. Noris. in Dissert. de Syn. quinta, paragr. 2. ^g Theophan. ad ann. 1. Justin.

great Number of Witnesses, before a Council, which King *Guntram* ordered to meet at *Lyons*, to try the Two Criminals, they were both declared guilty, and both deposed, by the unanimous Suffrages of all the Bishops who composed that Assembly. From that Sentence they begged Leave of the King to appeal to the Pope; and, having obtained it, they both repaired immediately to *Rome*, not doubting but the Merit of appealing to the Apostolic See would sufficiently atone, in the Eyes of his Holiness, for all the Crimes with which they were charged. Nor indeed were they mistaken: the Pope not only received them kindly, but declared them, upon their own Testimony, without further Inquiry, unjustly deposed; and wrote to the King, desiring they might be restored to their Sees. The King knew they were guilty, and had added, to their other Crimes, that of imposing on the Pope himself; but nevertheless, to gratify his Holiness, he restored them, after a sharp and severe Reprimand, to their former Rank. The *Gallican* Bishops were not so complaisant as the King: for they, without the least Regard to the Judgment of the Pope, or his Sec, not only excluded the Two Bishops from their Communion, since they could not exclude them from their Sees, but proceeded, with the same Severity, against *Victor* their Accuser, who, upon their Return from *Rome*, had readmitted them to his Communion, without the Consent and Approbation of his Brethren^b. *It is the Prerogative of the Roman Church only, says Baronius, to restore a Bishop deposed by a Synod, without the Concurrence and Consent of a more numerous Synod*ⁱ. But what Synod has hitherto acknowledged such a Prerogative? What Synod has hitherto acquiesced in the Judgment of the *Roman Church*, or the Pope, absolving or restoring those, whom they had condemned or deposed? That such a Prerogative was not, at this time, that is, in the Latter-end of the Sixth Century, yet acknowledged even in the West, the Case before us sufficiently shews.

The Two Bishops, depending on the Protection and Favour of the Pope, instead of reforming their Lives, abandoned themselves, on their Return from *Rome*, to all manner of Wickedness, without Restraint or Controul, spending their whole Time in riotous Banquets and Revels with the debauched Youth, and lewd Women; nay, quitting the Cross, and taking the Sword and the Helmet in its room,

Year of
Christ 570,

Well received
at Rome, and
there declared
innocent, and
restored by
the King.

The Conduct
of the Pope,
how resented
by the Galli-
can Bishops.

The Two Bi-
shops, guilty
of new
Crimes, are
condemned
again, and
deposed.

^a Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. l. 5. c. 20.

^b Bar. ad ann. 449.

Year of
Christ 572.

they served in the War between the *Burgundians* and *Lombards*; and, in a Battle, killed several of the latter with their own Hands. This Conduct their Brethren could no longer bear: and therefore, assembling at *Châlon*, they condemned them anew, and confined them for Life to a Monastery there^k, to prevent their recurring again to *Rome*, and being patronized by the Pope in their Wickedness.

John III.
dies.

Year of
Christ 573.

Of this Pope no farther Mention is made till the time of his Death, which happened in 573. after he had presided in the *Roman Church* Twelve Years, Eleven Months, and Twenty-six Days. He was buried, according to the Bibliothecarian, in the Basilic of *St. Peter*. The Letter said to have been written by him to the Bishops of *Gaul* and *Germany*, and quoted as genuine by *Turrianus*^l and *Bellarmino*^m, is now rejected by all, even by *Baronius*ⁿ, as a mere Forgery.

JUSTIN the younger,
TIBERIUS CONSTAN-
TINUS.

BENEDICT,

ALBOINUS, King of
the Lombards in
Italy.

Sixty-first BISHOP of Rome.

Benedict
chosen.
Year of
Christ 574.

IN the room of the deceased Pope was chosen, and ordained on the Third of *June* 574. after a Vacancy of Ten Months, and Twenty-one Days, *Benedict*, known to the *Greeks* by the Name of *Bonofus*, a *Roman* by Birth, and the Son of one *Boniface*^o; which is all we know of him. The long Vacancy, that preceded his Election, was, no doubt, owing to the distracted State of *Italy*, invaded at that time, and most miserably harassed, by a new Northern Nation, that of the *Longobards*, or *Lombards* (A). As we shall have frequent Occasion to speak of that People, their History being, so long as they continued in *Italy*, that is, for the Space of 200 Years and upwards, inseparably interwoven with the History of the Popes, it

^k Idem ibid. l. 4. c. 36. et l. 5. c. 27.
^m Bellar. de Cler. l. 1. c. 17.
Pontif.

^l Turrian. pro ep. Pont. l. 2. c. 20.
ⁿ Bar. ad ann. 572. p. 575. ^o Lib.

(A) They were so called from their long Beards, as *Paulus Diaconus* informs us (1), who was himself originally a *Lombard*, but born in *Italy*. He was Deacon

of the Church of *Aquileia*, and is thence called *Paulus Diaconus*, but his true Name was *Paul Warnefrid*. He flourished in the Latter-end of the Eighth Century.

(1) Paul. Diac. l. 1. c. 9.

Benedict.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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will be necessary to premise a brief Account of their Origin, of their first Arrival in *Italy*, and the surprising Success of their Arms there.

Year of
Christ 574.

The Origin of
the Lom-
bards.

The *Lombards* were, as is agreed on all hands, a *Gothic* Nation ^p; and, consequently, came originally from the Peninsula of *Scandinavia* (B), a Country rightly styled, by *Jornandes*, *Officina Gentium*, and *Vagina Nationum* ^q: for thence issued those numerous Swarms of People, who, for want of room at home, overspread, and stocked with Inhabitants, the most remote as well as the neighbouring Kingdoms. The *Lombards*, having, after they left *Scandinavia*, long wandered in quest of new Seats, and often shifted them ^r, settled at last in *Noricum* and *Pannonia* (C), under *Audobinus* their Tenth King, those Provinces being granted them by the Emperor *Justinian*, in the Year 527. the First of his Reign ^s. *Procopius* adds, that the Emperor presented them, at the same time, with a very considerable Sum of Money ^t, no doubt to keep them quiet. They continued in their new Settlements for the Space of Forty-two Years, that is, from the Year 527. to 568. when they were persuaded by the famous *Narses* to quit *Pannonia*, and, marching into *Italy*, attempt the Conquest of that more fruitful Country. This memorable Event is thus related by the Historians, who lived the nearest to those Times. The Emperor *Justinian*, to reward, in the best manner he could, the eminent Services of *Narses*, to whose Valour and Conduct he owed the Recovery of *Italy*, appointed him to govern that Country, as a Province of the Eastern Empire, with an absolute Power. That Trust *Narses* discharged to the general Satisfaction of all good Men, employing the Power, with which he was vested, to promote the Welfare and Happiness of the People committed to his Care. Under him the Laws were again duly executed, Agriculture was encouraged, Trade revived, and the Cities, after an 18 Years uninterrupted War,

Justinian in-
vites them to
settle in Pan-
nonia.

They are in-
vited by Nar-
ses into Italy.

^p Paul. Diac. l. 1. c. 2. et Grot. in Proleg. in Hist. Goth. Goth. p. 83.

^q See Paul. Diac. de Gest. Longob. l. 1. et 2.

^r Jornand. Rer.

^s Idem de

Gest. Lomb. l. 1. c. 22.

^t Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. 3. c. 32.

(B) *Scandinavia*, or, as *Isaac Vossius* will have it, *Scandinavica* (1), comprised the present *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Lapland*, and *Finnmark*. It was thought by the Antients to be an Island; but it is now well known to be a Peninsula.

(C) *Pannonia* comprised then Part of *Hungary*, of *Austria*, of *Stiria*, and of *Carniola*; and *Noricum* all *Carinthia*, with Part of *Austria*, of *Stiria*, of *Carniola*, of *Tirol*, and of *Bavaria*.

(1) *Isaac Voss.* in Mel. l. 3. c. 6.

Year of
Christ 574.

What provoked Narses
to invite
them.

restored, in a very short time, to their former Splendor. But what can secure even the best of Men against Slander and Obloquy? *Narses*, though he governed by Law, though he never invaded any Man's Property, was nevertheless painted to the new Emperor *Justin*, by some who envied his Power, and probably wanted to succeed him, as an arbitrary and lawless Tyrant, as one who abused his Authority to oppress the People, and enrich himself with the Spoils of the plundered Provinces. To these Suggestions the Emperor hearkened, and, without giving himself the Trouble of inquiring whether so heavy a Charge was well or ill grounded, recalled *Narses*, after he had governed *Italy*, with great Reputation, for the Space of 16 Years, and appointed *Longinus* to govern it, with the same Power, in his room (D). Had *Narses* thought his Enemies would have stopped here, he would, in all Likelihood, have dissembled the Injustice that was done him, and, quietly retiring, enjoyed, with his Friends, the great Wealth which he had lawfully acquired. But apprehending, from the Malice of his Enemies, as well as from a late Instance of *Justin's* Cruelty to a Man of an unblemished Character, and extraordinary Merit (E), both his Life and his Fortune to be in Danger, he resolved to secure the one and the other, at the Expence of the Emperor, and the whole Empire. With this View, instead of return-

(D) As *Narses* was an Eunuch, the Empress *Sophia* is said to have sent him word, on this Occasion, that his Employment at *Constantinople* should be to distribute, in the Apartment of her Women, the Portion of Wool, which each of them was to spin. To which insulting Message *Narses* is reported to have returned Answer, *That he would weave a Web, which it would never be in her Power to undo* (1).

(E) This was *Justin*, Cousin to the present Emperor, and one who had signalized himself in War, and discharged, with great Reputation, the first Employments of the Empire. While it was yet uncertain which of his Two Nephews *Justinian* might appoint, to succeed him, they agreed, that he, whom the Emperor judged the less worthy of that Honour, should acquiesce in his Judgment, and the other should, on that Consideration, treat him as the first Person of the Empire after him-

self. This Agreement was faithfully complied with by *Justin*; but the Emperor, jealous of the eminent Virtues, and great Popularity, of one, who, by his Birth, had as good a Claim to the Empire as himself, instead of fulfilling the Engagement on his Side, caused the innocent *Justin*, after repeated Protestations of Kindness and Friendship, to be barbarously assassinated in his Bed. The Historian adds, that the groundless Fears of the Emperor, and his Wife *Sophia*, were not quite removed, till the Head of the unhappy *Justin* was brought from *Alexandria*, where he was murdered, to *Constantinople*; and that, when it was shewn to them there, they both spurned it, in a most barbarous and insulting manner, on the Ground (2). *Narses* therefore acted wisely in not repairing to *Constantinople* where he might have met with the like Treatment.

(1) Paul. Diac. de Gest. Longobard. l. 1. c. 5. (2) Evagr. l. 5. c. 2.

Year of
Christ 574.

ing to *Constantinople*, he withdrew to *Naples*, where he was greatly beloved and esteemed, and from thence privately dispatched some trusty Messengers to *Alboinus* King of the *Lombards*, with whom he was well acquainted, inviting him into *Italy*, and assuring him, that he would find the Passes into that Country all open and unguarded (E). The *Lombard* King, transported with Joy at such an Invitation, and the Opportunity it offered of invading a Country so much preferable, in every respect, to his own, began to prepare, without Loss of Time, for the intended Expedition. In the First place he persuaded the *Saxons*, his old Allies, to join and assist him with a Body of 20,000 Men, promising to share with them his future Conquests. He applied next to the *Bulgarians*, *Sarmatians*, *Sueves*, and other Nations, receiving from each of them powerful Supplies of Men, all

They quit
Pannonia,
and set out
for Italy.

(E) This Account, though vouched by all the Historians who speak of the Irruption of the *Lombards* into *Italy*, *Baronius* rejects as a mere Fable (1), pretending, that *Narfes* was recalled by *Justinian*; and that, in the Reign of *Justin*, he continued at Court in great Reputation and Favour. To prove this, the Annalist alleges the Authority of a contemporary Writer, an *African* Poet, named *Corippus*, who was actually at *Constantinople* when *Justin* was crowned; and there saw *Narfes*

attending him, in great State, on that Occasion; and likewise on another, when he gave Audience to the Embassadors of the *Avars*. But that it was another *Narfes*, and not the Betrayer of *Italy*, whom *Corippus* saw in the Emperor's Retinue, on the Two above-mentioned Occasions, and who, it seems, was a chief Part of the Shew, no Man can dispute, who attends the least to the Words of the Poet. His Words are:

*Armiger interea, domini vestigia lustrans,
Eminet excelsus super omnia vertice Narfes
Agmina, et augustam cultu præfulgurat aulam,
Comptus casarie, formaque insignis et ore, &c. (2).*

How could *Baronius* think, that the Person, whom the Poet describes here and elsewhere (3) as a tall, strong, comely young Man, with fine Hair nicely dressed, &c. was an old Eunuch! The Eunuch *Narfes* was at least Threescore in the Beginning of *Justin's* Reign; and would then, I believe, have thought it a very absurd Compliment from a Poet, who, after his so many warlike Exploits, had only commended him for his tall Stature, his comely Countenance, his graceful Person, and his fine Locks, if he had any. There was, at this very time, another *Narfes*, Captain of the Guards, and one of the Emperor *Justin's* chief

Favourites; and him, no doubt, *Corippus* described in the Lines quoted above. He was young, and being probably handsome, and vain of his Person, the Poet made that the Subject of his Panegyric, for want of a better. However, he signalized himself afterwards in War above all the Commanders of his Time, especially in the War which the Emperor *Mauricius* waged with the *Persians*. To that Nation his Name became so formidable, that it was commonly used, if *Theophylactus* is to be credited, all over *Persia*, to frighten the Children into a Compliance with the Will of their Mothers and Nurses (4).

(1) Bar. ad ann. 567. p. 555.
prope fin.

(2) Coripp. in laud. Justin. l. 3.

(3) Lib. 4.

(4) Theophyl. in Hist. Maurician.

Year of
Christ 574.

They enter
that Country
without Op-
position, and
make them-
selves Ma-
sters of Aquile-
a and Fri-
uli.

Several other
Places re-
duced, and
Alboinus
their King
proclaimed
King of Italy.

determined to lose their Lives, or better their Fortunes. Having thus assembled a very numerous and formidable Army, he concluded an Agreement with his Neighbours the *Hunns*, in virtue of which they were to hold *Pannonia*, should he succeed in his Attempt upon *Italy*; but to restore it, if he miscarried, The Treaty being signed by the chief Men of both Nations, the *Hunns* entered *Pannonia*, which, from them, to this Day, is called *Hungary*, and, at the same time, the *Lombards* marched out with their Wives, their Children, and all their Effects, bending their Route towards *Italy*. They began their March in the Month of *April*, the Day after *Easter*, which fell that Year on the First Day of that Month, in the 4th Year of the Emperor *Justin the younger*, the 9th of *John III.* Bishop of *Rome*, and of the Christian *Æra* the 568th. They marched through *Istria*; and finding, as they arrived on the Borders of *Italy*, the Passes unguarded, they entered that Country without the least Opposition, and, without the least Opposition, made themselves Masters of the Two important Places *Aquileia*, and *Forum Julii*, now *Friuli*, most of the Inhabitants taking Refuge, as they had no regular Troops to support them, in the neighbouring Islands of the *Adriatic*. In these Two Cities, and their Territories, the *Lombards* passed the first Winter after their Arrival in *Italy*, *Alboinus* not thinking it adviseable, as his Troops were not a little fatigued with their long March, to advance that Year farther into the Country. The following Year 569. they began early to move forward; and, the Imperial Troops not daring to face them, they reduced, that Summer, the following Cities and Towns; *Trivigi*, *Oderzo*, *Monte Selce*, *Vicenza*, *Verona*, and *Trent*. The Third Campaign proved no less successful than the Two former; for, entering *Liguria*, upon the Return of the Spring, they brought under Subjection the far greater Part of that Country, with the Cities of *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, *Lodi*, *Como*, and *Milan* itself, the Metropolis of *Liguria*. Upon the Reduction of that City, *Alboinus* was, with loud Acclamations, proclaimed King of *Italy* by the *Lombards*, and the whole Army; and from that Year, the Year 570. Historians date the Beginning of the Kingdom of the *Lombards* in that Country. Thus far of a People, whom I shall have frequent Occasion to mention in the Sequel of this History, and with whom it was therefore necessary the Reader should, in some Degree, be acquainted. The Account I have

Pelag. II. BISHOPS of Rome.

445

have here delivered of them is vouched by the best and most unexceptionable Writers ^u.

Year of
Christ 574.

And now to return to the present Pope; he died on the 30th of ^{Benedict dies.} *July* 578. having governed the *Roman* Church Four Years, One ^{Year of} *Month*, and Twenty-eight Days ^{Christ 578.} ^w. He is said by the *Bibliothecarian* to have died of Grief in seeing the Success of the *Lombards*, and the dreadful Ravages they committed in *Italy* ^x. The Letter on the *Mystery of the Trinity*, to one *David* a *Spanish* Bishop, ascribed to this Pope, is now, by all but *Baronius*, allowed to be spurious, being dated, besides many other Marks of Forgery ^y, under Consuls, when there were no more Consuls. In the same Year, on the 5th of *October*, died the Emperor *Justin*, and was succeeded by *Tiberius*, a Native of *Thrace*, but a Person of extraordinary Merit.

A Letter
falsely ascribed
to him.

TIBERIUS CONSTAN-
TINUS,
MAURICIUS.

PELAGIUS II.

ALBOINUS,
CLEPHAS,
AUTHARIS,

} Kings of
the *Lom-
bards*.

Sixty-second BISHOP of Rome.

BENEDICT was succeeded, after a Vacaney of Four Months, ^{Pelagius II.} by *Pelagius*, the Second of that Name, the Son of *Winigild*, ^{chosen.} and a Native of *Rome*, but of *Gothic* Extraction ^z. As the *Lombards* were, at this time, Masters of the far greater Part of *Italy*, and kept *Rome* itself closely besieged, the Elect was ordained before his Election could be confirmed by the Emperor. But the Siege was no sooner raised, than the new Pope dispatched *Gregory*, then Deacon of the *Roman* Church, and afterwards his Successor in that See, to excuse to the Emperor what had been done, and beg he would confirm what the unhappy State of the City, at that Juncture, had made necessary ^a.

He dispatches one to Constantinople, to excuse to the Emperor his having been ordained without his Consent.

Pelagius had the Misfortune to govern the Church in the most calamitous Times *Italy* had yet seen. The *Lombards* committed every-where such dreadful Ravages, spread every-where such Desola-

^a Paul. Dial. de Gest. Longobard. l. 2. c. 1. 5, 6, 7. Fredegar. in Epit. c. 65. Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. 3. c. 33. Sigebert. Marian. Scot. Hermannus Contractus, Grotius Hist. ignot. Monachi Cassinen. apud Camil. Pel. Hist. Princ. Longobard. ^w Orderic. l. 2. Regino. Luitprandus, &c. et passim. Catal. Rom. Pont. ^x Bibliothec. in Benedict. ^y See Pagi ad ann. 577. n. 2. ^z Lib. Pont. Anast. Plat. &c. ^a Paul. Diacon. l. 3. c. 2.

Year of
Christ 578.

The Lombards commit
dreadful Ravages in
Italy.

tion and Terror, that they were generally looked upon, by the holy Men of those Days, as the Instruments of divine Vengeance employed by provoked Justice to depopulate *Italy*, and there extirpate the whole Race of Mankind; nay, it was revealed to some Saints, if they or Pope *Gregory* may be credited, that the *Lombards* were the Fore-runners of the last Day, and that the End of the World was at hand ^b. *Gregory* himself saw Swords, and Spears, and Armies, and Battles, in the Air, and the whole Heaven streaming with human Blood ^c. By these Dreams and Visions of Saints, the credulous Multitude were terrified to such a degree, that, instead of uniting against the common Enemy, in their mutual Defence, they abandoned themselves to Despair, and let the Barbarians plunder, burn, and destroy, without Restraint or Controul.

The Church
still divided
about the
Three Chapters.

Such was, at this time, the State of the Empire in the West; and that of the Church was not much better. The old Division or Schism about the *Three Chapters* still prevailed, some Bishops condemning those Chapters, and receiving the Council that condemned them; while the far greater Part of their Brethren in *Italy*, in *Gaul*, in *Spain*, in *Africa*, and in *Ireland*, continued to defend them, and to reject that Council. Pope *Vigilius*, in whose Time the Dispute was unhappily moved ^d, first defended the controverted Articles, and then condemned them, defended them anew, and anew condemned them, as has been related above ^e. His Successor *Pelagius* I. changed his Mind, before he was Pope, as often as he ^f: but being afterwards raised to the Papal Dignity by the Emperor *Justinian*, upon his engaging to cause the Vth Council, condemning the *Three Chapters*, to be universally received in the West, he left nothing unattempted to make good his Engagement, recurring, for that Purpose, even to the secular Power ^g. But he had the Mortification to see his Authority contemned in *Italy* itself, and all his Endeavours prove unsuccessful. Of the Two succeeding Popes, *John* III. and *Benedict* I. we know very little: if they attempted, as perhaps they might, to unite the Bishops among themselves, and with their See, their Authority was no more regarded than that of their Two Predecessors; for they left Matters in the same Condition they found them. However, the present Pope, not in the least discouraged by the unsuccessful Attempts

^b Greg. Homil. 1. in Evang. et Dial. 1. 3. c. 38.
above, p. 379.
above, p. 422.

^c See p. 382, et seq.

^e Idem ibid.

^f See above, p. 419.

^d See

^g See

of his Predecessors, undertook, with great Zeal, *to unite all Catholic Pastors in one Mind, and establish by their Union, a lasting Peace in the Church*; that is, in other Words, to persuade all Catholic Pastors to acquiesce, with one Mind, in the Judgment of his See; for upon what other Terms has any, however trifling, Dispute been yet ended, and Peace established in the Church?

Pelagius had yet taken no Steps towards uniting the Catholic Pastors among themselves, or with his See, when a favourable Opportunity offered, and he readily embraced it, of obliging one of the most zealous Defenders of the *Three Chapters* in all *Italy*, *Elias* Metropolitan, or, as he was commonly styled, Patriarch of *Aquileia*.

Elias of Aquileia a zealous Stickler for the Three Chapters.

He was, as his Two immediate Predecessors had been before him, at the Head of the Bishops in those Parts, who defended the *Three Chapters*, and condemned the Fifth Council. However he thought it advisable to recur to the Pope on the following Occasion: *Paulinus*, who held the See of *Aquileia*, when the *Lombards* broke first into *Italy*, leaving that City at the Approach of so formidable an Army, took Refuge in the neighbouring Island of *Grado*, carrying with him the most valuable Ornaments, and all the sacred Utenfils of his Church. There he continued to reside, and after him his Two Successors *Probinus* and *Elias*, not thinking themselves safe among the new Comers, who were yet either *Pagans* or *Arians*, and expecting to see the Church soon delivered, as well as the State, from so cruel a Bondage. But the abandoned Condition of *Italy*, and the great Advantages daily gained by the Enemy, leaving no farther room to hope for a Change, *Elias* resolved to transfer, with the Consent of his Suffragans, the Metropolitan or Patriarchal See from *Aquileia* to *Grado*, where he had built a Church to the Honour of the Martyr *Euphemia*. But apprehending the Pope might resent his taking such a Step without first imparting it to him, and suing for the Approbation of his See, to prevent all Disputes, he wrote to *Pelagius*, acquainting him with his Design, and begging his Holiness to approve and confirm it with the Authority of the Apostolic See. The Pope immediately complied with his Request, and in the most obliging manner; hoping by that means to render him less averse to a Reconciliation between the Two Sees. Besides, *Pelagius* wisely considered, that the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, living under the Empire, might be more easily prevailed upon, or even forced, to submit to *Rome*, than if he were subject to the *Lombards*, who,

The Pope, to gain him approves his transferring his See from that City to Grado.

Year of
Christ 579.

Year of
Christ 579.

as they were not Catholics, but either *Pagans* or *Arians*, would hardly suffer any Force or Compulsion to be used in Matters of Religion. *Elias* no sooner received the Pope's Answer, than he assembled his Suffragans in the Island of *Grado*; and there a Decree was, with one Consent, issued by them, transferring the Patriarchal See from *Aquilea* to the Town of *Grado*, in the Island of that Name. In that Council *Laurentius*, a *Roman* Presbyter, whom *Pelagius* had sent to assist at it in his Name, produced a Letter, whereby the Pope confirmed for ever, to the Town of *Grado*, the Dignity and Rank of a Metropolis, with respect to the Provinces of *Istria* and *Venetia*, and all the Churches then subject to the See of *Aquilea* ¹.

The Pope's
Legate pro-
poses an
Agreement
between the
Two Sees.

As the Patriarch as well as his Suffragans expressed great Satisfaction at the obliging Behaviour of the Pope on that Occasion, the Legate *Laurentius* took thence an Opportunity, pursuant to his Instructions, of proposing an Agreement between the Two Sees: Having therefore endeavoured to persuade the Fathers of that Assembly, that the Dispute was only about Persons, and, in no respect, about Matters of Faith, he warmly exhorted them, as they tendered the Welfare and the Peace of the Church, to submit their Judgment to that of the First See, rather than to foment and maintain, by an inexcusable Obstinacy, so scandalous a Division among the Catholic Prelates. What Answer the Council returned to the Legate we know not; nor indeed whether they returned any; but certain it is, that, far from submitting their Judgment to that of the First See, they confirmed, with one Voice, the Decree they had issued in 557. approving the *Three Chapters*, and condemning the Fifth Council ¹; so that the Pope gained nothing in the End by his Complaisance.

Which is re-
jected.

The Lom-
bards pursue,
with great
Success, the
Conquest of
Italy.

From this Time to the Year 584. the deplorable Situation of the Affairs of the State allowed the Pope no Leisure to attend to those of the Church. The *Lombards* pursued the Conquest of *Italy* without Interruption, the Exarch *Longinus* not daring, with the few Troops he had, to face them in the Field. They had reduced the strong and important City of *Ticinum* or *Pavia* (A), after a Three Years Siege; and, having made it the Metropolis of their new King-

¹ Vide Card. Noris in Chron. Aquileiens. Dand. hist. Venet. & Ughell. tom. 5. Ital. Sacrae. ¹ Vide Card. Noris, &c. ubi supra, et p. 424.

(A) *Alboinus*, finding the City of *Pavia* well garisoned, and supplied with great Plenty of Provisions, had left Part of his Army before it, to carry on the Siege, while he pursued the Conquest of *Italy* with the rest.

dom, had from thence extended their Conquests over the Provinces of *Venetia, Liguria, Emilia, Hettruria*, and *Umbria*, and threatened *Rome* itself with a second Visit. The Pope therefore expecting daily to see them again at the Gates of the City, dispatched, in great Haste, to *Constantinople, Sebastianus*, his Fellow-Bishop, as he styles him, and *Honoratus*, a Notary, to lay before the Emperor *Tiberius*, jointly with *Gregory*, Nuncio from the Apostolic See to that Court, the defenceless State of *Italy*, most miserably harassed by the worst of Barbarians, and to solicit an immediate Supply of Men and of Money, without which *Rome* itself would, in a very short time, be inevitably lost ^k. The Emperor heard their Complaints, expressed great Concern at the Evils his good Subjects suffered in *Italy*, and wished it were in his Power to relieve them; but added, that for the present he had neither Men nor Money to spare, but rather wanted both to carry on, with Success, the War, in which he was engaged with the *Persians*.

Year of
Christ 580.

The Pope applies to the Emperor for Relief, but in vain.

Pelagius, finding *Italy* thus abandoned by the Emperor, and, in a manner, given up to the *Lombards*, resolved to try whether he might not prevail on some other Prince to undertake the Defence of that Country. At this time reigned in *Burgundy Guntram*, a Prince no less famous for his Religion and Piety, than his known Attachment to the Bishops of *Rome*, and their See. To him therefore *Pelagius* resolved to apply; and wrote accordingly, not immediately to the King, but to *Aunacharius* Bishop of *Auxerre*, in whom the King reposed an intire Confidence, exhorting and earnestly intreating him to persuade, by all means, the most pious and religious Prince to renounce the Alliance, which, it seems, he had lately concluded with the *Lombards*, and, turning his Arms against them, divert that wicked and perfidious Nation from completing the Ruin of *Italy*, and Destruction of *Rome* ^l. What was the Issue of this Application is no-where recorded; but as the *Lombards* pursued undisturbed the Conquest of *Italy*, we may well conclude, that it proved ineffectual. The good King perhaps was of Opinion, that Faith was to be kept even with Pagans and Heretics; and consequently could not be persuaded, either by the Pope or the Bishop, to make War, unprovoked, on a People, with whom he had but very lately pawned his Royal Word to live in Friendship and Amity.

And likewise to Guntram, King of Burgundy.

Year of
Christ 581.

But could not prevail on him to make War on the Lombards.

^k Pelag. ep. 5.

^l Pelag. ep. 4.

Year of
Christ 582.

Tiberius
dies, and
Mauricius is
raised to the
Empire in
his room.

Year of
Christ 582.

Who, at the
Request of
the Pope,
sends into
Italy a Sup-
ply of Men
and Money.

Year of
Christ 583.

The faithless
Conduct of
Childebert,
King of the
Franks, on
this Occasion.

The following Year died the Emperor *Tiberius*; and in his room was raised to the Empire *Mauricius*, who had married his Daughter *Constantia*. The Death of the one, and Promotion of the other, were no sooner known in *Italy*, than *Pelagius*, wholly intent on preserving *Rome* from falling into the Hands of the Enemy, wrote again, without Loss of Time, to his Nuncio *Gregory*, charging him to represent to the new Emperor, in the strongest Terms, the lamentable State of Affairs in *Italy*, and apprise him, that nothing but an immediate Supply of Men and Money could save that unhappy Country, and *Rome* itself, from utter Destruction. *Mauricius* hearkened to the Remonstrances of the Pope, and his Nuncio; and an Order was immediately issued, discharging the Exarch *Longinus*, who was not thought equal to so great a Trust, and appointing *Zamaragdus*, a Person well skilled in military Affairs, to command in his room. With the new Exarch was sent into *Italy* a considerable Reinforcement of chosen Troops, and a large Supply of Money to defray the Charges of the War. *Mauricius* was sensible, that the Exarch was not, with those Troops alone, the only that could be spared from the *Persian* War, by any means, in a Condition to withstand the numerous Forces of the Enemy; and therefore, to make a Diversion, and oblige the *Lombards* to divide their Strength, he dispatched Embassadors into *Gaul*, to engage, with the Offer of a considerable Sum, *Childebert*, King of the *Franks*, to join in the War against the *Lombards*, and fall upon them on the one Side, while the Exarch attacked them on the other. The King was pleased with the Proposal; and, having received the promised Sum, 50000 *Solidi*, he began to make great Preparations for the intended Expedition into *Italy*. The Preparations he made alarmed the *Lombards*; but *Autharis*, their King, apprehending that as *Childebert* had been prevailed upon with Money to make War, he might, in like manner, be prevailed upon to make Peace, dispatched Embassadors into *Gaul*, to let him know, that if, in the present War, he would only engage to stand neuter, which could be attended with no Expence, the King of *Italy* was ready to pay him the same Sum, which the Emperor had paid him, to engage in an expensive War. There wanted no more to make the faithless King abandon his new Friends: he agreed, at once, to the Proposal; promised to observe a strict Neutrality; received the Money; disbanded his Army; and left his *Greek* Allies to shift for themselves. He afterwards received,

in the most unpolite and disobliging manner, the Embassadors sent by the Emperor to urge the Performance of the Promise he had made, or the Restitution of the Money he had received; and dismissed them without so much as deigning to return them an Answer^m. This proved a great Disappointment to the Exarch, who thereupon resolved, as he had not a sufficient Force to carry on the War by himself, to try whether he might not amuse the Enemy with a Pretence of Negotiation, till farther Supplies could be sent him from the East. With this View he proposed a Cessation of Arms: and the Proposal was no sooner made than agreed to by the Kingⁿ, who, like a wise Prince, wanted to settle the Affairs of his Kingdom, and establish Peace and good Order in the Countries he had conquered, before he engaged in any new Conquests.

Year of
Christ 583.

A Truce be-
tween the
Greeks and
the Lom-
bards.

Year of
Christ 584.

And now Hostilities being, on both Sides, for a while suspended, and a free Intercourse allowed between the Cities that were, and those that were not, subject to the *Lombards*, the Pope, without Loss of time, laid hold of that Opportunity to attempt anew a Reconciliation between the Sees of *Aquilea* and *Rome*. He dispatched accordingly, as soon as the Passes were opened, *Redemptus* Bishop of *Ferentino*, and *Quodvultdeus*, Abbot of the Monastery of *St. Peter*, in *Rome*, with a Letter to *Elias* of *Aquilea* or *Grado*, and the other Bishops of *Istria*: Pelagius Bishop of the holy Catholic Church of the City of *Rome*, to his beloved Brethren *Elias*, and the other Bishops of *Istria*, was the Address of the Letter. As for the Contents, it was chiefly made up of such Passages of Scripture as seemed most to recommend Concord and Unity, and most to discountenance all Strife and Contention. The Pope there warmly exhorts them, with the Apostle *St. Paul*, *not to strive about Words to no Profit; to shun profane and vain Babblings; to avoid foolish and unlearned Questions*, &c.^o; which was plainly declaring, that, in his Opinion, the present Dispute, the Dispute about the *Three Chapters* (for the determining of which a General Council had been convened; and about which the Bishops had now quarrelled for the Space of 42 Years, notwithstanding the Determination of that Council), was, after all, but an idle, foolish, impertinent Question.

The Pope at-
tempts anew
a Reconcilia-
tion between
the Sees of
Aquilea and
Rome.

His Letter to
the Bishops of
Istria.

But what, in the present Letter, deserves more particularly to be observed, is, that the Pope there, to satisfy the *Istrian* Bishops, that

^m Greg. Turon. l. 6. c. 42. Paul. Diac. l. 3. c. 17.
Istriae.

^o 2 Tim. ii. 14. 16. 23.

ⁿ Pelag. ep. 1. ad Episc.

The History of the P O P E S, or Pelag. II.

Faith, and the Doctrine, of the Fathers of *Chalcedon*; that they had separated themselves from his Communion on that Score, and could not, in Conscience, return to it, till the Scandal was removed, which had given so just Cause to their Separation. They did not, it seems, agree with the Pope in the Explanation of his Texts from Scripture; nor could they discover any kind of Connection between the Faith of St. *Peter*, and his. They too alleged several Texts, not from the Scripture, but the Fathers, telling the Pope, with intolerable Insolence and Pride, says *Baronius*, That, if he perused them with the least Degree of Attention, he would be fully convinced, that his Faith was not the same with the Faith of those great Lights of the Church^m. The Pope received, with great Kindness, the Messengers who brought the Letter; and, having perused it, proposed a Conference on the Subject in Dispute: but they let him know, that they were strictly enjoined to avoid all Disputes; and that they had no other Business at *Rome*, but to deliver the Letter. *Pelagius*, therefore, having caused the Letter to be carefully examined by some of the most learned of his Clergy, answered it, agreeably to their Report, by another, in the following Terms:

^m Vide Bar. ad ann. 586. p. 662.

pretend to *Infallibility*; and that, however well acquainted with their other Prerogatives, they were nevertheless, for the Space of near 600 Years, utterly unacquainted with that which they now look upon as the most valuable of all. I say, *at most*; for some Protestant Divines, unwilling to allow the Bishops of *Rome* to have begun so early to claim that Privilege, have interpreted the Words of *Pelagius*, quoted above, as implying no such Claim or Pretension. And truly it must be owned, that if, in this Letter, the Pope arrogated to himself that Prerogative, he plainly renounced it in another, which he wrote this very Year to the same Bishops, as shall be soon made to appear. But, after all, it matters little whether that Pretension was first heard of in the Sixth or in the Sixteenth Century, it being no less absurd to suppose, that the Popes, had they believed themselves vested with so valuable a Prerogative, would have concealed it from the World Six hundred Years, than that they would have kept it concealed Sixteen

hundred. As for the Word *Infallibility*, it was never heard of till the Twelfth Century, when it was invented, by the Schoolmen, to express that unaccountable Privilege: an *unfortunate Word*, says a *Roman Catholic Writer* (1); and so it is indeed, being often employed to vouch the greatest Absurdities; and to stand alone against Scripture, and Authority, and Reason, and common Sense.

It was not to confute the senseless and absurd Notion of *Papal Infallibility*, that I have employed this Note; but to shew, on the first Insinuation that occurred of such an extraordinary Doctrine, that the Principles, upon which it was originally grounded, and rests to this Day, are no less absurd, and want no less to be proved, than the Doctrine itself. But what are not Men capable of maintaining, when they have once forsaken Truth, and prostituted their Consciences and Pens to their own private Interest, or to the Ambition of others?

(1) Mumford. Cath. Scripturist.

“ It gives me the greatest Concern, beloved Brethren, to find you
 “ so swayed by Prepossession and Prejudice, as not to attend to what
 “ you say. Your Quotations are not just; and the Passages you quote,
 “ are either foreign to the Subject, or wrested to a Meaning very dif-
 “ ferent from that of the Authors. What was said by one Father you
 “ ascribe to another; and seem to *understand neither what you say;*
 “ *nor whereof you affirm.* But far be it from me to impute this to
 “ any evil Design, or any low Craft. It is the common Enemy that
 “ has deceived you”

Year of
 Christ 586.
*The Pope's
 Answer.*

He then enlarges on the Evils that necessarily attend a Misun-
 derstanding or Division among the Catholic Bishops; exhorts them,
 with great Tenderness, to return to the Unity of the Church; and
 again proposes a Conference, to be held at *Rome*, or, if more conve-
 nient for them, at *Ravenna*, which, he flatters himself, would end
 both to their Satisfaction and hisⁿ.

*The Istrian
 Bishops Re-
 ply.*

This Letter was attended with no better Success, than the former:
 The *Istrian* Bishops, instead of hearkening to the Exhortations of the
 Pope, or agreeing to the Proposal of a Conference, wrote a long Let-
 ter in Defence of the *Three Chapters*, maintaining, that nothing but
 an inexcusable Ignorance, or a criminal Prejudice, could excuse those
 from Heresy, who condemned them; and treating his Holiness, through-
 out their Letter, with great Haughtiness and Contempt. The Argu-
 ments, on which they seem to have laid the greatest Stress, were
 these: 1. The Council of *Chalcedon* declared the Faith of *Theodoret*
 and *Ibas** to be orthodox, though well acquainted with their Wri-
 tings; and therefore to condemn those Writings, was evidently strike-
 ing at the Authority of that great Council. 2. All the chief Bishops
 of the *Latin* Provinces long opposed the Condemnation of the *Three*
Chapters, and none with more Zeal than Pope *Vigilius*, who indeed
 changed his Opinion at last. But were they to change their Opinion,
 because he had changed his? Were they too, like a *Reed shaken with*
the Wind, to yield to every Blast?

This Letter *Pelagius* answered with another, called by *Gregory* his
 Successor a *Tome*, or Book; and indeed its Length well intitled it to
 that Name; for, in the Annals of *Baronius*, it takes up no fewer than
 Fourteen Pages in Folio. The Pope there strives to prove, That no-
 thing was defined, by the Council of *Chalcedon*, concerning the *Three*
Chapters; which therefore another Council might condemn, without

*Pelagius's
 Answer to
 their Reply.*

Year of
Christ 584.

derogating in the least from the Authority of that great and venerable Assembly. To the other Argument, *viz.* that *Vigilius*, and the chief Bishops of the *Latin* Provinces, had long opposed the Condemnation of the *Three Chapters*, the Pope returns the following Answer, which, as it deserves particular Notice, I shall give in his own Words: “ It is no Wonder, says he, that the *Latin* Bishops, “ who were not acquainted with the *Greek* Tongue, should not at “ first have agreed to condemn Writings, which they did not under- “ stand. But the more obstinately they opposed the Truth before “ they knew it, the more readily ought we to follow their Example, “ and, with them, chearfully embrace it. Had they yielded at once, “ had they at once condemned what they defended, their Change “ might be well ascribed to Inconstancy. But they long stood up in “ Defence of that Cause ; they suffered even Confinement and Exile, “ before they could be prevailed upon to forsake it. And what else “ could induce them, at last, to yield, and forsake it? Nothing, my “ beloved Brethren, nothing, surely, but Truth and Conviction. “ The Apostle St. *Paul* long opposed the Truth of the Gospel ; but, “ being once convinced, he was so far from thinking his former Op- “ position could be well brought as an Argument against the Truth “ he had embraced, that he urged it as an unanswerable Argument in “ favour of a Faith which had thus triumphed over the combined “ Force of Education and Prejudice. In like manner St. *Peter*, a “ greater Apostle than St. *Paul*, long maintained the Necessity of “ Circumcision, subjecting the converted Gentiles to that *Jewish* and “ antiquated Ceremony. But, being convinced by St. *Paul*, that “ *he walked not uprightly, according to the Truth of the Gospel*, he “ changed his Opinion ; and, in the Council of *Jerusalem*, none “ opposed, with more Warmth than he, the laying such a *Yoke upon “ the Neck of the Disciples* p. If the Prime Apostle held one “ Doctrine while he was seeking after Truth, and another after he “ had found it ; if he changed his Opinion as soon as he was made sen- “ sible of his Error ; why should a Change of Opinion be condemned “ in this See, while the like Change is, by the whole Church, com- “ mended and applauded in its Founder ?” Here the Pope evidently owns, as *Maimbourg* has well observed q, the *Fallibility* of his See ;

He owns the
Fallibility of
his See.

p See Acts, c. xv. ver. 7. 11.
de Rome, c. 7.

q Maimb. *Traité Histo. des Prerogat. de l'Egl.*

and consequently retracts what, in his former Letter, he had artfully insinuated concerning its *Infallibility*, and what probably might have given Offence to the *Istrian* Bishops. But to wave that; the Comparison between *Vigilius* changing his Opinion, and the Two Apostles changing theirs, is quite unconvulsive; since no one can doubt, but, in them, the Change was owing to Conviction alone; whereas, in *Vigilius*, it was evidently the Effect of the severe Treatment he met with before he changed his Opinion, and from which he could only redeem himself by changing it. His changing, therefore, and condemning what he approved before, was no Argument of the Truth, nor, indeed, of Conviction in him; no more than the like Change was in the apostate Christians offering Incense to *Jupiter*, to deliver themselves from Death, or from the Torments they suffered.

The remaining Part of this long Letter the Pope employs in proving from the Fathers, that Men may be anathematized after their Deaths; and shewing, from several Passages out of the Works of *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, of *Theodoret*, and of *Ibas*, that their Writings contained heretical Doctrines, and consequently well deserved to be condemned. He ends with exhorting anew the *Istrian* Bishops to return to the Unity of the Catholic Church.

This, and the Two preceding Letters, are generally thought to have been penned by *Gregory the Great*, at this time Deacon of the *Roman* Church, and Secretary to *Pelagius*. However that be, they made no kind of Impression on the Minds of those, to whom they were written. The *Istrian* Bishops still continued to defend the *Chapters* in Dispute, and to decline all Communication with *Rome*. The Pope therefore, finding that gentle Methods all proved ineffectual, resolved to change his Conduct, and employ Force, where Reason and Arguments could not prevail. He wrote accordingly to the Exarch *Zamaragdus*, stirring him up against the *Istrian* Prelates, whom he painted, in his Letter, as incorrigible Disturbers of the Peace of the Empire, as well as the Church. The Exarch, instead of checking the persecuting Spirit of this Pope, as his Predecessor *Narjes* had done that of the First Pope of the same Name, gave Way to it; and, passing over to *Grado*, ordered *Severus*, who had succeeded *Elias* in that See, and Three other Bishops who were then with him, to be seized, and carried Prisoners to *Ravenna*. The Bishops, warned of

The Pope recurs to Force.

Four Bishops seized by the Exarch, and carried to Ravenna.

^r See above, p. 511, 412.

^s See above, p. 401.

^t Pelag. Ep. 6.

^u See above, p. 422, 423.

Year of
Christ 584.

Forced to condemn the
Three Chapters.

But declare
for them
anew.

John of Constantinople
causes the
Title of Universal Bishop
to be confirmed to him by a
Council.

Year of
Christ 588.

that Order, fled for Refuge to the great Church. But the Exarch, without any Regard to the Sacredness of the Place, went, in Person, to drag them from thence, and returned, with his Prisoners, in a kind of Triumph, to *Ravenna*, the Place of his Residence. What Treatment they met with there, is not recorded : but, whatever it was, they bore it for a whole Twelvemonth ; but, yielding at last, they admitted to their Communion the Bishop of the Place, who had long defended, and now condemned, the Three famous Chapters. The Exarch required no more ; and they were immediately allowed to return to their Sees. But, as their Conversion was owing to Force and Compulsion, which can only make Hypocrites, and, on their Return, their Brethren, and even the People, declined their Communion, *Zamaragdus* was no sooner removed, and *Romanus*, a Man of a more humane Temper, sent to succeed him, than they declared anew for the *Three Chapters*, and separated themselves from the Communion of all who condemned them w (A).

From this time I find no farther Mention made of *Pelagius* till the Year 588. when he appears again upon the Stage on the following remarkable Occasion. *Gregory*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, being accused of Incest, and several other Crimes, before the Governor of the East, appealed from him to the Emperor *Mauricius*, who, receiving his Appeal, immediately summoned the Patriarchs, all the Senators of the Imperial City, and the Metropolitans (B), to hear and determine the Cause. Before that august Assembly *Gregory* appeared, the Witnesses were examined, the Pleaders on both Sides were heard, *Evangrius*, to whom we are indebted for this Account, pleading for *Gregory* ; and, after the Tryal had lasted near a whole Day, Sentence was given in favour of the Patriarch, who returned, with great Honour, to his See, while his Accuser was condemned first to be severely racked, then to be led with Infamy through all the chief Streets of the City,

w Paul. Diac. de Gest. Longob. l. 3. c. 12.

(A) *Paulus Diaconus* is here guilty of a gross Mistake, which has been adopted by a very eminent Writer (1). For the Deacon supposes the Pope to have defended, and the *Istrian* Bishops to have condemned, the *Three Chapters* ; whereas the quite contrary happened.

(B) They are constantly thus named ; the Patriarchs in the First Place, the Senators after them, and the Metropolitans after the Senators.

(1) Sigon. de Reg. Ital. l. 4.

Pelag. II. BISHOPS of Rome.

459

Year of
Christ 588.

The Bishops
of Constantinople had a
lawful Claim
to that Title

and, when he had been thus shewn to the Populace, to be sent into Exile for Life *.

By this great Council was confirmed to *John of Constantinople*, surnamed the *Fastest*, and, it seems, upon his own Application, the Title of *Oecumenical* or *Universal Bishop*, to be enjoyed by him, and his Successors in that See. I say *confirm'd*; for the Bishops of *Constantinople* had, long before this time, a lawful Claim to that Title. The Emperor *Leo* styled *Stephen Archbishop and Universal Patriarch*, in Ten Laws, one after the other †; and the same Title was given by *Justinian* to *Menas*, to *Epiphanius*, and to *Anthemius* ‡; so that it may be called a vulgar Error in History to date the Original of that Title from the Time of *Pelagius*, or his Successor *Gregory*. That Title was not attended with any Accession of Power; nor does it appear, that the present Patriarch aimed at any, in suing for the Decree that confirmed it; much less that he aspired, in virtue of that Title, as the Popes pretended he did, to *Universal Jurisdiction*, or to an unlimited Power over the whole Church. For, had the other Patriarchs and Metropolitans, who were present at the Council, entertained the least Suspicion of any such View or Design in their Brother of *Constantinople*, it is not to be believed, that they would have agreed, so readily as they did, to a Decree raising him to such a Height of Authority and Power, at the Expence of their own. But the Bishops of *Rome*, ever jealous even of the Shadow of any new Addition to the Honour or Power of their old Rival, and never more jealous than at this very time, when the Glory of their See was daily decaying with that of their City, not only took the Alarm themselves on this Occasion, but endeavoured to alarm the whole Christian World against their Antagonist, as if he intended to ingross all Ecclesiastical Power to himself and his See. *Pelagius*, no less disturbed and concerned, than if the Whole of the Catholic Faith had been at Stake, or the Council had condemned some fundamental Article of the Christian Religion, immediately declared, by the Authority, and in the Name, of *St. Peter*, all and every Act of that Assembly absolutely null, except the Sentence in favour of *Gregory*. At the same time he dispatched, in great Haste, Messengers to *Constantinople*, with Letters to the Patriarch, and to his Nuncio at that Court. Neither

The Pope
takes the
Alarm.

* Evagr. l. 6. c. 7.
Novel. 7. 16. 42.

† Leo Imp. Constit. Novel. 2, 3, &c.

‡ Justin.

Year of
Christ 588.

of these Letters has reached our Times (C); but from those of Pope *Gregory* it appears, that *Pelagius*, in his Letter to the Patriarch, reproached him, in very sharp Terms, with Pride and Ambition, styling his Attempt *wicked, detestable, diabolical*, and threatening to separate himself from his Communion, if he did not forthwith relinquish the *Antichristian* Title he had impiously assumed. In his Letter to the Nuncio, he strictly enjoined him not to communicate, nor assist, on any Pretence or Occasion whatever, at divine Service, with the Bishop of *Constantinople*, till he had publicly renounced the Title which he had usurped in the Pride of his Heart, and at the Instigation of the Devil, to the great Debasement of the rest of his Brethren ^a.

Pelagius dies.

Year of
Christ 590.

Pelagius was prevented by Death from proceeding any farther in this Affair. He died on the 8th of *February* of the following Year 590. having held the See Eleven Years, Two Months, and Ten Days. In the Month of *November* of the preceding Year, the *Tyber*, overflowing its Banks, laid under Water great Part of the City, and the adjacent Country. The Inundation was followed by an epidemical Distemper, called, by the Historians, *Pestis inguinaria*, which made a dreadful Havock of the Inhabitants; and *Pelagius* was one of the first who died of it. Besides the Letter which I have taken notice of above, Three others of this Pope, *viz.* one to an Archbishop named *Benignus*; another to the Bishops of *Campania* and *Italy*; and a Third to the Bishops of *Germany* and *Gaul*; are now generally rejected as spurious, though generally received as genuine in the time of *Baronius*. The whole Drift of these, and indeed of most other forged Pieces, is, to magnify the Merit of *St. Peter*, the Dignity of

*Spurious
Pieces ascri-
bed to him.*

^a Greg. l. 4. Ep. 38. et l. 7. Ep. 69.

(C) But, in the room of that which the Pope wrote to the Patriarch, some Impostor has given us one of his own, magnifying, beyond all Bounds, the Prerogatives of the *Roman* See. But no Two Styles were ever more different, than the Style of this Piece, and that of the genuine Letters of *Pelagius*; and, besides, it is, in great measure, made up of whole Sentences taken *verbatim* from the Writings of the Popes *Celestine*, *Leo*, *Innocent*, *Gregory*, and *Martin* I. However, *Baronius*, not questioning its Authenticity, urges it, in a most insulting manner, against the Protestants, to prove the unlimited Power and Jurisdiction of the Popes, which, indeed, are there very plainly asserted (1). As if that could be any Argument of the Pope's being really vested with such a Jurisdiction, should we even allow the Letter to be genuine: but, waving that, it is now by all, without Exception, owned to be spurious.

(1) Bar. ad ann. 587. p. 683.

Year of
Christ 590.

Six Decrees
ascribed to
Pelagius.

his See, the Power of his Successors. It is to me matter of great Surprise, that the Men of Sense and Learning among the *Roman Catholics*, who have often been the first to detect the Forgery of such Pieces, should nevertheless continue to maintain that Power and Authority, which they cannot but know were chiefly owing to these glaring Forgeries. But they will find it is no easy Task to keep up the Edifice, when the Foundation is once undermined. In *Ivo of Chartres*, and in *Gratian*, are Six Decrees, ascribed to *Pelagius*, and looked upon, by some able Critics, as antient and genuine. By one of these the Pope allows a Man to be ordained Deacon, who, after the Death of his Wife, has had Children by a Slave, but has not married her. This he owns to be forbidden by the Laws of the Church; but thinks those Laws may be dispensed with, by reason of the great Want of Ecclesiastics. The Slave he orders to be shut up in a Monastery, and to live there in Continence and Retirement. By another of these Decrees he forbids the Bishops of *Sicily*, who were immediately subject to the *Roman* See, to exact more than Two *Solidi*, a very small Sum, from each Parish of their respective Dioceses (E). The other Four Decrees are concerning Subjects of no great Moment, or such as we have had Occasion to mention elsewhere.

The last Year of the Pontificate of *Pelagius II.* the Year 589. is memorable, in the Annals of the Church, for the Conversion of the *Goths in Spain*, who, having professed the Doctrine of *Arius* for the Space of 213 Years (F), were at last, in that Year, induced by their King *Recaredus*, to renounce that Doctrine, and embrace the Catholic Faith. On so remarkable an Occasion the King assembled a Coun-

The Goths in
Spain em-
brace the Ca-
tholic Faith.

(E) The unjust Demands of the *Sicilian* Bishops gave probably Occasion to this Decree. By a Law of the *African Church*, a Bishop, who oppressed his People with unjust Demands, or unreasonable Exactions, was to be punished with the Loss of that Part of his Diocese, or People, who had Reason to complain of such Oppression (1).

(F) The *Goths*, whom the Emperor *Valens* had allowed to settle in *Thrace*, being desirous of renouncing their Idolatry, and embracing the Christian Faith, applied

to him, in the Year 376. for proper Persons to instruct them in the Mysteries of that Religion. The Emperor readily complied with their Request: but, being himself a most zealous Stickler for the Doctrine of *Arius*, he sent none to them but Men of his own Persuasion; so that the *Gothic* Nation became, at the same time, both *Christian* and *Arian* (2); and the Doctrine which they learnt of their first Instructors, they zealously maintained, from that time, the Year 376. to the present 589.

(1) Aug. Ep. 261. doret. l. 4. c. 37.

(2) Isidor. in Chron. Goth. Soz. l. 6. c. 37. Theo-

Year of
Christ 590.

cil, the Third of *Toledo*, consisting of 73 Bishops; and, being present in Person, ordered, after a short Harangue, his Confession of Faith to be read, signed by him and his Queen; and likewise the Confession of the Bishops, and other Ecclesiastics of the *Gothic* Nation; receiving the Three General Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, and *Chalcedon*, and anathematizing the Doctrine of *Arius*, and all who maintained or professed it ^b. This was matter of great Triumph to the Catholic Party (G).

^b Abbas Biclár. ad ann. 8. Mauri. et Cardinal. de Aguire in Notitia Concil. Hisp. p. 95.

(G) That we may not think the Pope had no Share in the Glory of so remarkable a Transaction as the Conversion of a whole Nation, *Baronius* lets us know, that the Council, in which the *Goths* abjured the Blasphemies of *Arius*, was not assembled without the Privy, Consent, and Authority of *Pelagius* (1); and that *Leander* Bishop of *Seville* assisted at it, with the Character of the Pope's Legate (2). But of all this there is not a single Word, not a distant Hint, in any of the antient Writers. By them it is only said, that the Council met by the King's Order, *præcepto Regis* (3). And as for *Leander*, if he assisted at the Council as the Pope's Legate; that is more than *Isidorus*, who wrote the Life of that Prelate, and takes no notice of his Legatine Dignity, seems to have known, or indeed *Leander* himself, who, in the Speech he made, on that Occasion, in Praise of the Catholic Church, never once mentioned either the Pope, or his See; which would have been an unpardonable Instance of Ingratitude and Disrespect; had *Pelagius* distinguished him with that Character,

above the rest of his Brethren; or had the Pope, I may add, any-ways contributed to the Conversion of the *Gothic* Nation.

In the same Year, 589. was convened, by King *Reccaredus*, another Council at *Narbonne*, consisting of several Bishops, which I cannot help taking notice of here, on account of their First Canon, forbidding Ecclesiastics to use, in their Dress, the Scarlet Colour, that Colour being, as is there said, a Badge of worldly Pomp and Grandeur, and more properly belonging to Laymen in Authority, than to Professors of Religion, whose inward Devotion ought to shew itself by their outward Dress and Attire. What would these venerable Prelates think or say, were they to lift up their Heads, and see a Consistory at *Rome*, with the Cardinals, and the Pope himself, all gorgeously arrayed in Scarlet Robes! But, in them, that Colour contains a kind of Mystery; for they are said to have chosen it, that they, and all who beheld them, might thereby be put in mind of the Blood of the Martyrs, and encouraged, when called upon, to follow their Example.

(1) Bar. ad ann. 589. p. 698.
ubi supra. *Isidor.* in vit. *Leandri*.

(2) *Idem* ibid.

(3) Abbas Biclár.

MAURICIUS,
PHOCAS.GREGORY, AUTHARIS, } Kings of the
AGILULPHUS, } Lombards.*Sixty-third* BISHOP of Rome.

PELAGIUS was succeeded by *Gregory*, commonly surnamed *the Great*. ^{Year of Chrst 590.} He was the Great-Grandson of another Pope, *Felix II.* ^{The Ancestors and Family of Gregory.} ^b, descended of a Senatorian Family, and one of the most wealthy and illustrious Families in the City of *Rome*. His Father *Gordianus*, his Mother *Silvia*, and his Father's Two Sisters *Tarfilla* and *Emiliana*, were not more conspicuous for their Birth, than for their Religion, and Christian Piety. *Silvia*, and the Two Sisters, have now a Place in the Kalendar of Saints; an Honour that has been denied to *Gordianus* himself, though he seems to have had as good a Title to it as any of them. *Gregory* had an Education suitable to his Rank; was early imbued, by his Parents, with the Principles of Honour, of Morality, of Religion, and brought up, says the Author ^{His Education.} of his Life, as a Saint among Saints. He applied himself, from his tender Years, to the Study of Letters; and with such Success, that none at *Rome* excelled him, as *Gregory of Tours*, his Contemporary, bears Witness ^d, in the Knowledge of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic. As he was intitled, by his Birth, to the First Employments of the State, which could not then be well discharged without a thorough Knowledge of the *Roman* Jurisprudence, he addicted himself early to that Branch of Learning: and how well he was acquainted with the Laws that obtained in his Time, sufficiently appears from his Writings. He soon distinguished himself in the Senate; and, being ^{Distinguishes himself in the Senate, and is made Governor of Rome.} recommended to *Justin the younger* by the uncommon Talents he displayed there, but still more by his known Integrity, and Love of Justice, he was raised by that Emperor to the high Post of Governor of *Rome*, as the Person the best qualified, at that time, to govern, defend, and relieve, the City surrounded on all Sides by a victorious and implacable Enemy (A). He acquitted himself in that Employ-

^b See above, p. 194.
Hist. l. 10. c. 1.

^c Joan. Diac. in Vit. Greg. c. 1.

^d Greg. Turon.

(A) In what Year that Dignity was conferred on him, we know not; but certain it is, that he held it in 573 (1).

(1) See Pagi ad ann. 531. n. 3, 4.

Year of
Christ 590.

How he em-
ployed his
great Wealth.

He embraces
the Monastic
Life.

ment to the entire Satisfaction of the Emperor, as well as of the Senate and People of *Rome*; and practised himself, when vested with Power, the excellent Rules, which, in his Writings, he recommends to others: yet his present Grandeur, the Power he enjoyed, the Applause he met with from all Ranks of People, the Desire or Ambition of rising still higher, the Hurry of Business, and the constant Cares attending his Employment, had begun to efface, before he was aware, the religious Sentiments which he had imbibed from his Cradle. Returning therefore to himself, he often reflected on the Vanity of all worldly Greatness, on the Emptiness of all worldly Pleasures, and the Danger to which he was exposed, of miscarrying in the only Affair of real Importance, while he suffered his Attention to be wholly ingrossed by temporal Objects. By these Thoughts, as he frequently indulged himself in them, he was brought, by degrees, to an entire Contempt of every thing this World could offer; insomuch that, his Father dying, he reserved to himself but a very small Share of the immense Wealth that came to him by his Death, employing the rest in charitable Uses, and in founding Monasteries, agreeably to the Superstition of the Times. Of these he founded, and endowed, no fewer than Six in *Sicily*, and one in *Rome*, dedicated to St. *Andrew*, where he took himself the Monastic Habit, as he had long panted after Retirement and Solitude, and bid Adieu to the World, and all its Allurements (A). But would not the uncommon Talents of that great and good Man have been far better employed in promoting the Welfare of his Fellow creatures, and the Good of the Society to which he belonged? Nay, was not his Case the same with that of the Servant in the Gospel, who *went and digged in the Earth, and hid his Lord's Money*? But the Monastic Life now began to be deemed

* Greg. in Præfat. Moral. ad Leand. et Greg. Tur. Hist. l. 10. c. 1.

(A) To what Order he belonged, is a Question that has been long disputed by the Monks of different Orders, and which I shall leave them to determine; only observing here, that F. Gallon, a Priest of the Oratory founded by St. Philip of Neri in *Rome*, has, in Opposition to the *Benedictines* pretending St. Gregory to have been of their Order, taxed those Monks with

having forged, and ascribed to Popes, Emperors, and Kings, many Deeds, containing Donations of large Possessions, nay, and of whole Cities. Their great and famous Monastery of *Monte Cassino*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, has been, according to that learned Writer, for many Ages, a very Mint of false Pieces (1).

(1) Gall. Apologeticus lib. advers. Constant. Bellot.

in the West, as it had been long before in the East, the Highway to Heaven: and no Wonder that, upon such a Persuasion, Men of all Ranks and Conditions crouded to Monasteries; especially in an Age when Superstition bore down common Sense, and the Gospel had been made to give room to a new Revelation, Monkish Visions, Dreams, and Romances.

Gregory, now a Monk, became the true Pattern of a Monastic Life, and of every Virtue becoming that Profession, banishing from his Mind all Thoughts of the World, and abandoning himself wholly to Meditation and Prayer. He lived only upon Legumes, and so sparingly even upon them, that, his Constitution being thereby quite broken, his indiscreet Abstinence would have cost him his Life, had he not, with great Difficulty, been persuaded by his Friends to moderate the Rigour of his Fasts. He had not enjoyed his Retreat many Years (how many, is very uncertain (B), and not at all material), when he was obliged to quit it, or, to use his own Expression, when he was driven from a quiet and safe Harbour into the open and boisterous Sea. This happened on the following Occasion. Pope *Benedict* dying, *Pelagius* was chosen to succeed him, and ordained, as I have related above ^f, before his Election was confirmed by the Emperor *g*. As that was contrary to a Custom established by Law, and inviolably observed ever since the Time of *Theodoric the Goth* ^h, the new Pope could think of no Person in *Rome* so well qualified as *Gregory*, to excuse it to the Emperor, and, at the same time, to solicit some Relief in behalf of the Inhabitants of *Italy*, whom his Predecessor had, in a manner, abandoned to the Fury of the *Lombards*. Having therefore taken him, we may say, by Force, from his Monastery, he ordained him Deacon, and sent him, with the Character of his Nuncio, to the Court of *Constantinople*, none but Deacons being then employed in that Office. There *Gregory* not only satisfied the Emperor *Tiberius* as to the Ordination of *Pelagius*, but became, in a very short time, one of his chief Favourites. He was no less beloved and respected by *Mauricius*, the Successor of *Tiberius*, than he was by *Tiberius*; nay, his prudent, obliging, and modest Behaviour, gained him the Esteem and Affection, not only of the Emperors, but of all the great Men at Court,

Year of
Christ 590.

Becomes the
Pattern of a
Monastic
Life.

Is taken from
his Monastery
by Pope Pelagius.

Ordained
Deacon; and
sent, with the
Character of
Nuncio, to
Constantinople.

His Conduct
there.

^e Greg. in Præf. ad Leandr.

^f See above, p. 440.

^g See above, p. 445.

^h See above, p. 320.

(B) All we know for certain is, that in 573. he was still Governor of *Rome*; and that he was ordained Deacon, and sent to *Constantinople*, in 579.

Year of
Christ 590.

and even of the Bishops, who, notwithstanding the Jealousy which they generally entertained of the Pope's Nuncio, could not help loving *Gregory*, and assisting him where-ever it lay in their Power. However, he quarrelled, or rather had a Dispute, with *Eutychius* of *Constantinople*, on the following Occasion. As idle and impertinent Speculations were then greatly in Vogue, such Speculations as are now the whole Employment and Business of the Schoolmen, the Patriarch

*His Dispute
with the Pa-
triarch.*

started the Question, Whether, after the Resurrection, our Bodies were to be palpable, or not? that is, Whether they were, or were not, to be capable of being felt and perceived? *Eutychius* himself declared for the Negative, maintaining, in a Writing which he published to prove the Truth of the Resurrection, that our Bodies were to rise as subtle as the Wind, or the Air. That Doctrine *Gregory* vigorously opposed, as favouring, in his Opinion, of *Origenism*; and who knows what dreadful Consequences would have attended even so trifling a Dispute, had not the Emperor *Tiberius* wisely interposed;

*The prudent
Conduct of
the Emperor
on that Occa-
sion.*

before any Parties or Factions could be formed? But the Emperor was no sooner informed of the Difference between the Patriarch and the Nuncio, than he commanded both to attend him, and dispute, in his Presence, the Point that occasioned their Disagreement. They obeyed; and *Gregory* prevailing, or the Emperor, at least, thinking he prevailed, the Patriarch was ordered to acquiesce, and his Book to be immediately committed to the Flames¹. Thus was determined at once, by the prudent Conduct of the Emperor, a Controversy, that, otherwise, might have occasioned, as several other Questions of no greater Moment had done, a Schism in the Church, and the Assembling of a General Council to heal and remove it. Had the other Emperors acted, in the like Cases, with the same Judgment and Prudence, few General Councils, if any, had ever been assembled; and the Christian Religion would have remained as plain and intelligible as we find it in the Scriptures.

*Gregory re-
called from
Constantino-
ple.*

Gregory continued at *Constantinople* from the Year 579. to the Year 584. when the Pope, wanting his Assistance, besides the never failing Assistance of the Holy Ghost, to combat those who still maintained the *Three Chapters*, in Contradiction to the Apostolic See, recalled him, and sent one *Laurentius* to the Imperial Court in his room. On his Return he brought with him an Arm of the Apostle St. *An-*

¹ Greg. Moral. l. 14. c. 29.

drew, and the Head of St. *Luke*, the Bodies of St. *Andrew*, St. *Luke*, Year of
and *Timothy*, having been discovered at *Constantinople* some Years Christ 590.
before ^k (C).

The Pope received his Nuncio, on his Arrival at *Rome*, with the *On his Re-*
greatest Demonstrations of Friendship and Esteem, declaring himself *turn to Rome*
entirely satisfied with his Negotiations, and the whole Tenor of his *he retires*
Conduct, during his Stay in the Imperial City. The Satisfaction *again to his*
which the Pope expressed, encouraged *Gregory* to beg, as the greatest *Monastery.*
Reward his Holiness could confer, or his small Services deserve, that
he might be allowed to return to his Monastery, and there spend, in
Peace and Retirement, the Remainder of his Days. This *Gregory*
begged with so much Earnestness, that the Pope could not help grant-
ing him his Request. However, he employed him as his Secretary, on
some urgent Occasions, even in his Retreat; and the Three Letters
to the *Istrian* Bishops, of which I have spoken above, are commonly
thought to have been penned by him.

Soon after his Return to the Monastery, he was appointed Abbot; *Is chosen Ab-*
and in that Office he exacted of his Monks as strict an Observance of *bot.*
the minutest Rules, as he practised himself. Of his excessive Severity
in that Particular he gives us himself the following Instance: A Monk *He exacts*
of his Monastery, named *Justus*, who had practised Physic, while a *with great*
Layman, and (after embracing the monastic Life) had attended *Severity the*
Gregory Night and Day, during his long Illness, being himself taken ill, *Observance*
discovered, at the Point of Death, to his Brother, a Layman, that he *of the Rules.*
had Three Pieces of Gold concealed in his Cell. Some Monks over-
heard him, and thereupon romaging his Cell, found, after a long
Search, which nothing could escape, the Three Pieces concealed in a
Medicament, and brought them to *Gregory*. As, by the Laws of
the Monastery, no Monk was to possess any thing whatever in private,
the Abbot, to bring the dying Monk to a due Sense of his Crime, and,
at the same time, to deter the rest, by his Punishment, from follow-

^k Procop. de Ædific. Justin. l. 1.

(C) The Arm of St. *Andrew* is still ex-
posed to public Adoration in St. *Gregory's*
Monastery, the Monastery of St. *Andrew*
in *Rome*, now in the Possession of the *Ca-*
maldulenses; and the same Honours are
still paid to the Head of St. *Luke*, in the
Church of St. *Peter*. The Bodies of St.

Andrew, St. *Luke*, and of *Timothy*, are said
by *Jerom* (1), and *Philostorgius*, to have
been translated to *Constantinople* by the Em-
peror *Constantius*. *Timothy* is styled an
Apostle both by *Philostorgius*, and by *Pri-*
cipius.

(1) Hier. in Vigil. et lib. de Script. Ecclef. Philostorg. l. 3. c. 2.

O O O 2.

ing

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ing so pernicious an Example, strictly forbid the other Monks to afford him any kind of Comfort or Relief in the Agonies of Death, or even to approach him. Not satisfied with that, I may call it, inhuman Severity, he required the Brother of the unhappy Monk to let him know, that he died avoided, detested, and abhorred, by all his Brethren. He did not even stop here; but, exceeding all Bounds, ordered the Body of the Deceased, as soon as he expired, to be thrown on a Dunghil, and with it the Three Pieces of Gold, all the Monks crying out, aloud, *Thy Money perish with thee* ¹.

He is chosen
Pope.

While *Gregory* was thus governing his Monastery, without the least Apprehension of his being ever obliged to quit it again, *Pelagius* died; and, upon his Death, *Gregory* was immediately elected in his room, by the joint Suffrages of the Senate, the Clergy, and the People, as a Man, or rather as an Angel, in the Shape of a Man, sent down from Heaven to comfort, assist, and relieve the City, at that time miserably distressed without by a barbarous Enemy, and visited within by a dreadful Famine, and a more dreadful Plague. The

He declines
that Dignity,
and writes
to the Em-
peror.

Election of *Gregory* was received with loud Acclamations by all, but by *Gregory* himself, who, thunderstruck at the News, and not able to prevail on the Electors to name any other, wrote, without Loss of Time, to the Emperor *Mauricius*, earnestly intreating him, as he would answer it the last Day, not to confirm his Election, but to command the People of *Rome* to chuse another, there being none among the *Roman* Clergy that were not better qualified than he to discharge the Duties of so important an Office. But his Letter the Governor of *Rome* intercepted, and, keeping it by him, sent the Decree of the Election to *Mauricius*, accompanied with a Letter, begging him, in the Name of the People, the Clergy, and the Senate of *Rome*, to confirm the Election of a Person, whom they had unanimously chosen, as the most capable of all, to provide for the Safety both of the Church and the Empire, in the present Times of general Distress and Calamity ^m. In the mean while *Gregory*, persuaded that the Emperor would not confer on him, against his Will, a Dignity that was so ambitiously courted by others, continued at *Rome*, employed not only in the Government of his Monastery, but in exciting the People, by his Sermons or Homilies, to Sorrow and

His Letter
intercepted.

¹ Greg. Dial. l. 4. c. 55.
Tur. hist. Franc. l. 11. c. 1.

^m Joan. Diac. in vit. Greg. l. 1. c. 39, 40. Greg.

Compunction for their Sins, and in ordering Litanies, or public Prayers, and Processions, to appease the Wrath of Heaven, and avert the grievous Calamities, which had already near depopulated the City (A). But while *Gregory* was thus wholly intent on these pious Exercises, the Answer of the Emperor to the Governor's Letter was at last brought to *Rome*; an Answer entirely agreeable to the Expectation and Wishes of the People. For *Mauricius*, who had frequently conversed with *Gregory* at *Constantinople*, and was well acquainted with his Talents, not only confirmed his Election, but congratulated the *Roman* People on the Choice they had made. But *Gregory*, trembling at the very Thought of taking upon him a Charge, to which he believed himself unequal, and of such infinite Moment as made every Neglect highly criminal, however small in itself, resolved, at all Events, to decline it. The only Expedient, that now occurred to him, which he thought might be attended with Success, was to betake himself to Flight, and, lying concealed, quite tire the Patience of the People, and oblige them, by that means, to proceed to a new Election. He fled accordingly, and escaping, in Disguise, the Vigilance of the Guards at the Gate, whom the Governor had ordered to stop him, should he offer to go out, he reached a Forest, without being discovered; and there kept himself concealed in a Cave. Great Example, says here *F. Maimbourg*, an Example that ought to check and confound the unbridled Ambition of those who, tho' no ways equal to that great Man in Doctrine, Holiness, or Parts, yet, by their scandalous Intrigues, offer a kind of Violence to the Holy Ghost, to raise themselves by Means that are merely human, and quite uncanonical, even to the first Place in the Church. *Gregory*, in spite of all the Care and Precaution he could use, was soon discovered, was brought back in Triumph by the People, carried straight to and ordained.

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His Election
is confirmed
by the Em-
peror.

Gregory flies
from the City,
and lies con-
cealed.

He is dis-
covered,
brought back,
to and ordained.

* *Greg. Turen. l. 10. c. 1. Joan. Diac. in vit. Greg. l. 1. c. 44. Hist. du Pontif. de S. Greg.*

• *Maimb.*

(A) We learn from an antient Tradition, that, when the last Procession arrived at the Monument of the Emperor *Adrian*, in their Way to the Church of *St. Peter*, an Angel appeared to *Gregory* on the Summit of that Edifice, sheathing his Sword, as a Token that the Divine Vengeance was now satisfied, and the Calamities were

ended. Upon this Tradition, the Monument of *Adrian*, when afterwards turned into a Castle, was called the Castle of the Holy Angel, *Casiel Sant' Angelo*; and in the Place, where the Angel was supposed to have appeared, was erected, and is still to be seen, the Statue of an Angel, in the Attitude of sheathing a Sword. But this Tradition

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He sends his
Confession of
Faith to the
other Patri-
archs.

to the Church of St. *Peter*, and there immediately ordained, to prevent him from making his Escape a Second time. This happened on the 3d of *September*, the See having been vacant ever since the 8th of *February* of the present Year.

Gregory was no sooner ordained than he drew up, and sent, according to Custom, a Confession of his Faith to the other Patriarchs; viz. to the Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, of *Alexandria*, of *Antioch*, and of *Jerusalem*, whom he names in that Order: which was owning the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to be superior in Rank and Dignity to all other Patriarchs in the East; a Point, which his Predecessors had all warmly disputed (B). In his Confession he professes to receive the Four first Councils, as the Four Books of the Holy Gospel, to reverence the Fifth, and to condemn the *Three Chapters*. He adds, *Whoever presumes to loosen the Persons, whom the Councils have bound, or to bind those whom the Councils have loosened, destroys himself, and not them* p. A plain Declaration, that he knew of no Authority in the Church superior to that of a Council. I cannot help observing here, that the Confession before us is the first I have met with, in which mention is made of the Gospels; and, that even there they are only mentioned to be put upon the Level with the Councils; nay, *Gregory*, agreeably to the Theology of the Times, seems to raise the Four Councils above the Four Gospels; for, having named both, he adds, *And on these, the Four Councils, rests, as on a square Stone, the Structure of the Holy Faith; and they are the*

P Greg. l. 1. ep. 24.

Tradition is no better grounded than most other Traditions, it being manifest from the Letters written by *Gregory*, when he was Pope, that is, several Months after the Time of the supposed Apparition, that then both the Plague and the Famine still continued to rage in the City; and that to them new Calamities were added. For, by a violent Storm of Wind, many Houses in the City were blown down, and the Inhabitants crushed in the Ruins. Besides, while the Inhabitants could not set Foot out of the Gates, without Danger of being murdered, or carried into Captivity, by the *Lombards*, the Garison within, quarreling among themselves, filled the City

with Blood and Slaughter (1).

In the infectious Distemper, which prevailed at this time in *Rome*, Sneezing was deemed a mortal Symptom; and hence the Custom of blessing those who sneeze, is said to have its Original.

(B) The Patriarchs are thus named in all the manuscript Copies of *Gregory's* Letter. And yet *Baronius* will have the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to have been indebted, for that Honour, not to the Pope, but to the ignorant Transcribers, perverting the Order, in which the Patriarchs were ranked by the Pope (2). A Subterfuge worthy indeed of *Baronius*!

(1) Greg. l. 1. ep. 2. et dialog. l. 2. c. 15.

(2) Bar. ad ann. 591. p. 19.

Rule of every Man's Actions and Life. Whoever therefore does not hold this solid Foundation, though he may appear to be a Stone, he lies nevertheless out of the Building ^{Year of Christ 590.} ^{9.} But the Foundation of our Faith was laid long before any of these Councils was heard of, and *other Foundation can no Man lay* ^{1.}, nor no Assembly of Men.

The new Pope, having thus satisfied the Bishops of the chief Sees ^{He strives to reunite the Istrian Bishops to his See.} as to the Orthodoxy of his Faith, undertook, in the next Place, to heal the Divisions that still reigned in the Church, on account of the *Three Chapters*. Several Bishops in *Italy*, and some in *Spain* and *Gaul*, had, in the End, been persuaded to condemn those *Chapters*, or at least, for the sake of Concord and Peace, to communicate with those who condemned them. But the Bishops of *Istria* had not yet been prevailed upon to do either. They, all to a Man, still continued to maintain that Cause with more Zeal and Resolution than ever. With them therefore *Gregory* resolved to begin, notwithstanding the bad Success that had hitherto attended the repeated Attempts of his Predecessors to gain them. The most effectual Means, that occurred to him, of compassing his Design, was to appoint a Council to meet at *Rome*, and apply to the Emperor for an Order to oblige the *Istrian* Bishops to attend it: for he was well apprised, that nothing but an express and peremptory Order from the Emperor could bring them to *Rome*. He applied accordingly, by his Nuncio, for that Order; obtained it; and, sending it, as soon as it reached him, to *Severus* the Metropolitan of *Istria*, summoned both him and his Suffragans to *Rome*, to settle there the Points in Dispute, agreeably to the declared Will of the Emperor ^{2.} The Order and Summons *Severus* immediately notified to the other Bishops, who thereupon assembling in Two different Places, the Subjects of the Empire in one, and those of the *Lombards* in another (for the *Lombards*, who were Masters of several of those Cities, would not suffer their Subjects to assemble with those of the Empire), it was agreed by both Councils, that a Memorial should, in the Name of all, be presented to the Emperor, and that none should be allowed to repair to *Rome* till they received his Answer. Pursuant to this Resolution, Three Petitions were drawn up, Two in the Name of the Two Councils, and One in that of *Severus* alone. They all modestly complained of the Order obliging them to repair:

⁹ Greg. *ibid.*,

² 1 Corinth. iii. 11.

² Greg. l. 1. ep. 16.

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*They refuse
to comply with
the Order.*

*They prevail
on the Em-
peror to re-
voke the
Order.*

to Rome, which they said had been surreptitiously obtained by their Enemies; declared, that they held and professed the very Doctrine, which they had been taught by Pope *Vigilius*, and which that Pope had required all to hold and maintain on Pain of Excommunication; begged they might not be obliged to take the Pope for their Judge, who was a Party, that being repugnant to the sacred Laws of the Empire; assured the Emperor, that, should they either condemn the *Three Chapters*, or communicate with the Pope, who condemned them, their People would all decline their Communion, and no longer hearken to the Voice of their Pastors. They concluded with promising to satisfy the Emperor as to the Purity of their Faith, as soon as the State of Affairs in *Italy* allowed them some Respite.

With these Three Memorials they immediately dispatched some of their Ecclesiastics to the Emperor, who, moved with the Reasons they alleged, and apprehending, that Violence of any Kind, at this Juncture, might incline those Prelates to favour the *Lombards*, who did not concern themselves with Questions of that Nature, revoked his former Order; and, at the same time, wrote to *Gregory*, notifying it to him in the following Terms. *As your Holiness is well acquainted with the present State and Confusion of Affairs in Italy, and sensible, that we must, in Prudence, comply with the Times, we COMMAND YOUR HOLINESS to give no farther Trouble to the Istrian Bishops, but allow them to live undisturbed, till it shall please God to settle these Parts in Peace and Tranquillity* (A).

Mauri-

* Apud Bar. ad ann. 590. p. 12, 13, 14. Noris. in differ. de Syn. Quint. c. 9.

† Bar. ibid. p. 14, 15. vide Card.

(A) The Words, *We command*, *Baronius* cannot brook, styling them the Dialect of a Tyrant, when directed to the High Pontiff, whom even Kings and Emperors ought only to court or intreat, and none but Tyrants would presume to command (1). But *Gregory* himself was not of that Opinion; for, speaking of this very Order, in a Letter to *John of Ravenna*, he calls it a *Command*, laid on him by the most pious Princes (2), meaning *Mauricius*, and his Son *Theodosius*, who had been lately crowned, though only Five Years old. *Gregory* was not at all pleased with that Order,

as we may well imagine, since the Measures, which he had concerted for re-uniting the *Istrian Bishops* to his See, were thereby entirely defeated; and therefore he tells the Bishop of *Ravenna*, in the same Letter, that he proposed writing anew to his most Serene Lords, on the same Subject. But he no-where gives the least Intimation, as if he thought, that the Emperor had not the same Right to command him as the meanest of his Subjects. *Gregory* seems to have been rather too complaisant to Princes, and Men in Power, and to have had more of the Courtier than was be-

(1) Bar. ad ann. 590. p. 15.

(2) Greg. l. 2. ep. 32.

Mauritius wrote, at the same time, to the Exarch *Romanus*, en-joining him to take care, that no kind of Violence was offered by the Pope to the *Istrian* Bishops. Thus were the Measures, which *Gregory* had concerted for the Re-union of those Bishops, all at once utterly defeated. Year of
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The Zeal of *Gregory* was attended with better Success against the *Donatists*, who were still a numerous Sect in the Province of *Africa*, where they first appeared in the Time of *Constantine the Great*, as I have related elsewhere w. Many bloody Edicts were issued against them by the Successors of that Emperor, and put in Execution with the utmost Severity. But what was antiently said of the Christians, *Sanguis martyrū semen Christianorum*, may be said, with as much Truth, of Men of every Sect, or Religion. The *Donatists* lived at this time in *Africa*, undisturbed by the Catholics, and gave no kind of Disturbance to them. They had their own Places of Worship, and were suffered to worship publicly in them; had their own Presbyters, their own Bishops, and a Hierarchy like that of the Catholics. But the Harmony that reigned between them and the Catholics was displeasing to *Gregory*; and being as great an Enemy to Toleration as any of his Predecessors, he undertook to disturb it on the following Occasion: In the Province of *Numidia* the senior Bishop, in what City soever he resided, enjoyed, by a very antient Custom, the Dignity of Metropolitan, and all the Privileges attending that Dignity *. At this time a *Donatist* Bishop happened to be the Senior in that Province, who thereupon pleading the antient Custom, assumed the Title of Metropolitan or Primate of *Numidia*. As he was far advanced in Years, the Catholic Bishops all acquiesced, apprehending greater Evils from their opposing his Pretensions, than any that could possibly arise from their complying with them, and suffering him to hold that Dignity for the remaining Part of his Life, He strives to
raise a Per-
secution
against the
Donatists in
Africa.
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Christ 591.

* See Vol. I. p. 88. et seq.

* See Vol. I. p. 107.

coming the Character of a Bishop. But *Baronius* plainly shews, in several Places of his voluminous Work, that he was utterly unacquainted with that Part of *Gregory's* Character; which may be ascribed to the Annalist's supposing him to have been the Author of the *Comment on the Seven penitential Psalms*, a Work quite unworthy of him, but well worthy of its true Author

Gregory VII. by whom it is generally thought to have been dictated, or penned, during the Quarrel between that Pope and the Emperor *Henry IV.* about Investitures. The utter Contempt there shewn of the Imperial Dignity, and the bitter Invektives against the Emperor, well suit the Pride, Temper, and Character, of that haughty and imperious Pope.

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Christ 591.

He writes
to the African
Bishops,
and the Ex-
arch.

which could not be long. But *Gregory* took the Alarm, and laying hold of that Opportunity, spared no Pains to arm the Civil as well as the Ecclesiastical Power against the *Donatists* in general; and all who favoured them. With that View he immediately dispatched Messengers with Letters to the Bishops of *Numidia*, and to *Gennadius* Exarch or Governor of *Africa*. He exhorted the Bishops to love one another, to join as one Man against the Enemies of the Faith, to abrogate, by all means, the Custom of chusing their Primate according to his Seniority, and without any Regard to his Merit; and requires them, as they will answer it on the Last Day, not to suffer a Heretic to be preferred to those, who have been born and brought up in the Bosom of the Church ¹. In his Letter to the Exarch, he extols his Courage, his warlike Exploits, and the many Victories he had gained; encourages him to fight the Battles of the Church with as much Resolution and Intrepidity as he had fought those of the State; to defend the Faith with as much Ardor and Zeal as he had defended the Empire; and to bring under the Yoke of Righteousness the proud Necks of the rebellious Heretics, who, were it in their Power, would extinguish the very Name of the Catholic Faith. He closes his Letter with intreating *Gennadius* to exert his whole Power and Authority in defeating the bold and unheard-of Attempt of the heretical Bishop, and in praying God to add new Strength to his Arm, and sharpen his Mind, like the Point of a piercing Sword, with a holy Ardour and Zeal for the true Faith ². With these Letters the Pope prevailed on the Exarch and Bishops to exclude the *Donatist* from the Dignity, to which he aspired. But, from the Letters he wrote at different times, it appears, that he could never succeed in his Attempt to interrupt or disturb the Christian Harmony, that reigned in *Africa* between the Catholic and *Donatist* Parties ³.

✓ He suffered
no Violence to
be offered to
the Jews.

Gregory was more complaisant to the *Jews* than he was to the *Donatists*, or to those whom he styled Heretics; for to the *Jews* he would suffer no Violence to be offered, as appears from the Letters which he wrote this very Year to Three different Bishops, viz. *Virgilius* of *Arles*, *Theodorus* of *Marseilles*, and *Peter* of *Tarracina* ⁴.

¹ Greg. l. 1. ep. 75.
ep. 36. et l. 5. ep. 63.

² Idem l. 1. ep. 72.
³ Greg. l. 1. ep. 45. et ep. 34.

⁴ Idem l. 2. ep. 33. l. 4.

The latter had driven the *Jews* from their Synagogue; and the Two *Gallican* Bishops had ordered such of them, as would not be baptized, and confess Christ, to quit the Countries subject to their Sees. With that Argument, when all other Arguments had proved ineffectual, *Avitus* of *Clermont* had, a few Years before, converted all the *Jews* in his Diocese. He allowed them but Three Days to chuse, whether they would be driven from the Diocese, or received into the Church. That proved the illuminating Argument; for the Third Day, says very gravely *Gregory* of *Tours*, their Eyes were opened, they saw the Truth, embraced it, and were all baptized to a Man^c. But that Method of preaching the Gospel the Pope condemned in the strongest Terms, *because Conversions owing to Force are never sincere; and such as are thus converted, scarce ever fail to return to their Vomit, when the Force is removed that wrought their Conversion*^d. Who would believe these, and the Two preceding Letters, to have been written by one and the same Person! nay, in one and the same Year! In his preceding Letters the Pope declares as strongly for Compulsion, as he here declares against it. There he encourages, and here he condemns, all Persecution. It is true he speaks, in his former Letters, of Heretics, and, in these, of the *Jews*. But does not the Reason he urges against Compulsion with respect to the *Jews*, equally hold good against Persecution with respect to Heretics? If *Conversions owing to Force are never sincere*, what matters it whether they, who are thus forced, be *Jews*, Gentiles, or Heretics? Will they not, all alike, be apt to return to their Vomit, when they can with Safety? What therefore can warrant Persecution against Heretics, that does not warrant it equally against the *Jews*? Or rather, what can, in Reason or common Sense, warrant Persecution against either? It is the present Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, that Heretics of all Denominations may be *compelled to come in*; and that Doctrine she has constantly practised when it was in her Power, as the World but too well knows. However, she distinguishes between Heretics who were, and Heretics who were not, born and brought up in her Bosom. With the latter, who are only Heretics, the Fagot and the Halter are the last Argument; but the first with the former, who are, in her Eye, both Heretics and Rebels; as if it were Rebellion, and Rebellion punishable with Death, for a Man to be persuaded, right or

He is inconsistent with himself.

Nothing can warrant Persecution either against Jews or Heretics.

^c Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. l. 5. c. 11.

^d Greg. ubi supra.

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Christ 591.

He strives to
convert the
Jews with
Promises of
Rewards.

wrong, that another Church is more pure in her Doctrine and Morals, than that in which he was brought up; and thereupon betake himself to the other, in Compliance with the Dictates of his Conscience. But that absurd, tyrannical, and antichristian Notion, has been already sufficiently exposed and exploded by a very ingenious modern Writer. I shall therefore only observe here, that though *Gregory* would not allow Force or Compulsion to be used with the *Jews*, yet he was for employing, even with them, other Methods besides Conviction and Reason. For, being informed, that the *Jews*, living on the Patrimony of *St. Peter* (A) in *Sicily*, could by no Reasons or Arguments be convinced, that Christ was the promised Messiah, he wrote to the Deacon *Cyprian*, his Steward in that Island, ordering him to acquaint those *Jews*, with a circular Letter in his Name, that to such of them as became Christians, one Third should be remitted of the Taxes they paid to the *Roman* Church^f. But are not Conversions, owing to Rewards, as likely to be insincere as Conversions owing to Force? And had not *Gregory* as much Reason, at least, to suspect the one as the other? I say *at least*, it being well known, that many have yielded to the Allurement of Rewards and Promises, after they had manfully withstood the whole Power of Force, and braved Death itself, with all the Terrors attending it. The Pope therefore acted very inconsistently in approving the one, and disapproving the other: he ought, in Reason and good Sense, to have approved neither, or both.

* Mr. Bayle Dict. Crit. Art. Greg. Rem. (E).

^f Greg. 1: 4. Ep. 6:

(A) The *Roman* Church, and likewise the Churches of *Milan*, of *Ravenna*, and of other great Cities, possessed Estates, not only within the Limits of their own Districts, but in other Countries, bequeathed to them by Senators, and other Persons of Rank and Distinction, who lived in those Cities. In the Letters of *Gregory* Mention is made of an Estate, in the Island of *Sicily*, belonging to the Church of *Ravenna*; and of one, in the same Island, that belonged to the Church of *Milan*. The *Roman* Church, by far the most wealthy of all, possessed considerable Estates, not only in *Calabria*, in *Abruzzo*, in *Lucania*, and in other Provinces of *Italy*; but in *Sicily*, in *France*, in *Africa*, in the *Cottian Alps*, and in most other Countries. These Church-Estates were called *Patrimonies*, a Word that imports,

properly speaking, an Estate descending to a Person from his Ancestors; or a Family-Estate. The Demefnes, or the private Estate of the Prince, were likewise called by the Name of *Patrimony*, but with the Addition of the Epithet *sacrum*, *sacrum Patrimonium*, to distinguish it from the *Patrimonies* of private Men, as appears from several Places of the 12th Book of the Code. In like manner the Church, to distinguish, and, at the same time, the better to secure, her Estates, called them by the Name of the Saint which each particular Church held in most Veneration. Thus the Estate of the Church of *Milan* was called the *Patrimony* of *St. Ambrose*; that of *Ravenna* the *Patrimony* of *St. Apollinaris*; and that of the *Roman* Church the *Patrimony* of *St. Peter*.

Gregory

Gregory adds, that, if the Conversion of those, who are thus gained, should prove insincere, their Children, nevertheless, will be baptized, and brought up, as true Christians, in the Bosom of the Church. If so, why should he be against Force and Compulsion; since the Children would be equally baptized, and brought up as true Christians in the Bosom of the Church, were Force and Compulsion used with their Parents? If, for the sake of the Children, Rewards may be employed in the Conversion of the Parents, why may not Force? Will not the Gaining of the Children justify the one as well as the other? For as to such Conversions, whether owing to Hope or Fear, Gregory himself seems to have thought them alike insincere. But he meant well; and the Disinterestedness he shewed in rewarding the converted *Jews*, was, it must be owned, worthy of a Christian Bishop; and, on that score at least, he well deserves to be praised and commended.

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His System quite inconsistent with itself, and with Reason.

The Zeal of Gregory was more usefully employed, and with better Success, in reforming the Clergy, than in converting the *Jews*, or the Heretics. He found, on his Accession to the Papal Chair, a general Decay among the Ecclesiastics, not only of Discipline, but of Christian Piety and Morals. Great Numbers of Monks, sick of a Monastic Life, and availing themselves of the distracted State of *Italy*, and the general Confusion that reigned there, quitted their Monasteries, returned to the World, and married. The Bishops, neglecting their Flocks, abandoned themselves to all manner of Lewdness and Debauchery; and their Example was, it seems, followed by the inferior Clergy. The Pope spared no Pains to persuade the Monks to return to their Monasteries, as appears from the Letters he wrote in this and the following Years to several Monks, who, suffering themselves, as he expresses it, to be seduced by the Enemy of Mankind, had, at his Instigation, resumed the Liberty which they had once so meritoriously sacrificed to the Welfare of their Souls^b. He seems to have been chiefly concerned for a Monk named *Venantius*, a Person of great Distinction; for he was descended from the *Decian* Family, was possessed of great Wealth, and had discharged some of the chief Employments of the Empire; among the rest, that of Chancellor of *Italy*. But, growing tired of the World, he left it, and, in a Fit of the Enthusiasm that then prevailed, betook himself to a Monastery; where he had not been long, before he grew still more tired of the Monastery,

A general Decay of Discipline prevails among the Clergy.

His Zeal in reclaiming the Monk named Venantius.

^a Idem ibid.

^b Greg. L. 1. ep. 33, 39, 40.

quitted it, and returned to the World. But *Gregory* never ceased importuning him by Letters, by Messages, by his Friends and Acquaintance, to quit the World again, and repair to his Monastery; and, being informed, that he lay dangerously ill at *Syracuse*, he charged the Bishop of the Place to attend him with great Assiduity and Care, and leave nothing unattempted to overcome his Obstinacy, and prevail on him to atone for his Crime, by resuming the Monastic Habit at least in the last Moments of his Lifeⁱ. But all was in vain, *Venantius* probably thinking it could little avail him to die a Monk, when he had lived a Layman. As *Gregory* had been himself a Monk, he was not satisfied with striving to reclaim those who had abandoned their Profession; but, to prevent others from following their Example, he undertook, with no less Judgment than Zeal, to restore their decayed Discipline. With that View he issued the following Regulations, and would allow them in no Case whatever to be dispensed with: 1st, That none, under 18 Years of Age, should be admitted into a Monastery^k. 2d, That they should not be allowed to take the Monastic Habit till after a Two Years Probation, or, as it is now called, Noviciate^l. 3d, That a Monk, forsaking his Order, and returning to the World, should be shut up, and closely confined for Life^m. 4th, That Monks should not be allowed to wander about the Country, nor even to go out of their Monasteries, but upon urgent Occasions, the Abbot himself not exceptedⁿ. 5th, That when a Monk is obliged, on an urgent Occasion, to go out of his Monastery, he should not go alone, since it may well be presumed, that he, who has not with him a Witness of his Actions, does not live well, *qui sine teste ambulat, non recte vivit*^o. These Regulations had the wished-for Effect; and the general Reformation, which they produced, would have continued even to our Days, had they been as strictly maintained by the Successors of *Gregory*, as they were by *Gregory* himself. But they were neglected by the succeeding Popes; and the same Disorders prevailed again. The Two first Regulations, the most essential of all, are now quite out of Date, and the Monasteries are thereby filled with Boys and Children; who, repenting, when they attain to the Years of Discretion, the Choice they made, but not being allowed to quit their Monasteries, and return to the

ⁱ Idem ibid. ep. 33. et l. 9. ep. 31. ^k Idem, l. 1. ep. 41.ep. 44. et l. 8. ep. 23. ^m Idem, l. 12. ep. 20. et l. 1. ep. 33. 40.

l. 1. ep. 4. l. 6. ep. 32. l. 7. ep. 36. l. 2. ep. 3.

^l Idem, l. 4.ⁿ Idem,^o Idem, l. 10. ep. 22.

World, bring the World into their Monasteries, leading more de-
bauched Lives there, than perhaps they would have done in the World.

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Christ 591.

Gregory had no less at Heart the Reformation of the Clergy, than *He strives to reform the Clergy.*
that of the Monks; and undertook the one with no less Zeal than

the other. Some Bishops he found guilty of most enormous Ex-
cesses, and deposed them; others he only rebuked or threatened, ac- *He punishes some, and reprimands others.*
cording to the Nature and Quality of their Crimes. Among the
former were *Demetrius of Naples, Agatho of Lipari, and Paul of*

Doclea in Dalmatia. *Demetrius* was convicted of so many heinous Crimes, as *Gregory* himself informs us*, that, had not Justice been tempered with Mercy, he must have suffered, by the Laws both of God and Man, a most cruel and most ignominious Death. *Agatho* was, it seems, no less guilty than *Demetrius*†; and as for *Paul*, he was degraded for a *corporal Sin*, as *Gregory* calls it‡, that is, for Fornication or Adultery. But, instead of acquiescing in the Sentence, he broke into the Church with a Band of Soldiers, seized on the sacred Utensils, and beat the Bishop, who had been substituted in his room, till he was ready to expire. The Pope therefore caused him to be shut up in a Monastery for Life, to be excluded from the sacred Mysteries till he was at the Point of Death, and to be then only admitted to Lay-Communion. *Andrew of Taranto* had kept a Concubine before he was ordained Bishop; but him the Pope only advised and exhorted to resign, provided he was conscious to himself of his having had any Commerce with her after he was raised to the Episcopal Dignity§. He would not suffer a Deacon, though chosen by the People, to be ordained Bishop, because he had a young Daughter; and, consequently, had not long enough observed the Celibacy prescribed by the Canons¶. He did not even spare the Archdeacon *Laurentius*, his own Nuncio at the Court of *Constantinople*; whom he recalled, and deposed, having found him guilty of several Crimes, besides Pride and Ambition‡.

Simony and Incontinence seem to have prevailed among the Clergy *Simony and Incontinence prevail among Ecclesiastics of all Orders.*
in *Gregory's* time, as much, perhaps, as they have done ever since; and the Pope spared no Pains to cleanse the Sanctuary from the one and the other, and restore the sacred Order to its antient Lustre. To put a Stop to the Simony that reigned then every-where barefaced, and without any of those Colours and Pretences that now disguise

* Greg. l. 2. ep. 3.
† Idem ibid. ep. 44. 45.

‡ Idem, l. 2. ep. 53.
§ Idem, l. 8. ep. 11.

¶ Idem, l. 2. ep. 49.
‡ In iust. l. 2. epistolæ. Greg.
it,

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Forbids his
own Clergy
to accept any
thing for the
Functions of
their Office.

it, he began with the Bishops, and other Ecclesiastics, who were immediately subject to his See, strictly forbidding them to exact any Price, Reward, or Acknowledgement, or to accept of any, for the Functions of their Office, namely, for Ordinations, Marriages, Christenings, or Burials ^u. What he required of others, he observed himself with such Strictness, as even to refuse the Presents, which, agreeably to a Custom, that had obtained for some time, were annually sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, by all his Suffragans; nay, *Felix* of *Messina* being informed, that the Pope complained of the Weakness of his Stomach, and having thereupon sent him a small Present of *Palmarian* Wine, thought to have a particular Virtue against Complaints of that Nature, *Gregory* could not be prevailed upon to taste it, but caused it to be sold, and sent to the Bishop the Money accruing from the Sale, thanking him for his Kindness, but letting him know, at the same time, that he accepted of no Presents, however small, from any of his Brethren ^w. To banish the prevailing Simony, and all simoniacal Practices, from the Churches, that were not under the immediate Jurisdiction of his See, the Pope wrote a great Number of Letters to the Bishops, to the Kings and Princes, and to all Men in Power, earnestly intreating them to assemble Councils, and jointly to concert such Measures as might put an effectual Stop to an Evil, that reflected so much Disgrace on the Ecclesiastical Order, and on the Holy Religion, which they taught or professed ^x. He did not require all Bishops to conform to his Regulations, but, trusting to their Judgment and Discretion, left them at Liberty to issue such Laws as, in the present Case, should appear to them the most proper, and the most likely, to answer the End for which they were issued.

He strives to
reclaim the
incontinent
Clergy.

As to the Incontinence of the Clergy, the natural Effect of imposed Celibacy, the Pope left no Remedy he could think of untried to cure that Evil, but the only Remedy that could at once have effectually cured it, Marriage. In *Sicily* the Law of Celibacy had been extended to the Subdeacons, only Three Years before this time; that is, in 588. and *Gregory* himself thought it very hard, that such a Burden should have been laid upon them. For he thus speaks of it in one of his Letters: *Three Years since, the Subdeacons of all the*

^u Idem. l. 3. ep. 24. l. 4. ep. 44. 55. 56. l. 7. p. 4. 56. 110. ep. 64.

^w Idem l. 1. ^x Idem l. 4. ep. 55. l. 5. ep. 11. l. 9. ep. 40. l. 11. ep. 48. l. 10. ep. 32. &c.

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Churches of Sicily were commanded to abstain from their Wives, agreeably to the Custom of the Roman Church; but to me it seems hard and unmeet, that he who is not accustomed to such Continence, and never promised to live chaste, should be compelled to separate from his Wife, and be thereby driven to what is worse.

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The Pope was, as appears from his last Words, well apprised, that such as had not promised to live chaste, were in great Danger of being driven by a forced Celibacy to *what was worse*, that is, as the World but too well knows, to all manner of Uncleaness. And yet, instead of abrogating that Law, as he ought to have done, and some Protestant Writers have thought he did, he enforced the Observance of it, obliging the Subdeacons, who were married, to quit their Wives, or their Office². It were to be wished the present Church of Rome would even allow of that Alternative. If she did, many conscientious Ecclesiastics of her Communion would willingly quit their Office to save their Souls. But even that Refuge is now denied; and no other Alternative left them, but to contain, if they can, or to burn, if they cannot (A). As to those Ecclesiastics, who,

*He enforces
the Law of
Celibacy,
with respect
to the Sub-
deacons.*

at

¹ Idem l. 1. ep. 42.

² Idem l. 3. ep. 34.

(A) *If they cannot contain, let them marry; for it is better to marry than to burn;* says the Apostle St. Paul (1). But, no, says the Church of Rome, excepting her Clergy from that general Command, if they cannot contain, let them fast, let them watch, let them cover their Bodies with Hair-cloths, let them whip themselves, let them, with St. Benedict, roll themselves naked upon Thorns; or, with St. Francis, in the Snow; and if Nature still remains unsubdued, if the indred Fire continues still unextinguished and alive, let them burn; *for it is better to burn than to marry.* This, in Effect, is the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, though she, to palliate and disguise it, pretends Continency to be attainable by all Men; and consequently, that there is a Medium between Marriage and Burning. But that Continency is not attainable by all Men, and consequently that, in some, there is no Medium between Marriage and Burning, is evident, beyond Contradiction, from the Words of

the Apostle, quoted above, and from what he says in the preceding Verse; *For I would that all Men were even as myself; that is, continent. But every Man hath his proper Gift of God; one after this manner, and another after that, &c* (2). The same Doctrine was taught, in express Terms, by our Saviour himself, when, to the Apostles saying, *If the Case of the Man be so with his Wife, it is not good to marry,* he answered, *All Men cannot receive this Saying, save they to whom it is given; and he that is able to receive it, let him receive it* (3). Agreeably to the Doctrine of the Apostle, and that of our Saviour himself, so plainly delivered to his Apostles, for our Instruction, many of the Fathers, and among the rest the great Patron and Admirer of Virginity Jerom, were of Opinion, that perpetual Continence was not in our Power, and consequently could not be imposed upon any Man (4); much less can it be imposed upon a whole Order of Men, made up of all Nations, Ages;

(1) 1 Cor. vii. 9.
adv. Jovin. l. 1. c. 21.

(2) Ibid. 7.

(3) Matt. xix. 11, 12.

(4) Her.

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at the time of their Ordination, had promised to live chaste, *Gregory* exacted of them the Performance of their Promise, with the utmost Severity. His own Clergy he obliged to banish all Women from their Houses, excepting their Mothers, their Sisters, and the Wives they had married before their Ordination, charging them to govern their Wives chastely, and to converse with them so as to leave no room for the least Suspicion of any matrimonial Commerce between them, *ut nulla prorsus suspicio esse possit mutue commixtionis* ^a (B). It appears from the Letters of *Gregory*, that, in most other Countries, where the Law of Celibacy had taken place, many Ecclesiastics either kept Concubines, or, what was, it seems, deemed as great a Crime, lived with their Wives in the same manner after their Ordination, as they had done before it. To remove that

^a Idem l. 1. ep. 50.

Constitutions, and Humours. As for the Argument of the Council of *Trent*, That *God will not deny this Gift to those who rightly ask it, as having promised not to suffer us to be tempted above what we are able* (5); it is quite impertinent; since God has provided us with an easy and natural Remedy against all Temptations of that Nature, which if we scorn to use, and, out of Pride or Ostentation, recur to others of our own chusing, the Evils thence arising lie at our own Doors, since God has no-where promised an extraordinary Assistance to those, who neglect the ordinary Means of Salvation, which he, in his infinite Wisdom, has been pleased to appoint. From what has been said it is manifest, that some cannot contain; and that for them the Apostle knew of no other Remedy but Marriage, and accordingly commanded them to marry. If therefore any are to be found among the *Romish* Clergy, who cannot contain, as there certainly must, in so numerous a Body of Men, that Church, by imposing Celibacy, as she does, on all of that Order, without Distinction, commands some to abstain from Marriage, who are commanded by the Apostle to marry.

(B) St. *Bernard*, a Saint of the first Rate in the *Romish* Calendar, thought it

more impossible (if that can be), for a Man to cohabit thus with any Woman, than to raise up the Dead;

*Cum fœmina semper habitare,
Et cum fœmina nunquam peccare,
Majus est quam mortuos resuscitare,*

is a famous Saying of his. Of that Truth the Patrons of Celibacy were well apprised long before *Bernard's* time; and the Clergy were, on that Consideration, forbidden to cohabit, or even to converse, with their Wives, or with any other Women whatever, except their Mothers, their own Sisters, or the Sisters of their Fathers and their Mothers; and to them too the Prohibition was extended in some Countries, several Ecclesiastics having been found guilty of Incest with their own Sisters, as was declared by the Two Councils of *Metz* and *Mentz*, both assembled in the Year 888. to check the unbridled Lust of the unmarried Clergy. By these Councils the Prohibition was extended to all Women whatever (6); and *Riculfus* of *Soissons*, not satisfied with confirming their Canons, in the famous Constitutions, which he published the next Year, declared it unlawful for a Clergyman to converse in private with any Woman, or even to speak to a Woman without a Witness (7).

(5) Con. Trid. Sess. 24. can. 9.
p. 416.

(6) Can. 10. et 5.

(7) Concil. t. 9.

Scandal, the Pope wrote to the Bishops, to the different Kings and Princes, exhorting them to restrain, with wholesome Severities, the Licentiousness of the incontinent Clergy, in their respective Dominions, lest the Evil, which they did not prevent when they could, should be imputed to them ^b. But his Endeavours proved all unsuccessful; the Evil he complained of still prevailed; and will prevail till the Cause is removed, to which it is owing, till the Clergy are either allowed to marry, or cease to be Men.

Year of Christ 591.
He writes to the Bishops and Princes, to restrain the Licentiousness of the Clergy.

The Conversion of the *Lombards*, which happened this Year, proved of no small Comfort and Relief to the Pope, amidst his Cares and Anxiety for the Welfare of the Church. The Conversion of that Nation was thus happily brought about. King *Autharis* dying without Issue, and dangerous Divisions arising among the *Lombards* about the Choice of his Successor, it was proposed by some, and agreed to by all, that the Person, whom *Theudelinda*, the deceased King's Widow, chose for her Husband, should be acknowledged by the whole Nation for lawful King. So great an Opinion did they all entertain of her Prudence and Discretion; and she, to shew herself worthy of the Confidence they reposed in her, having first consulted the chief Lords, and the wisest Men of the Kingdom, by their Advice, bestowed both herself and the Crown on *Agilulph*, Duke of *Turin* (A), a Person of extraordinary Merit, and nearly related

The Lombards embrace the Catholic Faith.

^b Idem, l. 1. ep. 50. l. 3. ep. 26. l. 7. ep. 39. l. 9. ep. 64. l. 11. ep. 42, 43, &c.

(A) The *Lombard* Dukes, of whom we shall have frequent Occasion to speak in the Sequel of this History, were originally only Governors of Cities, and bore that Title no longer than the King thought fit to continue them in their respective Governments. They were instituted by *Alboinus*, the first King of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, in Imitation of the *Greeks*, who had lately adopted that Form of Government, as I have observed above (1). *Alboinus* was succeeded by *Clephas*, whose Cruelty gave the *Lombards* such an Aversion to Royal Power, that, upon his Death, they agreed to abolish the monarchical Form of Government, and to live thenceforth subject to their Dukes, who by that means became so many petty Kings. Thus the

Dukes governed, for the Space of Ten Years, each of them (and they were in all 36) exercising an absolute and uncontrouled Authority in his own City, and its District. But in the Year 585. the Nation being greatly alarmed at an Alliance concluded between the *Franks* and the *Greeks*, against them, and apprehending, that they should not be able to withstand Two such powerful Enemies, so long as they continued divided into so many petty Kingdoms, they resolved to restore their antient Form of Government; and accordingly assembling in *Pavia*, raised *Autharis*, with one Voice, to the Throne. The new King allowed the Dukes to continue in their Governments, but reserved to himself the supreme Authority and Do-

(1) See above, p. 427. Note F.

Year of
Christ 591.

Agilulph re-
pairs and en-
dows several
Monasteries
and Churches.

related to the late King. *Theudelinda* was the Daughter of *Garibald*, King of the *Boioarians* or *Bavarians*; and, being a Woman of great Piety, and a zealous Catholic, the first Favour she begged of her new Husband, and she begged it with the greatest Earnestness, was, that he would, for her sake, and the sake of his own Soul, renounce the Errors, in which he was brought up, and profess, with her, the Catholic Faith. *Agilulph* was bred an *Arian*; but Gratitude prevailing in him over Education, he readily complied with the Request of the Queen, and became, at once, a zealous Catholic; nay, and a zealous Apostle of his new Religion, or rather of the Religion of his Wife. For, not satisfied with embracing it himself, he persuaded many of the chief Lords of the Kingdom to follow his Example; and theirs was followed by the greater Part of the People, some of them renouncing Paganism, and others the Doctrine of *Arius*, to embrace the fashionable Religion, the Religion of the King, and the Court. *Agilulph*, now a Catholic, was easily prevailed upon by the Queen to rebuild the Churches and Monasteries, which his *Lombards* had destroyed, while yet Pagans or *Arians*, to endow them with considerable Possessions, and to recall the Catholic Bishops, whom his Predecessors had driven from their Sees. As the Conversion of the *Lombards*, if we may so call it, was entirely owing to *Theudelinda*, the Pope, not satisfied with bestowing on her the highest Encomiums, sent her, as a small Acknowledgement of the eminent Service she had rendered to the Church, the Four Books of his Dialogues; a Present not at all proper for a Person of her good Sense, and extraordinary Parts, had not the prevail-

c Paul. Diac. l. 3. c. 18. et l. 6. c. 2.

minion. Though he could have removed them at his Pleasure, yet he deprived none of their Dukedoms, unless guilty of Treason; nor did he give them to others, but when their Male Issue failed. And such was the Origin of Fiefs in *Italy* (2). These Tenures were introduced by the *Franks* into *Gaul*, some Years before the Reign of *Autharis* (3). But all Laws concerning them are owing to the *Lombards*, who reduced them into a certain and regular Form. And hence sprung up a new Body

of Laws, which were called *Feudal Laws*, and are still, in some Provinces of *Italy*, the chief Part of the Jurisprudence.

I cannot help taking Notice here of the unaccountable Ignorance of some *Italian* Civilians; viz. *Baldo*, *Alessandro*, and *Francesco di Corte*; who, speaking of these Laws, tell us, That they were made by certain Kings called *Lombards*, that is, *Apulians*, who came originally from *Sardinia*, and settled first in *Romagna*, and afterwards in *Apulia*.

(2) Paul. Diac. l. 3. c. 8. Sigon. de reg. Ital. l. 1. Regin. l. 1. p. 517. (3) Greg. Tur. l. 4. c. 24.

Gregory. BISHOPS of Rome.

485

ing Superstition and Credulity of the Times brought down the best Understandings to a Level with the meanest.

Year of
Christ 591.

Gregory re-
ceives a Let-
ter from the
Bishops of
Ireland.

Year of
Christ 592.

Gregory's
Answer to
their Letter.

He exhorts
them to con-
demn the
Three Chap-
ters.

The following Year *Gregory* received a Letter from the Bishops of *Ireland*, complaining to him of a Persecution they suffered, and bore, as appears from the Pope's Answer, with great Firmness and Constancy. But as their Letter has not reached our Times, we know neither by whom, nor on what Occasion, that Persecution was raised. The Bishops of that Island still continued to defend the *Three Chapters*, in Opposition to the See of *Rome*; and in this very Letter ascribed the Irruption of the *Lombards* into *Italy*, and the many Evils, which *Gregory* and his Predecessors had suffered since that Irruption, to their having condemned those *Chapters*, and received the Council that condemned them. The Pope congratulates them, in his Answer to their Letter, on their Christian Patience and Constancy, under the Evils they suffered. But, at the same time, he lets them know, that they have no Occasion to glory in the Persecution they suffered, since it is not what a Man suffers, but the Cause for which he suffers, that makes him a true Martyr; and that neither their Constancy, nor any other Virtue, will avail them, or be rewarded hereafter, so long as they continue obstinately separated from the Catholic Church. He therefore exhorts them to return; assures them, that nothing was defined or decreed, by the Fifth Council, repugnant to the Faith of *Chalcedon*; and, as to the Evils, which he or his Predecessors had suffered by the Irruption of the *Lombards*, he thinks they ought by no means to be construed into a Judgment, but should rather be looked upon as an incontestable Proof, that those who suffered them were favoured by Heaven, agreeably to the Saying of the Apostle, *Whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth, and scourgeth every Son, whom he receiveth*^d. The same Text might, at this Juncture, have been alleged with as good Reason by the *Irish* Prelates, as an incontestable Proof, that they too, though zealous Defenders of the *Three Chapters*, were favoured by Heaven. In every Dispute, however trifling, we find Heaven constantly brought into the Quarrel, and made to side with both Parties. The Pope adds, That *Italy*, and *Rome* itself, were as miserably harassed by the *Heruli* and the *Goths*, before the *Three Chapters* were condemned, as either has been since by the *Lombards*; and consequently, that

^d Hebr. xii. 6.

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the Calamities brought upon both by the latter, ought not to be deemed a Punishment from Heaven for their having condemned those Chapters ^e. With this Letter the Pope sent into *Ireland* that which his Predecessor, or rather he himself, wrote, in the Name of his Predecessor, to the Bishops of *Istria* ^f, exhorting them to peruse it with Attention, and flattering himself, that if they can divest themselves of all Prepossession and Prejudice, they will thereby be fully satisfied of the Purity of his Faith, and return to the Unity of the Church ^g. That the *Irish* were reclaimed by these Letters from the Schism, and brought back to the Unity of the Church, *Baronius* takes for granted ^h. But that in 514. they still continued to defend the *Three Chapters*, is evident from the Letter, which the famous *Irish* Monk *Columbanus* wrote, in that Year, to Pope *Boniface* IV. For in that Letter *Columbanus* supposes *Vigilius*, who condemned those *Chapters*, to have died a Heretic, and wonders that his Name had not been struck out of the Catalogue of the Popes. He finds great Fault with *Boniface* for condemning the same *Chapters*, wishes he would change his Opinion, and exhorts him to assemble a Council, in order to clear himself, and his Sec, from all Suspicion of Heresy. *If it is true*, says he, in the Close of his long Letter, *that you have swerved from the true Faith, you complain, without Reason, of your Children, who oppose you, and even exclude you from their Communion. In that Case they have a Right to do so; though they become thereby the Head, and you, to use the Monk's own Words, are turned into the Tail, Filii vestri in caput conversi sunt, vos vero in caudam* (E). From this Letter it evidently appears, as we may observe here by the way, that so late as the Seventh Century the Popes were not thought, even by those whom they now worship as Saints, incapable of erring in Matters of Faith; nor of being deposed, if they erred.

The Supremacy of the Pope not acknowledged at this time in Ireland, nor his Infallibility.

^e Greg. 1. 2. ep. 36.

^f See above, p. 455, 456.

^g Greg. ubi supra.

^h Bar. ad ann. 592. p. 37.

(A) This Letter was first published by the learned Primate of *Ireland*, Archbishop *Usher*, and afterwards by Father *Fleming*, an *Irish* Franciscan at *Louvain*, with other Pieces ascribed to *Columbanus*. They have been since allowed a Place in the *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum*, printed at *Lions* (1). Had *Baronius* seen this Letter, he would have been tempted to strike the Name of *Columbanus* out of the Calendar of Saints; for he was vested, by *Gregory XIII.* with a full Power of sainting and unsainting whom he pleased, as I have observed else where (2).

(1) Biblioth. vet. Patr. t. 12. Edit. Lugdun.

(2) See Vol. I. p. 272.

The same Year *Gregory* had several Opportunities of exerting the Authority, which his Predecessors had usurped; and he exerted it accordingly, with as much Resolution and Vigour as the most ambitious among them. For though he never attempted to extend his Authority by any new Usurpations, or Encroachments on the Rights of his Brethren, even of those who were immediately subject to his See; though he never exercised or claimed any new Jurisdiction or Power; yet he was a most zealous Assertor of that, which his Predecessors had exercised, or, at any time, claimed. He often declared, That he had rather lose his Life than suffer the See of *St. Peter* to forfeit any of the Privileges it had ever enjoyed, or the prime Apostle to be any-ways injured, or robbed of his Rights. It was the common Plea in all Disputes among Bishops about Power and Pre-eminence, that should they yield, and abate of their Claims and Pretensions, they would thereby injure the Apostles or Saints, who had founded their Sees; as if the chief Care of their Founders in Heaven were to see them aggrandized on the Earth. It has ever been, even from the earliest Times, a Maxim with the Popes, never to part with any Power or Jurisdiction which their Predecessors had acquired, by what Means soever they had acquired it; nor to give up the least Privilege, which any of their Predecessors, right or wrong, ever had claimed. From that Maxim no Pope has hitherto swerved; no, not *Gregory* himself; however conscientious, just, and scrupulously religious, in other respects. Thus he maintained and asserted, with as much Resolution and Vigour, as any of his Predecessors ever had done, the pretended Right of receiving Appeals from all Parts of the Christian World, of re-examining the Causes that had been judged and determined by the Metropolitans, or the Provincial Synods, and reversing their Sentence or Judgment by the Authority of *St. Peter*. Of this we have a remarkable Instance in the Case of *Hadrianus* of *Thebes*, in *Theffaly*: *Hadrianus* was charged with several Crimes before his Metropolitan, the Bishop of *Larissa*; and condemned by him in a Synod, consisting of all the Bishops of the Province. From that Sentence he appealed to the Emperor, who referred the whole Affair to *John* of *Justiniana Prima*, Primate of all *Illyricum*. The Primate re-examined the Cause, heard the Witnesses, and, upon their Deposition, though *Hadrianus* excepted against them, confirmed the Sentence, which the Metropolitan had given. The Bishop of *Thebes* did not yet acquiesce; but from the Primate

Year of
Christ 592.

*Gregory a
vigorous
Assertor of
the pretended
Rights of his
See.*

*He absolves
and restores
the Bishop of
Thebes, con-
demned and
deposed by the
Provincial
Bishops, and
their Pri-
mate.*

appealed

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Christ 592.

appealed to the Pope, though no farther Appeal was allowed by the Canons, except to a general Council. *Gregory*, however, received the Appeal, examined the Cause himself, and, finding, upon a strict and impartial Examination, the Proceedings of the Primate, as well as the Metropolitan, to have been both illegal and uncanonical, he not only declared them null, and absolved the Bishop, but exempted him from the Jurisdiction of his Metropolitan, whom he commanded, on Pain of Excommunication, to restore forthwith to the Bishop of *Thebes* all the Effects of his Church ⁱ. As to the Primate, the Pope, not satisfied with rebuking him very severely, as the more guilty of the Two, ordered him to reinstate the Bishop of *Thebes* in his See; suspended him from the Holy Communion, for the Space of Thirty Days; and threatened to proceed against him with all the Rigour his Contumacy deserved, if he did not punctually fulfil the Penance imposed on him by the Authority of the Prince of the Apostles ^k.

*He commands
the Bishop of
Salona to re-
store his
Archdeacon,
on Pain of
Excommuni-
cation and
Deposition.*

The same Year *Gregory* was informed, that *Natalis* of *Salona*, in *Dalmatia*, had removed *Honoratus*, his Archdeacon, for no other Reason but because he would not deliver up to him the sacred Utensils, knowing that he designed to dispose of them to his Relations, with whom he passed his whole Time in Revels and Banquets: Upon that Information the Pope wrote to *Natalis*, requiring him to restore the Archdeacon, on Pain of Excommunication, and threatening even to divest him of the Episcopal Dignity, if he did not ^l. With this Order the Pope acquainted all the Bishops of *Dalmatia*, the Bishop of *Salona* being the Metropolitan of that Province ^m. These Letters had the wished-for Effect. *Natalis* not only restored the Archdeacon, in Compliance with the Command of the Pope, but, hearkening to his friendly Admonitions, reformed his Manners, and strove to repair, by a regular and exemplary Life, the Scandal he had given ⁿ. But he died the same Year, and his Successor in the See of *Salona* did not think himself obliged to pay the like Deference and Regard to the Commands or Admonitions of the Pope; notwithstanding the Authority which the Predecessors of *Gregory* had claimed ever since the Time of Pope *Damasus* ^o, and often exercised over the Province of *Dalmatia*, and the other Provinces of *West-Illyricum*.

And is obeyed.

ⁱ Greg. l. 2. ep. 7.
ibid. ep. 15, 16, 17.

^k Idem ibid. ep. 6.
^l Idem, l. 2. ep. 38. 32.

^m Idem ibid. ep. 14.
^o See Vol. I. p. 226.

Year of
Christ 592.

He opposes
the Election
of Maximus,
the new Bi-
shop of Sa-
lona.

Which is ap-
proved by the
Emperor.

The Pope
summons
Maximus to
Rome, to
give an Ac-
count there of
his Ordina-
tion.

Who pays no
Regard to
the Summons.

The Person chosen in the room of *Natalis* was *Maximus*, Prefbyter of that Church, but one who led a very irregular and scandalous Life, and besides was charged with Simony, having been preferred, as was said, not for his Merit, but his Money, to his Competitor the Archdeacon *Honoratus*, whom *Gregory* had warmly recommended. The Pope therefore no sooner heard of his Election, than he declared it null; and, at the same time, wrote to the Clergy of *Salona*, forbidding them, by the Authority, and in the Name, of St. *Peter*, to chuse a Bishop without the Knowledge and Consent of the Apostolic See. But in the mean time was brought to *Salona* the Decree of the Emperor, to whom *Maximus* and his Friends had applied, confirming his Election. *Gregory* did not, it seems, at all apprehend, that the Emperor would have interfered in the Affair; and therefore was greatly concerned and mortified to hear that he had. For it was a Maxim with him, from which he was on no Occasion known to have ever departed, to remonstrate, and always with the greatest Respect and Submission, against the Orders of the Emperors, when he thought them prejudicial to the Interests of his See; to exhort, beg, and intreat the Emperors to revoke them; but never directly to oppose, as many of his arrogant Predecessors had done, any Orders or Injunctions come from *his most Serene, and most Religious Lords*, as he constantly styled them. In the present Case he wrote to *Maximus*, suspending him, and those who had ordained him, from all the Functions of their Office, till he was assured by Persons, on whose Faith he could depend, that the Emperor had truly confirmed his Election. At the same time he summoned *Maximus* to *Rome*, to give there an Account of his Ordination. That Summons the Pope caused to be set up in *Salona*; but *Maximus* ordered it to be taken down, and publicly tore it, saying, That his Ordination was in every respect legal; and that if the Pope, upon any Misrepresentation, excepted against it, the Cause ought, by the Canons, to be tried on the Spot. He did not even answer the Pope's Letter, but, recurring again to his Friends at *Constantinople*, obtained, by their means, an Order from the Emperor, commanding the Pope to give no farther Trouble to the Bishop of *Salona* concerning his Ordination. Against that Order *Gregory* remonstrated in the strongest Terms, and with the greatest Respect, declaring, in his Letter to the Emperor, That, were it to cost him his Life, it should never be said, that the See of St. *Peter* had suffered any

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*The Emperor
interposes,
and the Pope
acquiesces in
his Will.*

*But sum-
mons Maxi-
mus to
Rome, to
clear himself
from Simony,
and other
Crimes.*

Diminution of its Power and Authority through his Indolence or Neglect. However, when he found the Emperor was not to be moved by any Exhortations, Intreaties, or Reasons, he acquiesced in his Will, and thenceforth never once mentioned the Ordination of *Maximus*, comforting himself with the Thought, that he had done his Duty as a Bishop, without being any-ways wanting in his Duty as a Subject. But *Maximus* was charged with Simony, with Sacrilege, with many other Crimes; and *Gregory* thought so heavy a Charge against a Bishop ought not to pass unexamined, that he might have an Opportunity of clearing himself, if innocent; or might suffer, if guilty, the Punishment that was due to his Crimes by the Laws of the Church, and the Empire. He therefore summoned *Maximus* to *Rome* a Second time, to answer there the Charge that was brought against him; and, at the same time, let the Empress know (for he found the Emperor greatly prejudiced in Favour of *Maximus*), that the Bishop of *Salona* being charged with many enormous Crimes, he thought it his indispensable Duty to proceed against him with all the Severity of the Law, if he did not, in Compliance with the Summons he had sent him, appear at *Rome*, and clear himself from the Excesses, of which he was arraigned, to the great Disgrace of the whole Episcopal Order. But to this Summons *Maximus* paid no greater Regard than he had done to the former, justifying his Conduct with the same Plea he had used before; *viz.* That all Ecclesiastics, more especially Bishops, of what Crimes soever accused, were, agreeably to the Canons, to be tried on the Spot. The Plea was undoubtedly just; the Bishops of *Rome* having been only allowed, even by the Three famous Canons of *Sardica*, to order, upon an Appeal to them from the Bishops of the Province, the Cause to be re-examined on the Spot, by the neighbouring Bishops, and to send or appoint Legates to assist at that Judgment, in their Name. The Council of *Sardica*, which consisted only of Western Bishops, was a Council of very little, or rather of no, Authority at all in the Church, as I have had frequent Occasion to observe; and besides, these Three Canons were tacitly revoked, as were indeed most of the Canons of that Council concerning the Ecclesiastical Discipline, by the Canons and Decrees of subsequent Councils inconsistent with them.^a However, the Popes not only maintained the Power,

^a See Vol. I. p. 120.

^a See Vol. I. p. 217.

which was granted them by that Council ; but, extending it beyond all Bounds, took upon them to summon Bishops to *Rome*, nay, and to summon them to be judged there, before they were judged by the Provincial Bishops. This Power *Gregory* claimed, lest the See of St. *Peter* should lose any of its Rights, or suffer any Diminution of its Authority, in his Days; and because *Maximus* would acknowledge no such Authority, nor obey the Summons, he thundered at last the Sentence of Excommunication against him, against the Bishops who had espoused his Cause or Interest, and all who should thenceforth communicate with him or them. But *Maximus* still continued, in Defiance of the Pope, to exercise the Functions of his Office, and the other Bishops to communicate with him, as if no such Sentence had ever been issued. Their common Plea was, that Bishops were, agreeably to the Canons, to be tried on the Spot; to which *Maximus* added another, that could surely be of no Weight with any who were in the least acquainted with *Gregory*; viz. that the Pope was a Man of a cruel Temper; that he had caused a Bishop, named *Malcus*, to be imprisoned for Debt, and to be soon after murdered in Prison; and that he had good Reason to apprehend the like Fate would attend him, should he obey the Summons, and repair to *Rome*. This *Gregory* looked upon at first only as an idle Report, which he thought no Man could ever believe. But being informed, that *Maximus* had dispatched one of his Ecclesiastics to *Constantinople*, on purpose to acquaint the Emperor with it, and to allege it as a Reason why he did not comply with the Summons calling him to *Rome*, he thought it incumbent upon him to inform the Emperor of the true State of the Case, that his Innocence might, at the same time, be made to appear, and no farther room might be left for *Maximus* to plead any Danger, or Apprehension of Danger, from his obeying the Summons. He wrote accordingly to his Nuncio at *Constantinople*, desiring him to let his Lords know, in a few Words, that if he, their Servant, had not been averse from shedding the Blood even of the *Lombards*, that Nation would this Day have no King, no Dukes, no Counts, but would be divided among themselves, and involved in the utmost Confusion; but that, as he feared God, he would be accessory to the Death of no Man whatever. *Gregory* had (if he is to be credited, and who will not credit him?) an Opportunity of destroying almost the whole Nation of the *Lombards*; and they, probably, were still Pagans or Heretics, when that Opportunity offered.

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Excommuni-
cates him for
not obeying
the Summons:

Gregory
falsely accused
by him to the
Emperor, as
if he had been
accessory to
the Death of
a Bishop.

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But the good Man was averſe from ſhedding the Blood even of Pagans and Heretics ; and therefore would not avail himſelf of it. *He feared God, and therefore would be acceſſory to the Death of no Man whatever.* Have his Succeſſors all thus feared God ? Have they all entertained ſuch humane, ſuch truly Chriſtian Notions ? It were to be wiſhed they had ! What Scenes of Cruelty would have been thereby prevented ? Scenes of Bloodſhed and Slaughtering, which reflect Diſgrace on human Nature itſelf ; or rather on that Religion, which has diveſted human Nature of all its Humanity, and taught its Votaries to thirſt after the Blood of thoſe who profeſs any other.

Gregory's
Account of
that Biſhop's
Death.

As to the Death of *Malcus*, the Pope gives his Nuncio the following Account of it in a few Words : The Biſhop, ſays he, was neither imprifoned, nor any otherwiſe ill uſed ; but, having been tried for a Debt, and adjudged to pay it, he was invited, after the Tryal, by *Boniface* the Notary, to his Houſe, where he dined, and was friendly entertained, but died that Night a ſudden Death. The Pope deſires his Nuncio to acquaint the Emperor with theſe Particulars : but *Mauricius* was now grown ſick of that Diſpute ; and, being determined to give himſelf no farther Trouble about it, he wrote to the Exarch *Callinicus* to accommodate Matters, in the beſt manner he could, between the Two Biſhops. By his Means an Accommodation was at laſt brought about ; and it was agreed, that the Affair ſhould be referred entire to *Marinianus* Biſhop of *Ravenna* ; and that *Maximus* ſhould repair to that City, and ſubmit to his Judgment. Purſuant to this Agreement, *Maximus* repaired to the appointed Place ; and, having there firſt publicly aſked the Pope's Pardon, as was enjoined him by *Marinianus*, and afterwards cleared himſelf from the Charge of Simony, by an Oath of Purgation, taken at the Tomb of St. *Apollinaris*, the tutelary Saint of that Church, a Letter from the Pope was delivered to him by his Legate *Caſtorius* ; and by that Letter the Pope acknowledged him for lawful Biſhop, and received him as ſuch to his Communion. This Affair coſt *Gregory* no fewer than Seventeen Letters. Had *Gregory* been a Man of the Temper which I have had Occaſion to obſerve in moſt of his Predeceſſors, the Quarrel had not been ſo eaſily ended. For what other Pope, among the many whoſe Actions I have hitherto deſcribed, would have ever been prevailed upon, as *Gregory* was, to abate of his firſt Demands ? What

He abates of
his firſt De-
mands, and is
reconciled
with Maxi-
mus.

* Greg. l. 2. ep. 20. l. 3. ep. 15. 20. 25. 33. l. 4. ep. 4. 20. 34. l. 5. ep. 3. 4. 8. l. 6. ep. 17. l. 7. ep. 1. 12. 60. 81, 82.

other could have ever been brought to consent, that a Bishop, whom he had summoned over and over to *Rome*, to be judged there, and who had made as little Account of him and his Summons, as *Maximus* made of *Gregory* and his; what other Pope, I say, would have consented, as *Gregory* did, that such a Bishop should be judged anywhere else but at *Rome*, or by any other Judge but himself? He was as jealous of the Privileges, and what he called the Rights of his See, as any of his Predecessors; but had too much at Heart the Peace and Welfare of the Church, to sacrifice either, as some of them had done, to a mere Punctilio.

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Gregory thought it incumbent upon him, as the first Bishop of the Catholic Church, not only to punish the Guilty, but to relieve the Innocent, by whomsoever oppressed; and reverse the Judgment of any other Bishop whatever, when it was found to be evidently unjust, and repugnant to the Canons. Several Instances occur of his acting agreeably to that Notion; but the following is, perhaps, of all the most remarkable, and the most worthy of Notice. Two Ecclesiastics, *viz.* *John*, Presbyter of the Church of *Chalcedon*, and *Anastsius*, a Monk of *Isauria*, and likewise Presbyter, being both accused of Heresy to *John* of *Constantinople*, the Patriarch appointed Judges to try them, not being at leisure himself to attend to that Cause. They were tried accordingly; and not only by their Judges found guilty of the Charge, but punished with uncommon Severity. For *Anastsius*, who appeared, it seems, to them the more guilty of the Two, was, by their Order, most inhumanly beaten, not with Rods, which, in some Cases, was allowed, but, what had never been practised before, with Cudgels. Of this *Gregory* was no sooner informed, than he wrote to the Patriarch, to complain of his introducing into the Church a new Kind of Punishment, repugnant to the Canons, as well as the Practice of all former Times. To this Letter the Patriarch returned no Answer, piqued at the Pope's concerning himself at all with the Affairs of his Church. *Gregory* therefore wrote a Second Letter on the same Subject: and that the Patriarch answered, but in such Terms, that the Pope suspected it to have been written by some Layman, in his Name, and without his Knowledge. As that Letter has not reached our Times [and few Pieces of that Kind have], I will indulge no Conjectures about it. The Pope, in his Reply, complains of the harsh and affronting Terms used by his most holy Brother of *Constantinople*, for so he styles him; tells him,

The Bishop of
Constanti-
nople causes
Two Presby-
ters to be
beaten with
Cudgels.
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Gregory
disapproves
that Kind of
Punishment,
and writes to
the Patri-
arch.

Who represents
his concerning
himself with
the Affairs of
his Church.

that

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Gregory's
Reply.

that if that Letter was truly written by him, he is greatly mistaken in the Opinion he has hitherto entertained of him; and exhorts him either to restore the Two Presbyters, who, he says, have not been judged according to the Canons, or to judge them according to the Form of Ecclesiastical Judgments prescribed by the Canons. He closes his Letter with the following Words: *If you do neither, we will not quarrel with you; but, if they come to us, we will not reject them. Your Fraternity knows what is said in the Canons of Bishops, who cause themselves to be feared with Blows; we are Pastors, and not Executioners. You cannot be a Stranger to what an excellent Preacher said; Preach the Word, &c. reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all Long-suffering and Doctrine. But to recur to Blows, and, with Blows, require Men to believe, is a new and unheard-of Method of Preaching,* NOVA ATQUE INAUDITA PRÆDICATIO, QUÆ VERBERIBUS EXIGIT FIDEM^t. What would Gregory have said, had any Bishop preached in his Days, as his Successors have preached since, and still preach, where their Cruelty has free Scope, not with Blows only, but with Racks and Halters, with Fire and Fagot?

The Two
Presbyters
absolved at
Rome.

The Two Presbyters withdrew, after their Tryal, from *Constantinople* to *Rome*, where their Cause was re-examined by Gregory; and, their Innocence plainly appearing, both were absolved^u. How these Proceedings were relished by the Patriarch, we may judge from his having repented, in the manner he did, the Pope's intermeddling at all in that Affair. It appeared on Occasion of these Tryals, and it

What was at
this time He-
resy at Con-
stantinople,
was the Ca-
tholic Faith
at Rome.

is a Thing well worthy of our Notice, that what, at this time, was deemed Heresy at *Constantinople*, was received as sound Doctrine at *Rome*; and what was deemed Heresy at *Rome*, was received as sound Doctrine at *Constantinople*. This strange Disagreement between the Two Churches, in Matters of Faith, was owing to their disagreeing, in a most unaccountable manner, about one of their Councils, the Standard of their Faith. The First Council of *Ephesus* was universally received by the Church, and the Second universally condemned and rejected. But the Church of *Constantinople* received, as the First, that which the *Roman* Church rejected, as the Second; and the *Roman* Church received, as the First, that which the other rejected as the Second. In this both agreed, that the

^t Ad Tim. ep. ii. c. 4. ver. 2. ^u Greg. l. 2. ep. 32. ^v Greg. l. 5. ep. 15, 16, 17.

Doctrines of the First was Catholic, and that of the Second heretical. But as they did not agree which was the First, and which the Second; nay, as what was the First with the one, was the Second with the other; it thence necessarily followed, that what was sound Doctrine with the one, was rank Heresy with the other. Thus was the Presbyter *Anastasius* condemned at *Constantinople* as a Heretic, because he condemned the Doctrine of their First *Ephesine* Council, and received that of their Second; whereas he was, on that very Score, absolved at *Rome* as a good Catholic. On the same Occasion it likewise appeared, that the Council of *Chalcedon* had been either interpolated at *Constantinople*, or curtailed at *Rome*; for some Passages were in the one Copy, that could not be found in the other; and that a Decree had been inserted into some of the Copies of the Council of *Ephesus*, confirming the Doctrine of *Pelagius* *. How these Points were adjusted, we know not; nor does it indeed much concern us to know, who take not the Councils for the Standard of our Faith, but the Scriptures. And that we have good Reason to do so, sufficiently appears from what has been said. For if the Two First Bishops, and the Two First Churches of the Christian World, disagreed, in the manner we have seen, about one of their Councils; if what was deemed by the one a Conventicle of Heretics, was looked upon by the other as a lawful Assembly of Catholic Bishops; and, in consequence thereof, what was rejected by the one as rank Heresy, was received by the other as the true Catholic Doctrine; if the Two First Bishops, I say, of the Church thus disagreed about one of their Councils, not much above a Century and a Half after it was held; how can we, after Thirteen whole Centuries, be sure, that the Definitions and Decrees of some Conventicle of Heretics have not been imposed upon us for the Decrees and Definitions of one or other of the Oecumenical and received Councils? What Certainty can we have, that some of the Doctrines which are recommended to us under the venerable Names of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, or *Chalcedon*, are not the very Doctrines, which the Fathers of those great Assemblies anathematized, condemned, and proscribed? We are so far from knowing for certain they are not, that we have good Reason to believe some of them are. For if the Councils were corrupted, curtailed, interpolated, as we have seen,

We cannot depend upon Councils, nor their Creeds or Decrees.

* Idem, l. 1. ep. 14, 15, 16. et l. 6. ep. 31.

= Idem, l. 7. ep. 48.

The History of the POPES, or Gregory.

in *Gregory's* Time [and they were so long before]; if a Decree was then found to have been foisted into one of them, establishing a condemned Heresy; may we not well suppose the like Attempts to have been made since? nay, that such Attempts have been made, and often, is well known to all who are the least conversant in the History of the Church. *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, in his Preface to the VIIIth Council, reproached the *Greeks*, 800 Years ago, with having corrupted not only the Council of *Ephesus*, but all the other Councils, except that of *Nice*; and that Charge the *Greeks* returned upon the *Latins*, adding, that they had not even spared the Council of *Nice*, but attempted to pass upon the World the Decrees of *Sardica* for the Decrees of that Council*. In the Council of *Florence*, one *John*, a Friar, asserted, that of all the Copies of the Council of *Nice*, one only had escaped the Corruptions of the *Arians*, which, he said, was, on that account, kept with all possible Care under Lock and Key at *Rome*†. But if what he added was true, viz. that the above-mentioned Canons of *Sardica* were to be found in that Copy, it had not the good Luck to escape the Corruptions of the Popes, as it did those of the *Arians*. But that Phoenix no one ever heard of before, nor has it ever been heard of since. The *Nicene* Symbol has not been suffered to pass unaltered and uncorrupted, no more than the *Nicene* Council. For the *Greeks* pretend the Words, *and the Son*, in the Article concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost, to have been added by the *Latins*; and, on the other hand, the *Latins* will have them to have been struck out by the *Greeks*. And thus it happens in our Days as it did in *Gregory's*; what is Heresy with the one, is the true Catholic Faith with the other. In all these Disputes, antient Manuscripts have been produced on either Side; but none have yet appeared, which the one or the other has not arraigned of Forgery. What then have we left, in this Uncertainty concerning the Authenticity of the Councils, of their Decrees, Creeds, Definitions, &c. to build our Faith upon, but the Scriptures? To build upon any other Foundation whatever, is building, like the foolish Man in the Gospel‡, on the Sand. Those sacred Writings have been always preserved in the Church with the greatest Care, were learnt by all Nations, translated into all Languages, received and read by Christians of all Persuasions, whether Catholics, Heretics, Schismatics, *Greeks*,

Nothing left
but the Scri-
ptures to build
our Faith
upon.

* See Vol. I. p. 370, & seq. ver. 26.

† Con. Flor. Sess. 20.

‡ Mat. c. vii.

Latins,

Latins, &c. so that, in them, any Alteration of Moment would have been immediately discovered, and would have alarmed the whole Christian World. But the Councils were translated into few Languages, were known to few, were read by few, and by very few understood; which gave a favourable Opportunity to designing Men of interpolating or curtailing them, as it best served the Interest of their Cause.

But to return to *Gregory*; though he claimed and exercised, in the Manner we have seen, whatever Power or Authority his Predecessors had claimed and usurped over his Collegues; yet he thought himself no less liable to be commanded by the Emperor, and no less bound to obey his Commands, even in Ecclesiastical Matters, than the meanest of his Subjects. Of this the present Year supplies us with the following Instance. The Emperor *Mauricius*, finding his Army was greatly reduced by his constant Wars with the *Persians* on the one Side, and the *Lombards* on the other; and, besides, that many, preferring the lazy and indolent Life of a Monk to the toilsome Life of a Soldier, betook themselves daily to Monasteries; issued an Edict, forbidding any, who were inrolled in the Service, or marked in the Hand, *in manu signati* (for the Soldiers, it seems, wore then a particular Mark in one of their Hands), to quit the Army, under the Pretence of embracing a Monastic Life, till the Time of their Warfare was expired. This Edict the Emperor transmitted to the Pope, commanding him to publish it in all the Countries subject to the Empire in the West; for it was the Province of the Bishop of *Rome* to publish, in the West, all Edicts and Laws concerning religious Matters or Persons, as it was the Province of the Bishop of *Constantinople* to publish them in the East. The Law was in itself both just and necessary; but nevertheless the Pope, prepossessed with the highest Opinion of a Monastic Life, which he looked upon as a sure Way for all, and for many as the only Way to Heaven, was greatly grieved and concerned to find a whole Order of Men debarred from embracing, when they pleased, so happy a State. He therefore resolved to remonstrate against the new Law; but, being indisposed, as he often was, when he received it, and not in a Condition to write to the Emperor, he thought he should be wanting in his Duty, as a good Subject, if he did not immediately publish it: and he published it accordingly. Having thus discharged the Duty of a good Subject, he thought it incumbent upon him to discharge, in the next place, that of a good Bishop. As therefore he apprehended the above-mentioned Law to be

*The Emperor
issues an Order to forbid
any Soldier to
turn Monk.*

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Christ 593. of a very pernicious Tendency, he wrote to the Emperor, as soon as his Health allowed him, to remonstrate against it; and the Letter he wrote, I shall exhibit in his own Words; for we shall have frequent Occasion, in the Sequel of the present History, to compare it with the Letters of other Popes to Kings, Princes, and Emperors.

The Pope remonstrates against that Order.
His Letter to the Emperor.

“ Your late Constitution has given me, I ingenuously own it to My Lords (meaning *Mauricius*, and his Son *Theodosius*), the greatest Uncasiness, seeing the Way to Heaven is thereby shut up to many, and what has been hitherto lawful, is thereby made henceforth unlawful. Many there are, indeed, who can lead a religious Life in a Secular Habit; but there are many too, who cannot be saved, unless they leave all they have. But what am I, who thus address My Lords? I am but Dust; I am but a Worm. But nevertheless, as I apprehend the Law to be displeasing to God, the Author of all Things, I cannot conceal from My Lords what I think. Power was given to My Lords OVER ALL MEN, that such as desire to live well might be helped and encouraged; that the Way to Heaven might be widened, and the earthly Kingdom might be made subservient to the Kingdom of Heaven. But alas! none, engaged in an earthly Warfare, are now allowed to enter into the Service of our Lord Jesus Christ, till they have served their Time, or are discharged for their Indispositions or Weakness. Harken not to me, but to Christ, who speaks by the least of his Servants, and yours: You was a Notary; but I raised you to the Post of Captain of the Guards; I preferred you to the Dignity of *Cæsar*; I placed you on the Imperial Throne, and not only made you Emperor, but the Father of Emperors. I gave you Power over my Priests, and you withdraw your Soldiers from my Service. Answer, I beseech you, answer, most pious Lord, your Servant. What Answer will you return to your Lord, when he thus upbraids you on the Last Day? You will say, perhaps, that the Conversion of the Soldiers, who quit the Service to embrace a Monastic Life, is not sincere. But I, your unworthy Servant, know of many converted Soldiers, who this Day work Miracles in their Monasteries. And will you forbid by Law the Conversion of such Men? I beg My most pious Lord will inquire by what Emperor such a Law was first issued (E); and
“ that

He owns himself subject to the Emperor, and bound to obey his Commands.

(E) *Julian* was the first who issued such a Law. But *Gregory* forbore naming him in his Letter to the Emperor, lest he should seem to reproach him with treading in the Foot-

“ that he will afterwards consider with himself, whether it ought to
 “ have been issued. It is indeed Matter of great Grief and Sorrow,
 “ that Men should be with-held from leaving the World, when the
 “ End of the World is at hand (F). For the Heavens and the Earth
 “ will be soon involved in a general Conflagration, the Elements
 “ will soon be dissolved, and the tremendous Judge will appear,
 “ attended by the whole heavenly Host. I therefore earnestly beg
 “ and intreat you, by the same tremendous Judge, that you will, at
 “ least, mitigate the Rigour of your Law, lest the many Tears,
 “ Fasts, Alms of My Lord, should, in the End, lose both their
 “ Merit and Reward. The Army of My Lords will not be thereby
 “ weakened, but rather strengthened, in proportion as the Number
 “ is increased of those, who pray for them, and the good Success of
 “ their Armies. I indeed, who am subject to Command, EGO QUI-
 “ DEM JUSSIONI SUBJECTUS, have caused the said Law to be trans-
 “ mitted into different Parts of the World ; but, as I apprehend it to
 “ be displeasing to God, I could not help acquainting therewith My
 “ most Serene Lords. And now I have on both Sides discharged my
 “ Duty : on the one I have yielded Obedience to the Emperor, and,
 “ on the other, spoken my Mind with Openness and Freedom ^a.”

This Letter the Pope did not send to his Nuncio at the Court of
Constantinople, to be delivered by him to the Emperor, as was usual,
 but to *Theodorus*, the Emperor's Physician, and great Favourite ; in-
 treating him, by another Letter, to deliver it privately, and to speak
 on that Occasion, which he could do more freely than on any other,
 what his Zeal for the Welfare of the Emperor, and the Good of Re-
 ligion, would suggest. He begins his Letter thus : *My Tongue can-*
not well express the many Benefits which I have received of the
Almighty, and of my most serene Lord the Emperor : and in what
other manner can I acknowledge them, but by loving the very Ground
he treads ? He then acquaints *Theodorus* with the Law, complains of

*His Letter to
Theodorus
on the same
Subject.*

^a Greg. l. 2. ep. 62.

Footsteps of that Apostate. However, he named him, in a Letter which he wrote on this Occasion to *Theodorus*, the Emperor's Physician, and chief Favourite.

(F) An Opinion prevailed among the Fathers, that the *Roman Empire* was to last

as long as the World. Hence, when they apprehended the Empire to be in Danger from any extraordinary Calamity, especially from the Irruptions of the Barbarians, they concluded the End of the World was at hand (1).

(1) Greg. l. 2. ep. 62. l. 3. ep. 44. l. 7. ep. 128.

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Christ 593.

It, and adds ; *It seems very unreasonable to me, that the Emperor should forbid his Soldiers to serve Him, of whom he has received the Power of ruling not only over the Soldiers, but over the Priests too :*

QUI DOMINARI EUM NON SOLUM MILITIBUS, SED ETIAM SACERDOTIBUS CONCESSIT ^d. Here the Pope acknowledges the Emperor, and in the plainest Terms, for the supreme Head of the Church, if we allow him to have been the supreme Head of the Army ; for he owns the same Power to have been given him by God over the Priests, or the Church, that was given him over the Soldiers, or the Army. From both these Letters it is evident beyond Contradiction, that *Gregory* knew of no Power upon Earth, neither Secular nor Ecclesiastic; above the Power of the Emperor ; that he thought himself, notwithstanding his Primacy, subject to the Commands of the Emperor, *ego quidem jussioni subjectus* ; and that he looked upon it as his Duty to obey them, even when they appeared to him unreasonable. And was not that acknowledging the same Supremacy in the Emperor, which the Church of *England* acknowledges in the King ? Had a late Writer of no mean Character ^e been in the least acquainted with the true Doctrine of the Church of *England*, he would not have thought it *repugnant to common Sense*, that she should acknowledge the King for her Head ; nor would he have more thought it a *Solecism*, that the Supremacy in the Church should *fall to the Distaff*, than the Supremacy in the State, the Church being in the State, as *Optatus Milevitanus* expresses it, and not the State in the Church ; whence it necessarily follows, that whoever is supreme in the State, must, of course, be supreme in the Church.

Mistake of a
late Writer
concerning
the Doctrine
of the Church
of England.

The Imperial
Law not re-
voked.

Some Writers are of Opinion, that *Mauricius*, hearkening to the Remonstrances of the Pope, revoked the Law he had issued ^f. But that Opinion is entirely groundless, as has been shewn by a very able Writer ^g.

Two forged
Bulls pro-
duced in fa-
vour of the
Papal Supre-
macy.

In Opposition to the Two above-mentioned Letters, the Advocates for the Papal Supremacy produce Two Decrees, or, as they style them, Bulls, which they suppose to have been issued by *Gregory*, the one in Favour of the Monks of *St. Medard at Soissons*, and the other of an Hospital at *Autun*. In both the Pope is made to excommunicate, and even to depose, any King, Bishop, or Judge, who should presume to infringe either, or transgress the Commands of the Apostolic

^d Idem ibid. ep. 65.

^e Pietro Giannoni Istor. Civil. di Nap. l. 1. c. 11.

^f Vide Marca de Concord. l. 2. c. 11.

^g Flottemanville annal. ad ann. 593.

Sec. Hence they conclude, that though Gregory thought it advisable, on some Occasions, humbly to submit to the Will of the Emperor, yet, on others, he exerted the Power which he knew to have been by Christ entailed on his See, *over all Things and Persons*. If he knew of any such Entail, it must have been after he wrote to the Emperor; for in that Letter he owned a Power to have been granted to him *over all Things and Persons*, himself not excepted. But no Man can peruse either of these Bulls, without being fully satisfied, that both have been forged, and very undeservedly fathered upon Gregory. For who can believe, that a Man of his meek Spirit, that one, who entertained so mean an Opinion of himself, and paid, on all Occasions, the greatest Deference and Regard to the higher Powers, should have expressed himself thus? *If any King, Bishop, or Judge, shall presume to infringe the Decrees of our Apostolic Authority, or transgress this our Command, let him be deprived of his Honour and Dignity; let him be cut off from the Communion of the Church; let him be loaded with all the Anathemas and Curses that have been thundered against Infidels and Heretics since the Creation of the World to the present Time; let him for ever be damned in the Bottom of Hell, in Inferno inferiori, with Judas the Betrayer of our Lord.* Does this profane and antichristian Dialect suit with the Spirit, with the Style, or the Character, of Gregory (G)?

The

(G) I might add, that the Decree in Favour of the Monastery of St. Medard is signed by some Bishops who never existed, by others who existed no more when that Decree is supposed to have been made, and by some, who, at that time, were not yet ordained Bishops, namely, by *Austin of Canterbury*, and *Mellitus of London*. *Dominicus of Carthage*, and *Eulogius of Alexandria*, are made to sign it among the rest, though it does not appear from History, that either ever was at Rome. King *Thierry* too is brought in to sign it, though he was not yet King, he being then, that is, in 593. only One or Two Years old, and his Father *Childbert* still living. The Pope, in his Subscription, styles himself *the Servant of the Servants of God*; but is made

to add, *though exalted by the Pontifical Dignity of the Holy Roman See*. But that both Bulls or Decrees are a most palpable, impudent, and barefaced Forgery, has been, I may say, demonstrated by Two eminent Critics (1), to whom I refer the Reader. I shall only observe here, that the Decree in favour of the Hospital was forged before the Time of Gregory VII. For that Pope, of all Popes the most assuming and arrogant, quotes it to justify his having excommunicated and deposed *Henry IV.* as if this good Pope had decreed, that Kings and Princes should be excommunicated and deposed for much less Crimes than those the Emperor was guilty of, whom he had excommunicated and deposed. If the blessed GREGORY, says he, in a Letter to the

(1) Launois in Diff. de Princ. St. Medard. et Du Pin de antiq. Eccl. Discip. Discert. 7.

Year of
Christ 594.

Dreadful
Ravages
committed by
the provoked
Lombards.

The following Year the good Pope was wholly employed in procuring some Relief for the Inhabitants of *Italy*, most miserably harassed by the *Lombards* on the one Side, and by the Imperial Officers on the other. The Exarch *Romanus* had concluded a Peace with *Agilulph*; but the King being obliged, soon after the Conclusion of the Peace, to turn his Arms against some of his Dukes, who had revolted, the Exarch, laying hold of that Opportunity, broke unexpectedly into the Territories of the *Lombards*, surprised some of their Cities, and returned to *Ravenna*, loaded with Booty. *Agilulph*, provoked at that Breach of Faith, invaded in his Turn the Territories of the *Greeks*, viz. the Exarchate, and the Dukedom of *Rome* (L), and there continued several Months, laying them every-where waste with Fire and Sword. The many Calamities, which the unhappy People suffered on that Occasion, are pathetically described by *Gregory* in his Letters and Homilies; for, like a good Pastor, he strove to improve to the Advantage of his Flock every Opportunity that offered, exhorting them to mend their Lives, and repent of their Sins, the true Source of all their Calamities. Now, says he in one of his Homilies, *we hear nothing around us, but Lamentations and Groans; now we see nothing, to what Side soever we turn our Eyes, but Objects of Compassion and*

Bishop of *Mentz*, though a Man of a most meek Spirit, decreed, that Kings; who transgressed his Statutes only concerning an Hospital, should be deposed, excommunicated, and damned in the last Judgment, who will blame us for having excommunicated and deposed Henry, not only a Despiser of the Apostolic Judgments, but a most wicked Plunderer, a most outrageous Destroyer, of the Church herself? None surely will blame us for so doing, but such as are as wicked as he (1). The other Instances, alleged by that Pope to ascertain the deposing Power, are no better grounded than this; and hence the seditious and antichristian Doctrine concerning that Power which his Successors held, and sometimes practised, was justly, and agreeably to History, styled, by the Church of *Liege*, the Schism (2), and, by *Sigebert*, the Heresy of *Hildebrand* (3). The pretended Decree of *Gregory*, in be-

half of the Monastery of *St. Medard*, was not, it seems, yet forged, when *Gregory VII.* excommunicated the Emperor; else he would not have failed to quote that, as he did the other.

(L) The rest of *Italy*, except the City of *Naples*, and some other maritim Cities, was at this time in the Hands of the *Lombards*. *Autharis*, the Predecessor of *Agilulph*, had reduced *Sannium*, with the City of *Beneventum*, and the greater Part of *Campania*; nay, he is said to have advanced even to *Rhegium*, on the farthest Point of *Italy*, and, riding into the Sea, to have struck with his Spear a Pillar that stood there, saying, *Thus far shall the Bounds of the Lombards extend*. A Pillar was still standing there in the Time of *Paulus Diaconus*, known by the Name of *Autharis's Pillar* (4).

(1) Greg. VII. l. 8. ep. 21. et l. 4. ep. 2. 23.
t. 7. p. 521. (3) Sigebert. chron. ad ann. 1008.

(2) Ecclef. Leod. apud Bin.
(4) Paul. Diac. l. 3. c. 16.

Year of
Christ 594.

Horror. Our Castles are dismantled and destroyed; our Cities lie buried in their Ruins; our Lands lie untilled, and our most populous Places are now become Deserts. Few Inhabitants now remain; and, of the few, who still remain, some are daily murdered, others are carried into Captivity, and some appear daily before us, whose Hands have been cut off by the merciless Enemy. To what a deplorable Condition Rome is reduced, Rome once the Mistress of the World, we all know, we all see and feel¹. The Catholic Religion, which the Lombards and their King had lately embraced, produced, it seems, no great Change of Manners either in them, or in him. Gregory, to put a Stop to so destructive a War, which had now lasted 26 Years, caused Proposals for a Peace to be made to Agilulph, who seemed inclined to agree to them, not finding himself then in a Condition to lay Siege either to Rome or Ravenna, both Cities being defended by strong and numerous Garisons. But the Exarch, who reaped great Advantages from the War, and was not affected, as Gregory was, with the Miseries of the People, would hearken to no Terms whatever; nay, he complained to the Emperor of the Conduct of the Pope, as if his Holiness had suffered himself to be over-reached by the politic and crafty King of the Lombards.

Proposals for a Peace offered by Gregory to the King of the Lombards; but not approved by the Exarch.

The Emperor, giving an entire Credit to the Exarch, wrote to Gregory, declaring himself, in his Letter, greatly dissatisfied with his Conduct, and styling him a simple and unprovident Man for depending on the Faith of Agilulph, who, he said, wanted only a short Respite to refresh his harassed Army, that he might afterwards pursue the War with new Vigour, and better Success. That Treatment the Pope resented, but within the Bounds of his usual Modesty and Respect in addressing the Emperor. My Lords, says he in Answer to the Emperor's Letter, designed to have spared me, but in truth they have not spared me, in laying on me their most serene

The Emperor dissatisfied with the Conduct of the Pope. Year of Christ 595.

Commands, and reproaching me with my Conduct. For they call me a simple Man, that is, in more courtly Terms, a Fool. Simplicity without Prudence is Foolishness; and therefore my most serene Lords, calling me a simple Man, and, at the same time, charging me with Want of Prudence in my late Negotiations with the King of the Lombards, call me a Fool, and think I have acted as a Fool. But it is not for myself that I am concerned, nor

His Letter to the Emperor on that Occasion.

¹ Greg. in Ezech. hom. 18. et l. 4. ep. 35. 38.

Year of
Christ 595.

Should I take any Notice of my being thus derided and despised, were I not sensible that the public Welfare is at stake. My Advice is rejected and disregarded; and, in the mean time, the Enemy becomes daily more formidable, and more outrageous. Agilulph has advanced to the very Gates of the City. I myself have seen Romans carried off, with Ropes about their Necks, like so many Dogs, to be sent into Gaul, and sold there. I do not complain, most pious Lord, of your entertaining a bad Opinion of me; my Sins deserve it, and I hope it will, in some Degree, atone for them. But let me advise you not to confide in all indifferently, nor hearken to all; let Facts have more Weight with you than Words^m.

*He complains
to the Em-
press of the
Cruelty and
Avarice of
the Imperial
Ministers.*

The Emperor's Letter has not reached our Times; but, from Gregory's Answer, it appears, that *Mauricius* was strangely prejudiced against the Pope; and that he wrote to him in very sharp, not to say abusive Terms, reproaching him not only with Simplicity, but even with Want of Veracity. But that Treatment, however undeserved, Gregory resented no otherwise than in the manner we have seen. He thenceforth, indeed, forbore writing to the Emperor concerning the Affairs of *Italy*; but frequently complained to the Empress *Constantina* of the Cruelty and Avarice of the Imperial Officers. In one of his Letters, he tells her, That *Stephen*, who had been sent from *Constantinople* to guard the Coasts of *Sicily*, committed such Rapines in that Island, so many Acts of Violence, as could hardly be contained in a large Volume; that the Inhabitants of the Countries, which were still subject to the Empire, suffered more from the Officers, who were sent to defend them, than from the Enemy, who came to attack them; that the *Coriscans* in particular were loaded with such Taxes as obliged them even to sell their Children, to raise Money, by that means, for the Collectors; that they thereupon repaired, in great Numbers, to the *Lombards* in *Italy*, leaving the Island almost quite destitute of Inhabitants. He adds, That the Emperor's Ministers had all combined to defend each other, though guilty of the greatest Extortions; and therefore defeated all his Endeavours for concluding a Peace with the *Lombards*, which they well knew would leave no farther room for the heavy Taxes, with which they enriched themselves under the Pretence of carrying on the War. He closes his Letter with earnestly intreating the

Empress to acquaint his most pious Lord with these Grievances, that, by speedily redressing them, he may avert the Judgments, which must otherwise fall upon him, and his Family ⁿ. But *Constantina* either did not think it advisable to lay the Complaints of *Gregory* before the Emperor; or if she did, he hearkened no more to her than to him. The Pope was attended with better Success in his Application to Queen *Theudelinda*, who, at his Request, prevailed on the King to withdraw his Troops from the Territories of *Rome*, and lay aside all Thoughts of besieging that City.

But the unhappy State of *Italy* was not the only thing that engaged, at this time, the Thoughts and Attention of the Pope. The Bishop of *Constantinople* was now distinguished, all over the East, with the pompous Title of *Oecumenical* or *Universal Patriarch*; and *Gregory* found that he had so styled himself over and over again, in a Judgment which he had lately given against a Presbyter arraigned of Heresy, and which, at the Request of the Pope, he had transmitted to *Rome*. At this *Gregory* took the Alarm, and forgetting all other Cares, as if the Church, the Faith, the Christian Religion, were in imminent Danger, he dispatched, in great Haste, a Messenger, with Letters to *Sabinianus*, his Nuncio at *Constantinople*, charging him, as he tendered the Liberty, wherewith Christ has made us free, to use his utmost Endeavours with the Emperor, with the Empress, and above all with the Bishop himself, his beloved Brother, to divert him from ever more using the proud, the profane, the antichristian Title of *Universal Bishop*, which he had assumed, in the Pride of his Heart, to the great Debasement of the whole Episcopal Order. The Nuncio, in Compliance with his Orders, left nothing unattempted, which he thought could make any Impression on the Patriarch, assuring him that, unless he relinquished the odious Title, which had given so great an Offence to the Pope, he would find in him a formidable Antagonist, not to say an irreconcilable Enemy *. But the Patriarch was not a Man to be easily frightened; and therefore told the Nuncio, that indeed he was sorry his most holy Brother of *Rome* should have taken any Umbrage at so inoffensive a Title, since he could have no just Reason to take any; but as it had been bestowed, and bestowed by so great a Council, not on him alone, but on him and his Successors, it was not in his

Year of
Christ 595.

But in vain.

Gregory
alarmed at
the Title of
Universal
Bishop, as-
sumed by the
Patriarch of
Constanti-
nople.

Writes to his
Nuncio, at
the Imperial
Court.

Who cannot
persuade the
Patriarch to
relinquish it.

* Idem l. 4. ep. 33.

* Greg. l. 4. ep. 39.

* See above, p. 459.

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Christ 595.

Power to resign it, nor would his Successors stand to his Resignation, if he should. As for the Emperor and the Empress, they declared, that they would be no-ways concerned in that Affair. However, the Emperor wrote, on this Occasion, to *Gregory*; but it was only to exhort him to live in Peace with the Bishop of the Imperial City, lest a Misunderstanding between them in particular should be attended with a general Misunderstanding between the East and the West ⁹.

*Writes again
to his Nuncio.*

The Pope received, at the same time, the Emperor's Letter, and an Answer from his Nuncio, informing him, that he had by no means been able to prevail on the Patriarch to quit his new Title, and that he seemed disposed to maintain it at all Events. The Pope was greatly concerned at the Obstinacy of the Patriarch, as he styled it; but more to find, that the Emperor had at all interfered in the Quarrel. He therefore wrote again, without Loss of Time, to his Nuncio, ordering him to renew his Remonstrances with the Patriarch, and, if he still found him inflexible, to separate himself from his Communion, that the See of *St. Peter* might not seem to connive at his Pride and Ambition. As to his living in Peace with his most holy Brother and Colleague, agreeably to the Desire of the Emperor, he declares, That he has nothing more at Heart; and that would *his most Serene Lord* only oblige his beloved Brother, as in Justice he ought, to renounce his new Title, he would have thereby the Merit of establishing a lasting Peace between the Two Sees, and preventing the Evils, which he seemed to apprehend from their Disagreement. He closes his Letter with the following remarkable Words: *It is very hard, that, after we have parted with our Silver, our Gold, our Slaves, and even our Garments, for the public Welfare, we should be obliged to part with our Faith too; for to agree to that impious Title is parting with our Faith*: so that

*The Title of
Universal
Bishop heretical,
in the
Opinion of
Gregory.*

the Title of *Universal Bishop* was, according to *Gregory*, heretical in itself; and, in his Opinion, none could either assume it, or acknowledge it in another, without apostatizing from the Faith. *Sabinianus*, the Pope's Nuncio, communicated to the Patriarch the Contents of this Letter, as soon as he received it. But the Patriarch was so far from yielding, that, on the contrary, he loudly complained of the Pope for thus opposing, with so much Warmth, a

⁹ Greg. l. 4. ep. 39.

^r Idem ibid.

Title which none but himself thought, or could think, in the least derogatory to the Authority of any other Bishop or Patriarch. Here-
 upon the Nuncio, pursuant to the express Order of the Pope, re-
 nounced his Communion.

Year of
Christ 595.

Gregory, finding the Endeavours of his Nuncio proved all un-
 successful, resolved to write no more to him, but immediately to
 the Patriarch himself; which, he said, he had hitherto declined,
 lest he should be obliged to find fault with a Man, of whose
 Sanctity and Virtue he had ever entertained the highest Opinion.
 He wrote to him accordingly, a long Letter, loading the Title of
Universal Patriarch or *Bishop* with all the Names of Reproach and
 Ignominy he could think of; calling it *vain, ambitious, profane,*
impious, execrable, antichristian, blasphemous, infernal, diabolical;
 and applying to him, who assumed it, what was said by the Pro-
 phet *Isaiab* of *Lucifer*: *Whom you do imitate, says he, in assu-*
ming that arrogant Title? Whom but him, who, swelled with Pride,
exalted himself above so many Legions of Angels, his Equals, that
he might be subject to none, and all might be subject to him? It
 was then, in the Opinion of Gregory, imitating *Lucifer*, for any Bi-
 shop to exalt himself above his Brethren, and pretend all other
 Bishops to be subject to him, and himself to be subject to none.
 And has not this been, for many Ages, the avowed Pretension and
 Claim of the Popes? *We declare, say, define, and pronounce it to*
be of Necessity to Salvation, for every human Creature to be sub-
ject to the Roman Pontiff, is a Decree issued by Boniface VIII.
Four hundred and Fifty Years ago. The Apostle Peter, continues
 Gregory, *was the first Member of the Universal Church. As for*
Paul, Andrew, and John, they were only the Heads of particular
Congregations; but all were Members of the Church under one
Head(C), and none would ever be called UNIVERSAL. The Meaning

Gregory
writes to the
Patriarch.

The Title of
Universal
Bishop anti-
christian,
blasphe-
mous, infer-
nal, diabo-
lical.

Christ alone
Head of the
whole
Church.

* Isa. xiv. 12, 13, &c.

* Extrav. com. l. 1. tit. 8. c. 1.

(C) In some printed Copies, the Name of *Peter* was added here, and the Passage read thus: *All Members of the Church, under one Head PETER.* An Interpolation that would have well served the Purpose, had not Gregory been thereby evidently

made to contradict himself (1). In the same Passage most of the Manuscript Copies have, *Peter, the First of the Apostles, was a Member of the Universal Church;* and all the printed Copies, *Peter, the Apostle, was the First Member, &c.*

(1) Staplet. Princ. doctrin. l. 6. c. 7.

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Christ 595.

of Gregory is obvious; viz. That the Apostles themselves, though Heads of particular Congregations or Churches, were nevertheless Members of the Church Universal, and none of them ever pretended to be the Head of the whole Church, or to have Power and Authority over the whole Church, that being peculiar to Christ alone. This agrees with what he had said before, addressing himself to the Patriarch; viz. *If none of the Apostles would be called Universal, What will you answer on the Last Day to Christ, the Head of the Church Universal? You, who, by arrogating that Name, strive to subject all his Members to yourself?* For it was not the bare Title of *Universal Bishop* that thus alarmed Gregory, but the *Universal Power and Authority*; which he apprehended his Rival aimed at in assuming that Title. The Pope adds: *But this is the Time which Christ himself foretold; the Earth is now laid waste and destroyed with the Plague, and the Sword; all things, that have been predicted, are now accomplished; the King of Pride, that is, Antichrist, is at hand; and, what I dread to say, an Army of Priests is ready to receive him* (A); *for they, who were chosen to point out to others the Way of Humility and Meekness, are themselves now become the Slaves of Pride and Ambition* *. Here the Pope treats the Bishop of Constantinople as the Fore-runner of Antichrist, for taking upon him the Title of *Universal Bishop*, a Title, which he pretends to have been rejected by one of his Predecessors, though offered to him, and in him to all the Bishops of the Apostolic See, by no less a Council than that of *Chalcedon*. But that he was therein certainly mistaken, has been elsewhere shewn † (B).

The Pope writes to the Emperor, and the Empress, against the Patriarch.

The Pope wrote, at the same time, to the Emperor, and the Empress *Constantina*, inveighing, throughout both Letters, against his most holy Brother (for so he styled him), as one who strove, by a most wicked Attempt, to enthral the whole Church, as one equal in

* Greg. l. 4. ep. 32.

† See above, p. 98.

(A) All the antient Manuscripts have *Sacerdotum ei præparatur exercitus*. But in most of the printed Copies the Word *exercitus* has been changed into *exitus*, as if the Priests were not to join, but to oppose Antichrist, and be destroyed by him (1).

(B) Gregory received the Four first Councils, as the Four Gospels. How then could he think a Title offered by one of them, *blasphemous, heretical, infernal, diabolical*?

(1) See Thom. James, in vindic. Greg. p. 666.

Pride to *Lucifer* himself, as the Fore-runner of Antichrist, &c. repeating here what he had written to the Patriarch himself ^u. He begs the Emperor, in the Name of St. *Peter*, to controul, by his Authority, the unbounded Ambition of a Man, who, not satisfied with being Bishop, affected to be called the sole Bishop of the Catholic Church. It was therefore, according to *Gregory's* way of Reasoning, all one to be called *Universal Bishop*, and *Sole Bishop*. He alleges several Reasons to convince the Emperor, that, in the Church, there can be no *Universal Bishop*; and the following among the rest: *If there were an Universal Bishop, and he should err, the Universal Church would err with him*: which was evidently supposing every Bishop, even an Universal Bishop, to be capable of erring. From his Letter to the Empress, it appears but too plainly, that, in thus opposing, with so much Warmth, the Title of *Universal Bishop* in his Brother of *Constantinople*, and inveighing against that Prelate, in the manner we have seen, for assuming it, he was actuated by Jealousy as well as by Zeal. For, in that Letter, after declaiming, in the sharpest and most poignant Terms, against the Title, as quite antichristian, against the Patriarch, as a Disturber of the Peace, and the good Order established by Christ in the Church, against all who any-ways countenanced, encouraged, or upheld him, in so *impious* and *detestable* an Attempt, he addresses the Empress thus: *Though Gregory is guilty of many great Sins, for which he well deserves thus to be punished, Peter is himself guilty of no Sins, nor ought he to suffer for mine. I therefore, over and over again, beg, intreat, and conjure you, by the Almighty, not to forsake the virtuous Steps of your Ancestors, but, treading in them, to court and secure to yourself the Protection and Favour of that Apostle, who is not to be robbed of the Honour that is due to his Merit, for the Sins of one who has no Merit, and who so unworthily serves him* ^w. Here *Gregory* plainly shews, that, after all, the Honour and Dignity of St. *Peter*, and his See, were at the Bottom of the whole Opposition. *He is not actuated by Zeal alone.*

The Remonstrances of the Pope made no more Impression on the Emperor, or the Empress, than they had made on the Patriarch himself; nay, *Mauricius* rather favoured the Patriarch, though he declined openly espousing his Cause, thinking the Title of *Universal*

^u Greg. l. 4. ep. 32. 34.

^w Greg. l. 4. ep. 34.

Year of
Christ 595. *Bishop* well suited the Rank and the Dignity of the Bishop of the Imperial City. Of this *Gregory* was well apprised; but yet, not despairing of Success, and determined to leave nothing unattempted, which he thought could be attended with any, he wrote to the Two other Patriarchs, *Eulogius* of *Alexandria*, and *Anastasius* of *Antioch*, striving to alarm them, and persuade them to join, as in a common Cause, against the Bishop of *Constantinople*, who, he said, giving the Reins to his unbounded Ambition, had nothing less in his View than to degrade them, and engross to himself all Ecclesiastical Power and Authority. But the Two Patriarchs were not alarmed; the Bishop of *Constantinople* was already raised above them; and they were not so jealous of the Power that was left them, as to be under any Apprehension of its being usurped or invaded by their Brother of *Constantinople*, at least in virtue of his new Title. Besides, both Patriarchs had signed and approved the Decree, intailing the disputed Title on *John*, and his Successors; and that they are, not improbably, supposed to have done, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* might be thereby encouraged to protect them, as well as his other Brethren in the East, against the growing Power, and daily Encroachments of the Bishop of *Rome*, backed and supported by his Brethren in the West. *Anastasius* of *Antioch* even took the Liberty to express no small Surprise at the Pope's being alarmed, to such an extraordinary Degree, at a thing which, as it appeared to him, was of very little Moment, and not at all worthy of the Trouble which his Holiness gave himself about it.

John of Constantinople died.
Year of
Christ 596. Most of these Letters were written in the Month of *July*, of the present Year; and in the Latter-end of the same Year, or the very Beginning of the next, died *Gregory's* great Antagonist, *John* of *Constantinople*; and, after a Vacancy of some Months, *Cyriacus* was chosen in his room. *John* is now honoured by the *Greek Church* as a Saint; an Honour to which he had at least as good a Claim as the best of the Popes, if what *Nicephorus* and *Theophylactus* write of him be true; viz. That though the Son of a Mechanic, he was raised to the Patriarchal Dignity, for his eminent Virtues; that he was a vigilant Pastor, and so affected with the Miseries of others, as to abridge himself even of the Necessaries of Life to relieve them; that he was very sparing in his Diet; practised all Sorts of Austerities, but was chiefly remarkable for his Abstinence, and the long

Fasts,

Gregory.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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Fasts, which he frequently observed; whence he was surnamed *the* ^{Year of} *Fastor*. From *Gregory's* Letters it appears, that he was not easily ^{Chrſt 596.} prevailed upon to accept the Episcopal Dignity; and that he had even attempted, as *Gregory* had done, to withdraw himself from it by Flight. For the Pope reproaches him with exercising the Episcopal Dignity, after he had attempted to save himself from it by Flight, in such a manner as if he had courted it with the greatest Ambition *y*.

Cyriacus was no sooner ordained, than he sent, according to Custom, his Confession of Faith to the Pope, and to the Bishops of the other great Sees. His Letter was accompanied with one from the Bishops, who had ordained him, and another from the Emperor himself; both filled with such Commendations of the new Patriarch, that they deserved to be called Panegyrics rather than Letters. The Pope received the Messengers, who brought these Letters, with all possible Marks of Kindness and Esteem, approved the Confession of Faith, received *Cyriacus* to his Communion, and, congratulating, in his Answer, both the Emperor and the Bishops, on the Election of a Person of so much Merit, added to the Praises, which they had bestowed on him, others of his own; for he had been intimately acquainted with him, while he was Nuncio to *Pelagius II.* at the Court of *Constantinople* *z*. In these Letters he took no Notice of the new Title, as neither the Bishops, nor the Emperor, nor *Cyriacus* himself, had taken any Notice of it in their Letters to him. However, at this very time, when he received the new Patriarch to his Communion, and owned his Faith to be, in every respect, Orthodox, he wrote to *Sabinianus*, his Nuncio at *Constantinople*, not to communicate, nor assist with him at divine Service, till he renounced for ever the *proud* and *impious* Title, which his Predecessor had *wickedly* assumed *a*.

The Messengers made but a very short Stay at *Rome*, as the Winter approached, and the City was threatened with a Siege. For *Agilulph*, the *Lombard* King, being desirous of a Peace, that he might be at Leisure to settle the Affairs of his Kingdom, and therefore provoked, beyond measure, at the Exarch's rejecting the Conditions he had offered, broke into the Territories of the Empire with more Rage and Fury than he had ever yet done, laid waste

^y Greg. l. 4. ep. 38.

^a Idem l. 6. ep. 5, 6, 7.

^a Idem ibid. ep. 15.

Year of
Christ 596.

the *Roman* Dukedom, over-ran *Campania*, burnt the Towns, which he had formerly spared, reduced the City of *Cortona*, and carried with him into Captivity the Inhabitants of that, as well as all other Places, which he could not have easily kept, as they lay at a great Distance from *Pavia*, the Royal Seat of the *Lombards* ^b. This opened

*The unbound-
ed Charity of
Gregory, in
relieving the
Poor, and
redeeming the
Captives.*

a large Field to the Charity of *Gregory*, who, pitying the Condition of the unhappy Captives, not only expended himself large Sums on their Ransom, and more than he could well spare, but, with his Letters, encouraged other Bishops to so charitable a Work, even allowing them, on that Occasion, to sell the sacred Vessels and Utensils ^c. In *Rome* the Number of the Poor was greatly increased, and the Country having been far and near ravaged by the provoked *Lombards*, Provisions of all Kinds were sold at most exorbitant Rates; insomuch that there were, as *Gregory* witnesses, no fewer than Three thousand sacred Virgins in the City, who had been obliged, though that Winter proved very severe, to part with their Garments, and the very Coverings of their Beds, for Subsistence ^d. But of the many, who thus suffered, whether under the Pressures of Thralldom or Poverty, few there were who did not feel the comfortable Effects of the Pope's unbounded Compassion and Charity. As the Revenues of his See, though at this time very considerable, were not alone sufficient to supply the Wants of so many unhappy People, he took the Liberty, on so pressing an Occasion, to recur not only to the Bishops his Brethren, but to the great Men, his Friends, in the East as well as the West; and they all readily assisted him with large Supplies; so that the Poor were relieved, and great Numbers of Captives redeemed, though the most wicked *Lombards*, as he styles them though now good Catholics, exacted most exorbitant Sums for their Redemption ^e.

*A Council
held at Rome.*

Gregory did not suffer his Attention to be so ingrossed by these Works of Charity, as to neglect any other Duty of his Pastoral Office. For he held, this Year, a Council at *Rome*, where some Canons were issued, none of any great Moment, concerning the Ecclesiasti-

*Gregory un-
dertakes the
Conversion of
the Saxons in
Britain.*

cal Discipline ^f. It was in this Year too, that, extending his Care to the most distant Kingdoms and People, he undertook to convert the *Saxons*, our Ancestors, and sent, for that Purpose, a Company of

^b Idem l. 5. ep. 29. 30. 60.
^e Greg. l. 6. ep. 9. 21. 23.

^c Idem ibid. ep. 13.
^f Concil. t. 5. p. 1198.

^d Idem l. 6. ep. 23.

Missionaries, with *Austin* at their Head, into *Britain*: an Undertaking that ought ever to be remembered by the *English* with Gratitude. When he first formed this Design, or what first gave Occasion to it, is not well known. *Bede*, in one Place, ascribes it to a holy Inspiration ^g, and in another to a generous Compassion in *Gregory* at his seeing, several Years before he was Pope, some *English* Children of a very graceful Aspect, exposed to Sale in the public Market at *Rome* ^h. The latter Opinion was adopted by *Joannes Diaconus*, in his Life of *Gregory*, as it has been since by most other Historians (A).

But whatever gave Occasion to that Undertaking, *Austin*, and his Companions, all Monks of *Gregory's* own Order and Monastery,

^g Bed. Eccles. Hist. l. 1. c. 23.

^h Idem ibid. l. 2. c. 1.

(A) But I cannot help thinking, with the learned Archbishop *Parker* (1), that the venerable Historian was misinformed with respect to that Particular. For though it is not to be questioned but the barbarous Custom obtained among the *English* of selling their Children, when overstocked, not only before, but long after their Conversion to the Christian Religion (2); yet it is not at all probable, that their Parents, or others, would have been at the Expence of sending them from *Deira*, or the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, so far as *Rome*, with which City they had no kind of Communication, or Intercourse, when they had a much nearer Market for the Sale of their young Slaves in *France*. For that they were commonly sold there, appears from a Letter of *Gregory* to *Candidus*, the Steward of the Patrimony of St. *Peter*, in that Country, wherein he requires him to buy such *English* Slaves as were to be sold, under the Age of Seventeen or Eighteen, and send them to *Rome*, to be brought up there in the Monasteries. As they were Pagans, the Pope desires they may be attended, in their Journey, by a Presbyter, to baptize them, should he find any of them in Danger of dying on the Road (3).

What, most probably, prompted and encouraged *Gregory* to attempt the Conversion of the *Saxons* or *English*, was his

being informed, at this time, perhaps by *Bertha*, the Wife of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, perhaps by the *French* Bishop *Luidhard*, who attended her, that the *English* Nation were very desirous, *desideranter velle*, of receiving the Christian Faith. Of this good Disposition in the *English* he speaks in his Letter to the Two Brothers *Thierry* or *Theodoric* and *Theodebert*, Kings of *France*; and complains to them of their Priests and Bishops, who, though the Neighbours of the *English*, yet neglected them, as he had been informed, and took no Care to second, with their Exhortations, the Desires of that Nation (4). Here the Pope seems to intimate, as if those, whoever they were, who applied to him, had first applied to the *Gallican* Bishops, and not to him, till their Application to them had proved unsuccessful; which indeed is highly probable, if we suppose the Application to have been made either by the Queen, or the Bishop, who were both of that Nation. I shall only add here, that I have too great an Opinion of the Zeal of *Gregory* to believe, that, if he had formed the Design of converting this Nation so many Years before he was Pope, he would have delayed the Execution of that Design till the Sixth Year of his Popedom, tho' he might have as well executed it in the First as the Sixth.

(1) Park. in Antiq. Britann. p. 34.
l. 5. ep. 10.

(2) Selden. Analect. l. 2.
(4) Greg. l. 5. ep. 58.

(3) Greg.

Year of
Christ 596.

Austin sent
into Britain.

But a pusil-
lanimous
Apostle.

the Monastery of St. *Andrew*, set out from *Rome* this Year, the 150th, says *Bede*, after the Arrival of the *Saxons* in *Britain* ⁿ (A). *Austin* was not, it seems, so fond of propagating the Gospel, and converting Infidels to Christ, as to expose his own Person, on that Account, to any great Danger : and for him *England* might have remained unconverted to this Day. For, on his Arrival in *France*, the faint-hearted Missionary was so terrified at the Character they gave him thereof the *English Saxons*, so discouraged at his being unacquainted with their Language, that, his Zeal giving way to his Fears, he left his Company, and, returning to *Rome*, remonstrated against the Undertaking as absolutely impracticable ; and begged the Pope to excuse him from pursuing it. *Gregory* had more Zeal than *Austin* ; and it was well for *England* he had. Instead of yielding to the vain Fears and Apprehensions of the pusillanimous Monk, he either removed or allayed them, and sent him back, with an encouraging Letter to his Brethren ^o, recommending him at the same time by Letters, no fewer than Eleven, all dated the 23d of *July* of the present Year, to the *Gallican* Bishops, to the Kings *Theodoric* and *Theodebert*, to Queen *Brunichild*, and to a Patrician named *Arigius* ^p. *Austin*, thus encouraged and recommended, returned to his Company in *France* ; and there I shall leave him for the present, to view *Gregory*, exerting his Zeal, a Zeal indeed of a very different Nature, on another Occasion.

The Pope had ordered his Nuncio at *Constantinople*, as has been related above, not to communicate with the new Patriarch, unless he agreed to renounce the *profane* Title of *Universal Bishop*. But to *Cyriacus* it seemed quite strange and unaccountable, that the Pope should have approved of his Confession of Faith, as in every respect Orthodox, should have received him to his Communion as a Catholic Bishop, and yet ordered his Nuncio not to communicate with him. He therefore dispatched one to *Rome*, with the Character of

ⁿ Bed. l. 1. c. 22.
57, 58, 59.

^o Greg. l. 4. ep. 57.

^p Idem l. 5. ep. 53, 54, 55, 56,

(A) It is to be observed, that *Bede*, in his Computations, does not reckon, as all the other *English* Historians do, from the Year 449. in which the *Saxons* arrived in *Britain*, but from the Year 447. in which they were invited into *Britain*. If there-

fore we either add Two Years to his Numbers, or deduct Two from the Numbers of the other Historians, we shall constantly find an intire Agreement between them and him.

his *Apocrisarius* or Nuncio, to try whether he might not appease and satisfy the Pope by some other means, than by relinquishing his Title; for that he was no less determined to defend and maintain, than *Gregory* was to combat and oppose it. The Pope received the *Apocrisarius* in a most obliging manner, and even admitted him to his Communion; but, at the same time, let him know, that he could not, and never would, approve of, or connive at, so *scandalous*, so *profane*, so *blasphemous* a Title; that there could be no Peace (for *Cyriacus* had, in his Letter, exhorted him to Peace and Concord) between him and his beloved Brother, till the Cause of their Discord was removed; and that, if he could only prevail upon himself to part with the *Badge of Pride*, *typum superbiae*, which his Predecessor had wickedly assumed, he would thereby establish an everlasting Harmony between the Two Secs. 9. What he said to the *Apocrisarius* he repeated in a Letter, which he wrote soon after to the Patriarch himself, and sent by the Deacon *Anatolius*, appointed, at this time, to succeed *Sabinianus* in the Office of Nuncio, at the Imperial Court. In that Letter he positively affirms, that, *whoever calls himself Universal Bishop, or desires to be so called, in the Pride of his Heart, is the Forerunner of Antichrist*; *Ego fidenter dico, quod quisquis se universalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua, Antichristum præcurrit*; are *Gregory's* own Words; though *Baronius* has not thought fit to quote them, being well apprised, that they utterly overturn the System of the present Controversy, as stated by him. But of this hereafter.

Year of
Christ 596.

Cyriacus attempts to appease the Pope without relinquishing the Title of Universal Bishop.

Year of
Christ 597.

Whoever calls himself Universal Bishop, the Forerunner of Antichrist.

The Pope answered, by the same Deacon *Anatolius*, a Letter, he had received from *Eulogius* of *Alexandria*, which had given him great Satisfaction. It has not reached our Times; but, from the Pope's Answer, it appears to have been filled with the most fulsome Flattery. *Gregory*, however, was pleased with it so far as it extolled and magnified the Dignity and Prerogatives of the See of *St. Peter*. For he tells the Patriarch, that the Praises, which he has been pleased to bestow on the See of *St. Peter*, have been the more acceptable, as they came from one who held the same See, and who consequently could not pay the Honour that was due to the See of *Rome*, without paying, at the same time, the Honour that was due to his own. Ought not his Praises on that score to have been

Gregory's Answer to a Letter from the Bishop of Alexandria.

⁹ Idem l. 6. ep. 31.

^{*} Idem l. 6. ep. 30.

Year of
Chr. 597.

rather suspected? *Who does not know*, continues the Pope, *that the Church was built and established on the Firmness of the Prince of the Apostles, by whose very Name is imported a Rock, Petrus a Petra vocatur? Who does not know, that to him it was said, I will give unto thee the Keys, &c. Feed my Sheep, &c (A). Hence, though there were several Apostles, yet there is but one Apostolic See, the See of the Prince of the Apostles, that has acquired great Authority; and that See is in Three Places; in Rome, where he died; in Alexandria, where it was founded by his Disciple St. Mark; and in Antioch, where he resided himself Seven Years.*

He equals the
Sees of Alex-
andria and
Antioch to
the See of
Rome.

These Three therefore are but One See, and on that One See sit Three Bishops, who are but One in Him, who said, I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you. Here the Pope manifestly equals the Sees of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* to that of *Rome*. But of them he entertained no Jealousy, and the Point he had in view was to humble his great Rival the Bishop of *Constantinople*; which he was sensible he could do by no other means more effectually, than by engaging the Two other Patriarchs in the present Quarrel. He therefore very artfully made their Sees and his but one See, them and himself but one Bishop; that, looking upon the Injury done, by the Bishop of *Constantinople*, to him and his See, as done to them and their Sees, they might join him as in a common Cause, against a common Rival.

* See above, p. 234; 235, Note D.

* John xiv. 20.

(A) *All the Apostles received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven (1). What is said to Peter, is said to the Apostles (2). It was said to Peter alone, I will give thee, &c. but the Keys were given to all the Apostles (3). When it is said to Peter, Feed my Sheep, it is said to all (4). Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock, &c. upon this Rock, which thou hast confessed, upon this Rock, which thou hast known, saying, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God, I will build my Church; that is, upon myself, the Son of the living God, I will build my Church: I will build thee upon me, not me upon thee. For the Rock was Christ, and upon him Peter himself was built (5). Thus were the Passages, quoted by Gregory, un-*

derstood by the Fathers. But the Popes, by often repeating them, and always interpreting them, as if they related to St. Peter alone, brought the greater Part of Mankind to believe, that they were really to be so understood; that St. Peter alone had the Keys, as he alone is painted with the Keys; that St. Peter alone was the Rock, the Shepherd, who was to feed Christ's Sheep, &c. and that the other Apostles were no more than his Deputies or Curates. We shall see him hereafter, not only raised by the Popes above all the other Apostles, but by one of them, Boniface VIII. blasphemously exalted into the Partnership of the undivided Trinity (6).

(1) Hier. in Jovin. 1. 14.

(2) Ambros. in Psal. 38.

(3) Optat. 1. 7.

(4) Aug. de Agon. Christi. decret. l. 1. tit. 6. c. 17.

(5) Aug. Serm. 13. de verbis Domini.

(6) Sexti

Eulogius wrote, about this time, another, no less flattering Letter, to the Pope, wherein he even styled him *Universal Pope*; probably with a Design to try whether he might not put an End to the Quarrel between the Two Bishops, by giving to both the Title, about which they quarrelled. This was no bad Expedient; but the Reasons alleged by the Pope to prove it was *wicked, heretical, blasphemous, antichristian, diabolical*, in the Bishop of *Constantinople*, equally proved, it was *wicked, heretical, &c.* in himself. He therefore rejected it with great Indignation, remonstrated against its being given to him, with as much Warmth as he had ever remonstrated against its being given to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, nay, and thought it an Affront that it had ever been offered him. *If you give more to me*, says the Pope, in his Answer to *Eulogius*, *than is due to me, you rob yourself of what is due to you. I chuse to be distinguished by my Manners, and not by Titles. Nothing can redound to my Honour that redounds to the Dishonour of my Brethren. I place my Honour in maintaining them in theirs. If you call me Universal Pope, you thereby own yourself to be no Pope. Let no such Titles therefore be mentioned, or ever heard, among us. Your Holiness says, in your Letter, that I commanded you. I commanded you! I know who you are, who I am. In Rank you are my Brother, by your Manners my Father. I therefore did not command; and beg you will henceforth ever forbear that Word. I only pointed out to you what I thought it was right you should know.* The whole Drift of this Letter was, as the Reader must have observed; to draw, and in a manner to sooth, the Patriarch of *Alexandria* into the present Dispute. But neither he, nor any other Bishop, joined him, at least in the East; nay, as they had given the Patriarch of *Constantinople* that Title, they all, but the Bishop of *Alexandria*, who would not concern himself in the Quarrel, thought themselves bound to maintain and defend it.

Gregory therefore, being now at a Loss whom next to recur to, for the Emperor and the Empress both favoured the Patriarch, bethought himself of a new kind of Opposition, which was to oppose to the lofty and proud Title of *Universal Bishop* the meanest he could think of, flattering himself, that his Rival might be thus brought to quit that Title, or at least be ashamed ever to use it.

¹ Greg. l. 7. ep. 36.

Year of
Christ 597.

Gregory
takes the
Title of The
Servant of
the Servants
of God.

With this View he took to himself the humble Title of *The Servant of the Servants of God*, which his Successors have all retained, and use to this Day, even when they command the *Servants of God* as their Lords and Masters: *We the Servant of the Servants will and command*, Volumus et jubemus. But the Word *Servant* has no more Meaning now at the Beginning of a Bull, than at the Close of a Letter; nor had it indeed more in the Time of *Gregory*, who, notwithstanding all his Protestations of Humility, maintained the Papal Power as high as any of his Predecessors; lowering it indeed in Words, but not in Facts. His Humility therefore availed him nothing on the present Occasion; the Bishop of *Constantinople* still kept the controverted Title; and the Pope was obliged to acquiesce for the present.

Austin ar-
rives in Bri-
tain.

His great
Success.

To return now to the *Roman* Missionaries: Having provided themselves with Interpreters, they passed over, this Year, from *France* into *Britain*; landed in the Isle of *Thanet*; were there favourably heard by King *Ethelbert*, and allowed by him to preach the Gospel in his Kingdom. A proper Habitation was assigned them in the City of *Canterbury*, where the Court resided, and the Queen had a Chapel; and there they preached, they instructed, they wrought Miracles, *that shone*, says *Gregory*, upon the Information of *Austin*, who wrought them, *like those of the Apostles*, and were attended with such Success in their Apostolic Labours, that, before this Year was ended, they converted more than Ten thousand *English*, who were all baptized on *Christmas-Day* ^u. I only hint at these Particulars, as they are already well known, and related at Length by all our Historians. But I cannot help observing, that though *Austin* and his Companions were very instrumental in the Conversion of the *English* Nation, yet certainly the Glory was not all theirs. Queen *Bertha*, as *Bede* styles her, or *Aldiberga*, as she is called by others, had a great Share in that Glory; and she deserves too well of this Nation to be robbed of it. She was not only a Christian, but a most religious Princess; and, if *Gregory* is to be credited, she had prepared the Mind of the King for the Reception of the Faith, long before *Austin* set Foot in this Island ^w. As she was allowed, by the Articles of her Marriage, the free Exercise of her Religion, she had several Chaplains to attend her, among whom was a Bishop, and a

^u Greg. l. 7. ep. 30.

^w Greg. l. 9. ep. 59.

Gregory.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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Chapel, where Divine Service was publicly performed ^a. It is therefore highly probable, considering the Zeal of the Queen for the Christian Religion, that many of the *English* were converted before *Austin* or any other *Roman* Missionaries were thought of: it is at least certain, from the Letters of *Gregory* ^y, that many were desirous of being converted; and, on the other hand, it is quite improbable, that the Queen, who had her own Bishop and Chaplains, would have suffered those, who desired to be converted, to continue in their idolatrous Worship, and put off their Conversion, till the Arrival of Missionaries from *Rome*. To me it appears more probable, that great Numbers were converted; and that it was upon the Queen's finding the *Harvest was plenteous, and the Labourers were few*, that she applied first, as was natural, to the *Franks* or *French*, who were her Countrymen, and at hand, and, being disappointed by them, to the Pope. She therefore was the first Author of this Undertaking; and the Success that attended it, was more owing to her Example, Protection, and Influence, than to the Miracles, or the Preaching, of *Austin*. As for the King, he is said by *Bede* to have been converted this Year ^z; but in this he was probably mistaken, since *Gregory* takes no Notice of his Conversion or Baptism, in the Account he gave to *Eulogius* of *Alexandria*, of the Conversion of Ten thousand *English* baptized on *Christmas-Day*. The Example of the King was followed by many of the Nobles, and great Multitudes of the People; nay, that it was chiefly out of Complaisance to the King that most of them were converted, appears too plain from their returning to Paganism, as soon as he died. The King forbid, at first, all Violence and Compulsion, as *Bede* expressly observes ^a; but that some kind of Compulsion was afterwards used, perhaps when the Christian Party began to prevail, is manifest from what the same Historian writes elsewhere; *viz.* That the Pagan Worship being restored by *Eadbald*, those whom the Fear of *Ethelbert* had brought to profess Christ, followed, agreeably to their Inclination, the Example of their new Prince ^b. The *Roman* Missionaries had no great Occasion to boast of such Proselytes; for the Death of *Ethelbert* was attended with almost a general Apostasy of the People, in Spite of all the Miracles the Missionaries had wrought, or could work, to prevent it.

Year of
Christ 597.

*The Queen
very instru-
mental in the
Conversion of
this Nation.*

*The King
converted.*

^a Bed. Eccles. hist. l. 1. c. 25.
c. 5.

^a Bed. l. 1. c. 26.

^y Greg. l. 5. ep. 58, 59.
^b Idem l. 2. c. 5.

^a Bed. l. 2.

Year of
Christ 598.

Gregory's
Negotiations
with the
Lombards
unsuccessful.

The following Year was chiefly employed by the Pope in Negotiations with *Agilulph* King of the *Lombards*, and *Arnulph* the *Lombard* Duke of *Spoleti*; but they all proved unsuccessful, the Exarch, and the other Imperial Officers, who reaped great Advantages from the War, refusing to hearken to any Overtures of Peace. On this Occasion *Gregory* wrote to the Bishops of *Cagliari* and *Tarracina*, desiring them to oblige their Clergy to guard and defend the Walls, and even to bear Arms, and fight, when their Assistance was required or wanted. Thus did *Gregory*, says *Baronius* ^d, take upon him the Care of the State, as well as the Church; and his Conduct was neither disapproved by the Emperor, nor the Exarch; they both therefore owned and revered a Royal Authority in the Royal Priesthood; an Inference, that no Man could ever have thought of but himself!

The Pope
alarmed at
the News of
a Council to
be held at
Constanti-
nople.

While *Gregory* was thus employed, he received Letters from *Constantinople*, that gave him no less Concern than the bad Success of his Negotiations with the *Lombards*. For by them he was informed, that the Bishop of *Constantinople*, whose Conduct we may very well imagine he narrowly watched, had appointed a Grand Council to meet in that City, and had summoned, with the Consent and Approbation of the Emperor, all the Bishops of the East to attend it. Upon this Intelligence, the Pope, apprehending the disputed Title would be confirmed by that Council, and that they were to assemble for that Purpose, took the Alarm; and, to prevent in time the Execution of such a *wicked* and *detestable* Design, wrote and dispatched, in great Haste, a circular Letter to all the Bishops in the East, earnestly entreating, praying, and conjuring them, not to suffer themselves to be over-reached by the Craft and Subtlety of designing Men, nor to be brought, by any Persuasions, Allurements, Rewards, or Terrors, to concur in so *impious* an Attempt; but to defend and protect, with an Apostolic Firmness and Constancy, the Flock of Christ against the *Robber* that sought to devour it. In the same Letter he exhorts the Bishops not only to be watchful, and upon their Guard, that nothing be transacted in their Assembly, directly or indirectly, relating to the Confirmation of the *perverse* Title, but that no Decree be issued to the Prejudice of any Place or Person what-

He writes to
the Eastern
Bishops.

Year of
Christ 599.

^c Greg. l. 7. ep. 2. 20.

^d Bar. ad ann. 598. p. 118.

ever^e. But the Council, which thus alarmed the Pope, never was held; nor should we have known, but from this Letter, that it ever was thought of. Year of Christ 599.

The Pope was so afflicted this and the following Year with the Gout, and several other Complaints to which he was subject, that, ^{The Pope afflicted with several Infirmities.} during the whole time, he was seldom in a Condition to rise from his Bed. *I have been now Eleven Months,* says he in a Letter to ^{Year of Christ 600.} *Italica, a Woman of Distinction, confined both to my Bed and my Room, and so tormented with unrelenting Pains, that Life is become an unsufferable Burden. Death alone can relieve me; and I expect it daily, but expect it in vain^f.* And, in a Letter which he wrote the following Year to *Eulogius of Alexandria, I have been now near Two Years,* says he, *confined to my Bed, and in constant Torment and Pain; I have seldom been able to rise, and perform Divine Service even on the holy and festival Days; the racking Gout has rarely allowed me so long a Truce: I have been often forced, by the Violence of the Pain, to return to my Bed, when I scarce had left it, and there to seek some Relief from Sighs, and from Groans: my Pain is at one time excessive, and less at another; but never so small as to leave me entirely, never so great as to kill me. Thus I am every Day dying, and yet never die. But I am a great Criminal, and, as such, deservedly shut up in so painful a Prison. However, I daily cry out with the Psalmist, Bring my Soul out of Prison, that I may give Thanks unto thy Name g.* He was troubled with frequent Returns of these Complaints so long as he lived; but no Pains, no Infirmities, could ever divert him from any of the Duties of his Pastoral Office, or in any degree lessen his Attention to the Affairs of the State as well as the Church. For he not only wrote, in this and the preceding Year, a great Number of Letters to the Bishops of *Spain, France, Italy, and Africa*, concerning the Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the Extirpating of several Abuses that had crept into their respective Churches; but, resuming his Negotiations with the King of the *Lombards*, he prevailed upon him at last to agree to a Truce from the Month of *September* to the following *April*, to the unspeakable Satisfaction of the *Romans*, and the other Inhabitants of *Italy*. ^{Concludes a Truce with the Lombards.}

^e Greg. l. 7. ep. 70.

^f Idem, l. 7. ep. 127.

^g Idem, l. 8. ep. 35.

Year of
Christ 601.

Grants some
Exemptions
to the Monks.

The following Year the Pope held a Council at *Rome*, consisting of Twenty Bishops, all immediately subject to his See, Fourteen Presbyters, and Four Deacons; and, by that Council, was approved a Constitution of *Gregory* in favour of the Monks, who were thereby exempted, in some particular Cases, from all Subjection to the Bishops^b. This is the First Instance of that Nature we meet with in History; and it is evidently repugnant to the Canons of *Chalcedon*, subjecting the Monks, whether in Cities, or the Country, to the Bishop of the Diocese in which they lived, and pronouncing Excommunication against those who should withdraw themselves from his Jurisdictionⁱ. But of the Monks, and the Exemptions and Privileges granted them by the Popes, in Defiance of all the antient Canons, I shall hereafter have Occasion to speak more at large.

A new Colony
of Monks sent
into Britain.

The same Year *Gregory* sent, at the Request of *Austin*, a new Colony of Monks into *Britain*; and, laying hold of that Opportunity, wrote to the Kings and Bishops of the *Franks*, to return them Thanks for their good Offices to *Austin*, and recommend the Bearers to their

Gregory's
Letters to the
King and the
Queen.

Protection and Favour^k. He wrote at the same time to Queen *Bertha*, acknowledging the Share she had in the Conversion of the King^l; and to the King himself, to congratulate him on his Conversion, and to encourage him to abolish the Worship of the Idols in his Dominions, to pull down their Temples, and to strive, in Imitation of *Constantine*, to promote Piety and Virtue among his Subjects, by Exhortations, Menaces, Caresses, and, above all, by Example. He exhorts the King to hearken to the Instructions of *Austin*, and to be instructed by him; and lets him know, that the End of the World is at hand^m; which *Gregory* seems to have firmly believed. These Letters are all dated *June 601.*; but I can hardly believe, that, if the King had been converted in 597. as *Bede* supposes, the Pope would have so long delayed congratulating him on his Conversion. Either the King was not so early converted, or there is a Mistake in the Date of the Letters.

The Vanity of
Austin.

In the Account which *Austin* had sent to the Pope, of the Success of his Labours in *Britain*, he had taken care to relate and magnify the Miracles which God had been pleased to work by his Hand. *Gregory* was pleased with the Success; but, pitying the Vanity of the Man, he did not forget to furnish him, in his Answer, with pro-

^b Bar. ad ann. 601. p. 145, 146.
l. 9. ep. 55, 56. 49, 50. 52.

ⁱ Con. Chal. can. 4. et 8.

^j Idem ibid. ep. 59.

^k Greg.
^m Idem ibid. ep. 60.

per Reflections to cure itⁿ. However, as the Pope was unwilling to give him the least Discouragement, he extolled his Labours, exhorted him to pursue the Work which he had so happily begun, sent him the necessary Helps and Instructions to pursue it with Success; and, at the same time, the Resolution of the Questions which *Austin* had proposed. The Questions are too well known to be inserted here^o; and they can only give us a very mean Opinion of the Abilities of this great Apostle: and as to the Instructions, they do not at all redound to the Honour of *Gregory*. For, not satisfied with directing *Austin* not to destroy, but to reserve for the Worship of God, the profane Places where the Pagan Saxons had worshiped their Idols (O), he would have him to treat the more profane Usages, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Pagans in the same manner, that is, not to abolish, but to sanctify them, by changing the End for which they were instituted, and introduce them, thus sanctified, into the Christian Worship. This he specifies in a particular Ceremony; *Whereas it is a Custom, says he, among the Saxons, to slay abundance of Oxen, and sacrifice them to the Devil, you must not abolish that Custom, but appoint a new Festival to be kept either on the Day of the Consecration of the Churches, or on the Birth-day of the Saints whose Reliques are deposited there; and on these Days the Saxons may be allowed to make Arbours round the Temples changed into Churches, to kill their Oxen, and to feast, as they did while they were still Pagans; only they shall offer their Thanks and Praises, not to the Devil, but to God* p. This Advice, absolutely irreconcilable with the Purity of the Gospel-worship, the Pope founds on a pretended Impossibility of weaning Men at once from Rites and Ceremonies to which they have been long accustomed, and on the Hopes of bringing the Converts, in due time, by such an Indulgence, to a better Sense of their Duty to God. Thus was the Religion of the Saxons, our Ancestors, so disfigured and corrupted with all the Superstitions of Paganism, at its first being planted among them, that it scarce deserved the Name of Christianity, but was rather a Mixture of Christianity and Paganism, or Christianity and Paganism mould-

Gregory directs him to adopt the Pagan Ceremonies into the Christian Worship.

The evil Consequences thereof.

^a Greg. l. 9. ep. 58. ^c See Rapin. Hist. of Eng. p. 67. Edit. Lond. Folio.
^p Greg. l. 9. ep. 71. Bed. Eccles. hist. l. 1. c. 30.

(O) In this *Gregory* was unaccountably inconsistent with himself; for, in his Letter to the King, bearing the same Date with this, he exhorted him to pull down the Temples of the Idols.

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ed, as it were, into a Third Religion. What *Gregory* says may be true; *viz.* that by adopting the Rites of the Pagans, that is, by bringing the Christian Religion as near as possible to Paganism, the Pagans were the more easily induced to embrace it; but it is likewise true, that they were the more easily persuaded to renounce it, and relapse into Idolatry. And thus we may, perhaps, well account for the almost general Apostasy that ensued upon the Accession of *Eadbald*, who either had never embraced, or had abjured, the Christian Religion. The Multitude had, it seems, but a very superficial Knowledge of their new Religion; and the Rites and Ceremonies, which chiefly affected them, being the same in both Religions, they did not discover any material Difference between them; and therefore were as ready to renounce Christianity, and return to Paganism, as they had been to renounce Paganism, and embrace Christianity. The Indulgence, that was granted to the *Saxons* in *Britain*, had been granted before, and for the same Reasons, to the other Northern Nations that broke into the Western Empire. Those who brought them into the Church, the more easily to win them, suffered them to bring along with them many of their idolatrous Rites and Usages, hoping, as *Gregory* did, they would in time be prevailed upon to give them up. But it happened quite otherwise. For those Rites and Ceremonies, however heathenish, instead of being ever given up by them, were, by degrees, adopted by the Christian Inhabitants of the Countries where the New-comers settled. And thus the half Christians, for they were no better, remained half Christians, while the true Christians became half Pagans. Thus we may well account for the many Errors and Corruptions that overspread and disfigured the whole Face of the Church, after the Irruption and Conversion of the barbarous Nations that broke into the Empire in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. Their Usages were first connived at, and afterwards adopted by the Church. However, that these idolatrous Rites and Practices were not yet universally approved, even in the time of *Gregory*, appears from what we read at this very time of *Serenus*, the holy Bishop of *Marseilles*.

Serenus of Marseilles causes the Images throughout his Diocese to be pulled down, and broken.

The *Franks*, who had settled in the South of *Gaul*, had been indulged, at the time of their Conversion, in the Use of Images; and that Indulgence had insensibly brought them back to Idolatry; for, turning the Images of Christ into Idols, they paid them the same kind of Worship and Adoration, after their Conversion, which they had

had paid to their Idols before their Conversion. This *Serenus* could not bear; and therefore, to shew his Abhorrence of such Abominations, and at the same time to prevent them in time to come, he caused all the Images throughout his Diocese to be pulled down, and to be cast out of the Churches, and destroyed. That wise and zealous Prelate was, it seems, even then, when the dangerous Practice of setting up Images was yet in its Infancy, apprised of a Truth, which all have now learnt by the Experience of many Ages, all, at least, who care to learn it; *viz.* that *Images cannot be allowed, and Idolatry prevented*. However, this Instance of his Zeal for the Purity of the Christian Worship was very ill received at *Rome*. And indeed *Gregory* acted therein consistently with himself; for, having directed *Austin*, this very Year, to introduce the Pagan Rites and Usages into the Church, he could not but blame *Serenus* for thus excluding them; and he wrote to him accordingly, commending indeed his Zeal *in not suffering any thing to be worshiped, that was made with Hands*, but at the same time blaming him for breaking them *to prevent their being worshiped, since they served the Ignorant in the room of Books, and instructed, by being seen, those who could not read*. *Serenus* was so surprised at this Letter, and the frivolous Reason therein alleged in favour of Images, when his Flock had been led by them into the grossest Idolatry, that he could not believe it came from the Pope. But *Gregory* soon wrote a Second Letter to him, wherein he again found great fault with his Conduct, telling him, that to worship Images was indeed a heinous Crime, a Crime that could never be allowed or connived at, but ought by all means to be forbidden and prevented; that he should therefore call his People together, and shew them, from the Testimonies of Scripture, that it is not lawful to adore any thing that was made with Hands, because it is written, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God*: but, as to his casting them out of the Churches, and breaking them, it was the Effect of an inconsiderate and indiscreet Zeal, which he could not help condemning: *Though Images, says the Pope, were not set up in Churches to be worshiped, yet they serve to instruct the Ignorant; and it is one thing to adore an Image, another to learn from*

*Gregory dis-
approves his
Conduct.*

*Images not to
be worship-
ed.*

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No Images,
nor Pagan
Rites, al-
lowed during
the Three First
Centuries.

an Image what is to be adored (P). But the Reason on which the Pope seems to have laid the chief Stress, in censuring the Conduct of *Serenus*, was, that, by breaking the Images, and banishing them from the Churches, he would prejudice the Barbarians (that is, the *Franks*), among whom he lived, against the Christian Religion : so that it was chiefly to gratify the Pagans, who were converted, to facilitate the Conversion of the others, and to adapt the Christian Religion to their Ideas and Notions, that the Use of Images, and many other Rites of the Pagan Worship, were allowed in the Church. But how different was this Method of converting the Pagans from that which the Apostles pursued, and their immediate Successors, nay, and all Apostolic Men for the Three First Centuries after Christ? With them it was a Principle, not to sanctify, but utterly to abolish, all Pagan Rites, all superstitious Practices whatever, and introduce, in their room, a Plainness and Simplicity suited to the Worship of God, *in Spirit and Truth*. Upon that Principle Images of no Kind were suffered in the Churches during the Three First Centuries, as is allowed by several *Roman Catholic* Writers, and shall be demonstrated in a more proper Place ; nay, it was not till the Latter-end of the Fourth Century that the Pagan Temples began to be converted into Christian Churches. They had all, till then, been either shut up, or pulled down, the Bishops of those Times thinking it a great Profanation to worship God even in the Places where Worship had been paid to the Devil (Q). That primitive Plainness and Simplicity of Worship was still

(P) *Images were not set up in Churches to be worshiped, says Gregory: Images were set up in Churches to have due Honour and Worship paid them there, says the Council of Trent* (1). If therefore the Doctrine of *Trent* is the true Catholic Doctrine, the Doctrine of the Pope must, of course, be rank Heresy, and *Gregory the Great*, after all, a rank Heretic. It is true the Council will have due Honour and Worship to be paid to Images, for the sake of those whom they represent, and not for their own (2). But *Gregory* condemned, without Distinction or Limitation, all Worship of Images, as contrary to the Second Commandment ; nay, and

the Use of them for any other Purpose whatever, but that of Instruction. Besides, it is notorious, that, among the Vulgar, scarce One in a Thousand carries his Worship beyond the Image itself ; and, consequently, that scarce One can be found in a Thousand, who, in worshipping Images, is not guilty of the grossest Idolatry. The Council of *Trent* defined Images to be of great Advantage to the Faithful. But what Advantage can, in any degree, atone for the Idolatry of Thousands? But of Images, and Image-worship, I shall have Occasion to speak at large in the following Volume.

(Q) The famous Temple of *Heliopolis*,

(1) *Con. Trid. Sess. 25.*

(2) *Con. Trid. ibid.*

still retained, at the Arrival of *Austin*, by the *Britons*, by the *Scots*, and the *Picts*, who were therefore so shocked at the many Pagan Superstitions and Ceremonies introduced by that Monk into the *Saxon* Worship, that they looked upon it as no better than Paganism, and avoided, as *Bede* informs us ⁹, the Communion of those who came from *Rome* to establish it, as they avoided the Communion of the Pagans: nay, so great was the Aversion that the *Scots* in particular bore to all the *Roman* Missionaries, that *Dagamus*, a Bishop of that Nation, not only declined sitting with them at the same Table, but would not even lodge with them under the same Roof^r. I am well apprised, that this Aversion is generally ascribed to their disagreeing with those who came from *Rome*, about the Time of celebrating the *Easter* Festival. But who can believe, that the Bishops of these Three Nations, and the other Men of Piety and Learning among them, would have treated the *Roman* Missionaries, and their *Saxon* Proselytes, as Heathens or Pagans, on account of that Disagreement alone? The Religion, which the *Roman* Monks had preached and established, bore a great Resemblance to Paganism in its Rites, Ceremonies, and Worship, as we have seen; and to nothing else can we more naturally recur, to account for its being looked upon by the *Scots*, the *Britons*, and the *Picts*, as no better than Paganism.

With the above-mentioned Directions for changing the Pagan into Christian Usages, *Gregory* sent over to *Austin* a Plan for the Government of the *English-Saxon* Church, or a Model of the Hierarchy which he was to establish among the *Saxons* in *Britain*. But as that Plan or Model was never complied with, I shall only observe here, that *the Servant of the Servants of God* assumed, on that Occasion, an Authority that cannot be easily reconciled with his re-

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The great Aversion of the Britons, the Scots, and the Picts, to the Roman Missionaries, on what grounds.

Gregory subjects the British Bishops to the Jurisdiction of Austin.

⁹ Bed. Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 20.

^r Idem ibid. c. 4.

called *Balanium*, was the first I can find in History to have been converted into a Christian Church, about the Year 391 (1). About 20 Years after the magnificent Temple of the *Dea Cælestis* at *Carthage* was likewise turned into a Church, with the following remarkable Circumstance. It had been dedicated, when built, by one *Aurelius*, an Heathen High-priest, as appeared from the Inscription on the Frontif-

piece, *Aurelius Pontifex dedicavit*; and one of the same Name happening to be Bishop of *Carthage*, the famous *Aurelius*, when it was given to the Christians, it was by him dedicated to the Use and Service of the Christian Religion: so that the Inscription *Aurelius Pontifex dedicavit* served for the Christian as it had done for the Heathen Pontiff, and was therefore left untouched (2).

(1) Gothofred. Com. in Cod. Theodof. l. 16. tit. 10. mission. l. 3. c. 38.

(2) Procop. de Pro-

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peated Protestations of Humility, and his boasted Zeal for the Observance of the Canons. For, by that Plan, the *British* Bishops and Clergy were subjected to the Authority of *Austin*, as well as the *English*; the *British*, who had ever been absolutely independent on the Bishop of *Rome*, and over whom he could of course neither exercise nor claim any kind of Jurisdiction, without a manifest Breach of the Canons, and a barefaced Invasion of the Rights and Liberties of that Church (R).

As

(R) The Advocates indeed for the Papal Supremacy stiffly maintain the *British* Church to have been originally subject to the Bishops of *Rome*, and their See; but, as they do not allege a single authentic Instance (and I defy them to allege any) of their having ever exercised, or even claimed, before the Arrival of *Austin*, any Power or Jurisdiction whatever over that Church, they might maintain, with as much Colour of Truth, the *Grand Turk* to have once exercised an absolute Dominion and Power over this Island, and all its Inhabitants. The known Maxim, That Things, which do not appear, are as if they did not exist, is perhaps in no Case more unexceptionable than in this; for who can believe, that, had the Popes thought their Jurisdiction extended to the Churches of *Britain*, they would never have exerted, nor have once offered to exert, that Jurisdiction? As for the *Britons*, that they did not think *Rome* had any Authority over them, sufficiently appears from their peremptorily refusing to receive for their Archbishop, or Primate, the Person whom the Pope had placed over them as their Archbishop, or Primate (1). In what other manner could they disown the Papal Authority, at such a Distance from *Rome*? It happened, therefore, to the *British* Church as it did to several other Churches that were not within the Bounds of the Four great Patriarchates. Such Churches were governed by their Metropolitans, who were quite independent of any Patriarchal or superior Power, and therefore called by the *Greeks* *Αυτοκέφαλοι*. They regulated the

Affairs of their respective Provinces, made Canons, heard Causes, determined Disputes with their own Synods, from which there was no Appeal but to a General Council. That Power all Metropolitans enjoyed before the Patriarchal Power was set up in the Church; and such as were not within the Limits of any Patriarchate, continued to enjoy it after the establishing of that Power. Thus the Churches of *Cyprus*, of *Iberia* now *Georgia*, of *Armenia* in the East (2), and those of *Gaul*, of *Spain*, of *Britain*, in the West, all lying without the Bounds of the Patriarchates, which the Councils had fixed when they appointed the Patriarchs, owned no Power or Authority superior to that of their Metropolitans, Archbishops, or Primates. It was therefore with good Reason that the *British* Bishops declared (if we allow the *British* Manuscript quoted by *Spelman* to be genuine), that they were under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Caerleon* on the *Ulk*, who was under God (and under no other) their spiritual Overseer. For this was truly their Case; and the like Answer would the Bishops of *Gaul*, of *Spain*, of *Africa*, have returned in the like Case; and those too of *Cyprus*, of *Iberia*, of *Armenia*, had the Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, or *Antioch*, required Obedience or Subjection of them. I know that the *Roman* Patriarchate, and the Patriarchal Power of the Bishop of *Rome*, have, by some, been extended to all the Provinces of the West. But that they were, in the time of *Gregory*, still confined to the Suburbicarian Provinces, only with the Addition of *West-*

(1) Bed. l. 2. c. 2. (2) Balsam. in Con. Constant. 1. Can. 2. Con. Ephes. Aët. 7. Brerewood Enquiry, c. 17. Chytræus de Stat. Eccles. Marca de Primat. p. 122.

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As for the *English-Saxon* Church, he was at Liberty to settle its Hierarchy in what manner he pleased, the Councils having confined their Care to the Churches that were already established, and left such as were not, to the Wisdom, Discretion, and Zeal, of those whom God should chuse to establish them.

Great Change
of Affairs in
the State.

In the Month of *November* of the present Year happened a great Change of Affairs in the State, from which the See of *Rome* reaped no small Advantage, as I shall hereafter have Occasion to retate. The Emperor *Mauricius* was driven from the Throne, and inhumanly murdered, and one *Phocas*, a Centurion, raised to the Empire in his room. Of this remarkable Revolution Historians give us the following Account: The *Avares*, a *Scythian* Nation dwelling on the Banks of the *Danube*, who had broken into the Empire, being obliged by a violent Plague to return home, *Chagan* their King, not chusing to be incumbered with the many Prisoners he had taken, no fewer than 12,000, offered to set them at Liberty for a very inconsiderable Sum. But that Offer *Mauricius* rejected, partly out of Avarice, says *Cedrenus*, and partly out of Hatred to the Soldiers (S); which so provoked the King of the Barbarians, that he immediately ordered the

The Army
revolts.

Illyricum, has been unanswerably proved by the learned *Du Pin* (3). As therefore the Councils, that established the Patriarchal Power, restrained that Power within certain Limits, at the same time that they established it, it could by no Patriarch be extended farther, without an open Breach of the Canons and Rules of those Councils. The First Council of *Ephesus* in particular, one of the Four which *Gregory* received as the Four Gospels, on Occasion of an Attempt made by the Patriarch of *Antioch* on the Rights and Liberties of the *Cyprian* Churches, not only declared that Province exempt from his Jurisdiction, *because it did not originally belong to him*; but, to restrain the other Patriarchs from invading the Rights and Privileges of the independent Churches, at the same time decreed, that *no Patriarch should seize upon any Province that was not antiently under his Jurisdiction* (4). Now, as *Britain* was not antiently under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Rome*, it is manifest, that *Gregory* could

not pretend to any kind of Authority over the *British* Bishops and Clergy, without an open Breach of that Canon, as well as of the Canons of the other Oecumenical Councils ascertaining the Limits of each Patriarchate. Some, to justify the Conduct of the Pope, recur to the so often exploded Pretension or Claim to an *universal Jurisdiction by divine Right*. But that *Gregory* himself knew of no such Jurisdiction, is evident, beyond all possible Dispute, from his not only combating the Title of *Universal Bishop* in the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, but his rejecting it himself, in the manner we have seen.

(S) The greater Part of them had been concerned in a Mutiny at the Beginning of *Mauricius's* Reign: and probably their Captivity was chiefly owing to their cowardly Behaviour; for, in the late Reign, the military Discipline had been entirely neglected, and *Mauricius* spared no Pains to restore it.

(3) *Du Pin* de Antiq. Eccles. Discip. dissert. 1. p. 73. & seq.
Ephes. 1. Act. 7. Decret. de Episc. Cypr.

(4) Concil.

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*What occasioned this
Revolt.*

Phocas proclaimed.

Mauricius withdraws.

Phocas received at Constantinople, and crowned.

Captives to be all put to the Sword. This occasioned a Mutiny in the Army, which however was quelled for the present. But the Emperor, says the same Writer, having, in the End of the Campaign, to save the Pay of the Troops that had served on the *Danube*, ordered them to cross that River, and subsist, in the best manner they could, during the Winter, in the Enemy's Country, that Order produced a general Mutiny; the Soldiers betook themselves to their Arms, seized on their Officers, and, loading the Emperor with Reproaches and Curses, declared him unworthy to command them, and, with repeated Acclamations, proclaimed the Centurion *Phocas*, who was at their Head, Emperor in his room. The Revolt of the Army, and the Promotion of *Phocas*, were no sooner known at *Constantinople*, than the Populace, ever fond of Change, rising in a tumultuous manner, committed so many Outrages, and uttered such Threats against the unfortunate *Mauricius*, that, dreading the Effects of their Rage, he thought it advisable to retire from the City. He embarked accordingly, in the Dead of the Night, on a small Vessel, with his Wife and Children, proposing to retire to some Place of Safety, probably to the Church of St. *Euphemia*, at *Chalcedon*, a Sanctuary held in great Veneration all over the East. But he was driven back by contrary Winds, and, being at the same time seized with a Fit of the Gout, he reached, with great Difficulty, the Church of the Martyr *Autonomus*, about an Hundred and Fifty Furlongs from *Constantinople*. In the mean time *Phocas*, well acquainted with the good Disposition of the People of *Constantinople* towards him, advanced with long Marches at the Head of his Army, and, being arrived at the *Hebdomon*, in the Neighbourhood of the City, he was there received by the Governor, and the other Ministers of State, by the Senate, and by the Clergy and the Patriarch, who crowned him there the same Day, the 23d of *November*, after he had made his Confession of Faith, and promised to maintain the Peace, and the Rights, of the Church. Being thus crowned, and acknowledged by all Ranks of Men, he entered *Constantinople* on the 25th of the same Month, in a triumphal Chariot, attended by the Nobility, the Clergy, the Soldiery, and numberless Multitudes of People crouding from all Quarters of the City, to see their new Prince, and testify, with their Acclamations and good Wishes, their common Satisfaction and Joy at the Change. But what more inconstant and fickle than the Multitude? What more uncertain and variable than their Favour

Gregory.

BISHOPS of Rome.

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*He disoblige
the People.*

and Affection? A few Days after, the Two opposite Factions, the Blue and the Green, quarrelling at the public Sports in the Circus, while *Phocas* was present, his Guards, in attempting to appease the Tumult, happened to use very roughly a Tribune of the Blue Faction, the chief Author of the Disturbance. There wanted no more to estrange the Minds of that whole Party from their new Emperor, to change their Acclamations into Threats, and their Loyalty into Treason: *Mauricius*, they all cried out, *is not yet dead; he will do us Justice.* But the Menaces of the cowardly and impotent *Vulgar* served only to awake the Jealousy of the blood-thirsty Tyrant; and what Slaughter and Carnage did it not produce, when once awaked? Parties of Soldiers were immediately sent all over the Country, in Search of *Mauricius*; and he was soon discovered, dragged from his Sanctuary, and carried in Triumph, by the insulting Soldiery, over to *Chalcedon*. He had given no particular Provocation to *Phocas*, who was quite unknown to him; and yet the Tyrant, not satisfied with putting him to Death, for his greater Torment and Grief, ordered Five of his Sons to be first inhumanly murdered before his Face. Such a Scene of unparalleled Cruelty drew Sighs and Tears from all the Spectators, but *Mauricius* himself, who beheld the Death of his Children quite undisturbed, without shedding a Tear, without betraying the least Mark of Grief or Concern; nay, he was so far from uttering any Complaints, or repining at Providence, that the Woman, who was charged with the Care of his youngest Son, yet an Infant, having, with a Design to save it, placed her own in its room, he would not suffer the kind Fraud to take place, but discovered it to the Executioners. During the whole time of that Tragedy, the most shocking to the Eyes of a Parent that was ever exhibited, he continued in Appearance quite unaffected, only repeating, as each of his Children received the fatal Blow, *Just art thou, O Lord, and righteous in all thy Judgments.* *Mauricius* himself was beheaded the last; and their Heads were all brought to *Constantinople*, and cast in a Heap near the Tribunal, where they lay till they became offensive, and then the Tyrant suffered them to be buried with the Bodies *.

*Mauricius
dragged from
his Sanctu-
ary, and mur-
dered, with
Five of his
Children.*

Of the Imperial Family there still remained *Theodosius*, the eldest Son of *Mauricius*, *Peter*, the Emperor's Brother, the Empress *Con-*

*Theodosius,
the Empe-
ror's eldest
Son, and Pe-
ter, the Em-
peror's Bro-*

* Theophylact. l. 7. c. 1—17. et l. 8. c. 2. Cedren. ad ann. Phocæ 1. Niceph. l. 18. c. 41. Evagr. l. 5. c. 23.

ther, murdered.

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stantina, and Three Daughters. *Theodosius* had been dispatched by his Father into *Persia*, upon the first Intelligence of the Revolt of *Phocas*, to crave Assistance of his Friend *Cosroes*, whom he had lately restored to the Throne of his Ancestors. But, before the unhappy Youth could reach the Confines of that Kingdom, he was overtaken, and put to Death, by those whom the Tyrant had dispatched after him. *Peter*, the Emperor's Brother, underwent the same Fate about the same time γ . Of the Fate of the Empress, and her Three Daughters, I shall have Occasion to speak hereafter.

The Character of *Mauricius*.

The Antients all speak of *Mauricius* as a Prince commendable for many eminent Virtues, and subject to very few Vices. Some extol him, and, among the rest, *Gregory* himself, for the Purity of his Faith, and his uncommon Generosity in relieving the Distressed and the Indigent z ; others, for his great Piety, his Moderation, and the particular Care he took to maintain Peace and Tranquillity in the Church. *Theophylactus*, a contemporary Writer, tells us, that he was a generous Encourager of Learning, and learned Men; that he built a magnificent Church at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, in Honour of *St. Paul*; that he contributed a considerable Sum towards repairing the Aqueducts of *Constantinople*; nay, and that he remitted to all his Subjects the Third Part of the usual Tributes a . However, he is generally taxed with Avarice; and it was to that Vice he owed all his Misfortunes.

The Character of *Phocas*.

As to the Usurper, I shall give his Portrait and Character from *Cedrenus*: He was, says that Writer, of a middling Stature, deformed, and of a terrible Aspect: his Hair was red, his Eye-brows met, and one of his Checks was marked with a Scar, which, when he was in a Passion, grew black and frightful: he was greatly addicted to Wine and Women, blood-thirsty, inexorable, bold in Speech, a Stranger to Compassion, in his Principles a Heretic; and his Wife *Leontia* was no better than he b .

Phocas sends his own Image, and that of his Wife Leontia, to Rome.
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When he had slaughtered the Emperor, and his Six Sons, his next Care was, to cause himself to be proclaimed, and acknowledged for lawful Emperor, throughout the Empire; and, with that View, he sent, according to Custom, his own Image, and that of his Wife *Leontia*, who had likewise been crowned, to all the chief Cities, and, among the rest, to the City of *Rome*, where they were received, in the Month of *April* of the present Year, with loud Acclamations, the *Roman* People being highly incensed against *Mauricius*, on account of the

γ Cedren. ibid. et alii.

a Cedren. ad Phoc. ann. 1.

z Græg. l. 8. c. 2.

b Theophylact. l. 8. c. 13.

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How receiv'
there by the
Pope.

Gregory's
Letter to the
Usurper.

cruel Exactions of the Exarchs, and the other Imperial Ministers sent into *Italy*. But none, even among the Populace, could express more Satisfaction and Joy on that Occasion than the Pope. He received the Images with all possible Marks of Respect and Loyalty, caused them to be lodged in the Oratory of the Martyr St. *Casarius*, and immediately wrote Letters to the new Emperor, congratulating him on his Accession to the Imperial Crown, which, he said, was effected by a particular Providence, to deliver the People from the Oppressions under which they had so long groaned. His Letter begins thus; *Glory be to God in the highest, who, as it is written, changes Times, and removes Kings, and sets up Kings^b; who has made known to all what he was pleased to speak by his Prophet, The Most High rules in the Kingdom of Men, and gives it to whomsoever he will^c (A). Various are the Changes, and many the Vicissitudes, of human Life, the Almighty giving sometimes, in his Justice, Princes to afflict his People, and sending sometimes, in his Mercy, Princes to comfort and relieve them. We have been hitherto most grievously afflicted; but the Almighty has chosen you, and placed you on the Imperial Throne, to banish, by your merciful Disposition, all our Afflictions and Sorrows. Let the Heavens therefore rejoice, let the Earth leap for Joy, let the whole People return Thanks for so happy a Change (B). He then enumerates the Abuses of the late Administration, paints *Mauricius* as an absolute Tyrant, and closes his Letter with the following good Wishes: *May the Republic long enjoy these most happy Times! May God, with his Grace, direct your Heart in every good Thought, in every good Deed! May the Holy Ghost, that dwells in your Breast, ever guide and assist you, that you may, after a long Course of Tears,**

^b Dan. c. ii. ver. 21.

^c Ibid. c. iv. ver. 25.

(A) When the Bishops, who had ordained *Cyriacus*, in the Letter they wrote to *Gregory* on that Occasion, told him, that the new Patriarch had appeared in the Church like the Sun, and that they had therefore all cried out with one Voice, *This is 'be Day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it* (1); the Pope found fault with them for having used the Words of Holy Writ on so slight an Occasion (2).

(B) In the Reign of *Phocas*, says *Cedrenus*, and with *Cedrenus* all other Writers agree, *the unhappy People were overwhelmed with all manner of Calamities both public and private. The Air was infested, the Earth became barren, the Sea was frozen, and a general Mortality ensued of Men, Beasts, and Fishes* (3).

(1) Psal. cxviii. ver. 24.
ann. Phoc. 1.

(2) Greg. l. 6. ep. 7.

(3) Cedren. ad

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His Answer
to a Letter
from the
Usurper.

pass from an earthly and temporal to an everlasting and heavenly Kingdom c!

Phocas had not yet received the Pope's Letter, when he wrote one to the Pope, to complain, as appears from Gregory's Answer, that, at his Accession, he had found no Nuncio in *Constantinople* from his See, and to desire him to send one. For *Anatolius*, the last Nuncio, died during his Nunciature, and none had been yet sent to succeed him. To the Letter of *Phocas*, Gregory returned the following Answer: *What Thanks are we not bound to return to the Almighty, who has at last been pleased to deliver us from the Yoke of Slavery, and make us again enjoy the Blessings of Liberty under your Empire! That your Serenity has found no Deacon of the Apostolic See residing, according to Custom, in the Palace, was not owing to any Neglect in me, but to the Times, the late most unhappy and calamitous Times, when the Ministers of this Church all declined the Office that obliged them to reside in the Palace, and were even afraid to approach it. But, now that they know it has pleased the Almighty, in his Goodness and Mercy, to place you on the Throne, they fear no more, but exult and rejoice, and, courting the Office they declined before, fly to your Feet with inexpressible Joy.* In the same Letter the Pope recommends the Nuncio by whom it was sent, complains of the Calamities which *Italy* suffered still, involved in a War that had already lasted Thirty-five Years, and thus closes his Letter: *But we hope the Almighty, who has begun to relieve us, will complete what he has so happily begun; and that he, who has given us such pious Lords, will deliver us from our cruel Enemies. May the Holy Trinity, therefore, grant you long Life, that the later we have received the Blessings that flow from your Piety, the longer we may enjoy them d!*

His Letter to
Leontia.

At the same time the Pope wrote to *Leontia*; and his Letter to her is no less worthy of Notice than his Two preceding Letters to her Husband. *What Tongue, says he, can utter, what Mind can conceive, the Thanks we owe to God, who has placed you on the Throne to ease us of the Yoke with which we have been hitherto so cruelly galled? Let the Angels give Glory to God in Heaven; let us return Thanks to God upon Earth; for the Republic is relieved, our Sorrows are all banished. May the Almighty, who in his A*

* Greg. l. 11. ep. 38.

d Greg. l. 11. ep. 45.

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has made you our Emperors, make you likewise zealous Defenders of the Catholic Faith! May he endow your Minds with Zeal and Mercy; with Zeal to punish what is committed against God; with Mercy to bear and forgive what may be committed against yourselves! &c. May he grant to you, and to our most pious Lord, a long Reign, that the Comforts and Blessings we enjoy in it may be long! I should perhaps have intreated you to take under your particular Protection the hitherto most grievously afflicted Church of the Apostle St. Peter. But as I know you love God, I need not ask you to do, what I am sure you are ready to do of your own accord. For the more you fear God, the more you must love his Apostle, to whom it was said, Thou art Peter, &c. To thee I will give, &c. I do not therefore doubt but you take care to oblige and bind him to you, by whom you desire to be loosened from your Sins. May he therefore be the Guardian of your Empire; may he be your Protector on Earth; may he be your Advocate in Heaven, that after a long Course of Tears you may enjoy, in the Kingdom of Heaven, the Reward that is due to you there, for relieving your Subjects from the Burdens they groaned under, and rendering them happy upon Earth!

Who would have expected such Letters from a Christian Bishop to an Usurper, a Tyrant, a Murderer, a Regicide? Who would not have thought Gregory, of all Men, the most likely to reprove such a Monster? of all Men the least capable of becoming his Panegyrist, of applauding him in his Usurpation, Murders, and Tyranny? Gregory, I say, whose Manners and whole Conduct have hitherto appeared so irreproachable! But what Virtue can be proof in a Pope against the Jealousy of a Rival? What Virtue can restrain a Pope from employing even the most criminal Methods to defeat all Attempts that seem to have the least Tendency towards lessening the Honour and Dignity of his See? For that it was with this View, with the View of engaging the Tyrant, and his Wife, on his Side, and by that Means defeating the Attempt of the Patriarch to assume the Title of *Universal Bishop*, that the Pope commended, flattered, and extolled them in the manner we have seen, is manifest from his last Letter. For there he lets *Leontia* know what he expected in return for the Praises he bestowed upon her and her Husband; what Blessings they might both expect from St. Peter in Heaven, provided they took

Gregory's
Conduct, on
this Occasion,
inexcusable.

under their particular Protection his most grievously afflicted Church upon Earth ; that is, provided they obliged the Patriarch to quit the Title, which the Pope thought derogatory to the Honour, Dignity, and Interest of his See, and therefore looked upon as a most grievous Affliction. It was this the Pope aimed at in becoming the Panegyrist of an Usurper and Murderer. And does it not hence appear but too plain, that *Gregory*, however conscientious, just, and religious in his Principles and Conduct, when he did not apprehend the Dignity or Interest of his See to be concerned, acted upon very different Notions and Principles, when he apprehended they were concerned? For how can we reconcile with Conscience, Justice, or Religion, his bestowing on the worst of Tyrants the highest Praises that can be bestowed on the best of Princes? His courting the Favour of a cruel and wicked Usurper, by painting and reviling, as an absolute Tyrant, the excellent Prince, whose Crown he had usurped? His ascribing (which I leave *Baronius* to excuse from Blasphemy) to a particular Providence the Revolt of a rebellious Subject, and his seizing the Crown ; though he opened himself a Way to it by the Murder of his lawful Sovereign, and his Six Children, all the Male Issue of the Imperial Family? And, finally, his inviting all Mankind, nay, and the Angels of Heaven, to rejoice with him, and return Thanks to God, for the good Success of so wicked an Attempt, perhaps the most wicked and cruel that is recorded in History? *Gregory* had often declared, that he was ready to sacrifice his Life to the Honour of his See ; but whether he did not sacrifice, on this Occasion, what ought to have been dearer to him than his Life, or even the Honour of his See, I leave the World to judge ; and only observe here, that his reflecting, in the manner he did, on the Memory of the unhappy *Mauricius*, was in him an Instance of the utmost Ingratitude, if what he himself formerly wrote, and frequently repeated, be true ; *viz. That his Tongue could not express the Good he had received of the Almighty, and his Lord the Emperor ; that he thought himself bound in Gratitude to pray incessantly for the Life of his most Pious and most Christian Lord ; and that, in return for the Goodness of his most religious Lord to him, he could do no less than love the very Ground which he trod*^f. Can any Man compare these Letters with those which he

His Ingratitude to Mauricius.

^f Greg. l. 2. ep. 65. l. 7. ep. 48. l. 9. ep. 40.

wrote not long after to the Usurper, and his Wife, and not arraign him of the utmost Ingratitude?

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While the Pope was flattering *Phocas* in the manner we have seen, extolling his Clemency, rejoicing, and inviting all Mankind, and the Angels of Heaven, to rejoice with him, at the Happiness of the People under his mild Administration, the Tyrant was raging with unheard-of Cruelty against Persons of all Conditions and Orders. But his first and chief Care was to cut off the whole Imperial Family, Root and Branch, of which there still remained the Empress *Constantina*, and her Three Daughters, who had fled for Refuge to one of the Churches of *Constantinople*. But from thence *Phocas* ordered them to be taken by Force, and to be publicly executed. But they found in the Patriarch *Cyriacus* a kind Friend, and a generous Protector, who, opposing, with great Resolution and Courage, the Execution of that Order, would suffer no kind of Violence to be offered them in their Asylum. From this time *Phocas* conceived an irreconcilable Aversion to the Patriarch, which we shall soon see the Bishop of *Rome* artfully improving to the Advantage of his See. He did not however care to disoblige the Church in the very Beginning of his Reign; and therefore dissembling his Resentment for the present, he applied to the Empress herself, and, in the End, prevailed upon her with fair Words, and repeated Promises of Safety, confirmed by the most solemn Oaths, to quit her Asylum. But the faithless Tyrant no sooner had her in his Power, than he first caused her, and her Daughters, to be shut up in a Monastery; and soon after to be conveyed to *Chalcedon*, and there to be executed, on the Spot where her Husband, and her Five Sons, had suffered, a few Months before § (A). The Imperial Family being now entirely cut

Cruelties
practised by
Phocas.

§ Theophyl. hist. miscell. l. 17. c. 40. Niceph. et alii ubi supra.

(A) In the *Roman Martyrology* the Emperor is supposed to have had Three Daughters, who suffered with her, viz. *Sopatra*, *Eustolia*, and *Romana*, whose Festival is kept on the 9th of *November* (1): for they are worshipped as Saints, though nobody knows why they were sainted. But as the contemporary Historians all suppose the Imperial Family to have been intirely cut off in the Empress *Constantina*, and the Three Daughters, who suffered with her, viz. *Anastasia*, *Theodiste*, and *Cleopatra*, we may well rank the other Three with St. *Almachius*, or St. *Almanac*, with St. *Curandarum viarum*, and many other such like Saints, who never existed. Of the latter Saint the Reader will find an entertaining Account in *Reffendus* (2).

(1) *Roman. Martyrolog.* die 9 Novemb. p. 168.

(2) *Reffendus*, epist. ad Rebedium,

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off, the bloodthirsty Tyrant began to proceed, with the same inexorable Cruelty, against all their Friends, and all who had betrayed the least Compassion for them, or had borne any Civil or Military Employments in the late Reign. Thus, throughout the Empire, were Men of the First Rank and Distinction either daily executed publicly, or privately massacred. Some were first inhumanly tortured; others had their Hands and their Feet cut off; and some were set up as Marks for the raw Soldiery to shoot at, in learning the Exercise and Use of the Bow. The Populace met with no better Treatment than the Nobility, great Numbers of them being daily seized for speaking disrespectfully of the Tyrant, and either killed by his Guards on the Spot, or tied up in Sacks, and thrown into the Sea, or dragged to Prison, which by that means was so crowded, that they soon died, suffocated with the Stench and Noisomeness of the Place^h. Thus *Phocas* continued to rage uncontrouled so long as he reigned, though of such Cruelties, unheard-of, at least, since the Time of *Nero*, not the least Notice is taken, nor so much as a distant Hint given, in the many Letters *Gregory* wrote to his Friends in the East, as well as the West, during the Sixteen Months he lived after the Usurpation of the Tyrant: inso-much that had we no other Character of *Phocas*, but that which we find in the Letters of the Pope, he would well deserve to be ranked among the best Princes mentioned in History.

Gregory
greatly in-
disposed.

Receives the
the Ambassa-
dors of
Theude-
linda,
and answers
her Letter.
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Christ 604.

The following Year *Gregory* was seized with so severe a Fit of the Gout, that he could not, without the utmost Pain and Agony, write, dictate, or even stir. However, in that Condition, he received the Ambassadors, sent by *Theudelinda*, Queen of the *Lombards*, with a Letter, to acquaint him with the Birth and Baptism of her Son *Adaloaldus*; and even answered her Letter, congratulating her Excellency, for so he styles her, on the Birth of the young Prince, and commending her Zeal for the Orthodox Faith, in causing him to be baptized in the Catholic Church. By the same Ambassadors the Queen sent to the Pope a Writing, drawn up by an Abbot, named *Secundinus*, in Defence of the *Three Chapters*, which she begged the Pope to answer, for her Satisfaction, and the Ease of her Mind. For though *Theudelinda* communicated with the Pope, she was not yet quite convinced, that his See had not swerved from

^h Glyc. Annal. Constantin. p. 70. Cedren. Niceph. et alii.

the Faith of *Chalcedon*, that is, from the Catholic Faith, in condemning those *Chapters*, and receiving the Council, that had condemned them. But *Gregory* was not then in a Condition to answer the Objections of *Secundinus*, or to remove the Scruples of the Queen. *Nothing*, said he, in his Letter to her, *but my present Indisposition could have prevented me from complying immediately with your Desire, and solving all the Difficulties started by our most beloved Son the Abbot Secundinus. But I am so racked and tormented with the Gout, that I cannot stir; as your Ambassadors can witness, who found me very much indisposed at their Arrival, and leave me in great Danger of my Life at their Departure. But, if it pleases God to restore me to my Health, I shall return a full Answer to the Writing of the Abbot. In the mean time I send you a Copy of the Council that was held under the Emperor Justinian, of holy Memory (of the Vth Council), that my beloved Son Secundinus may be satisfied, in perusing it, that the Apostolic See has been very unjustly and very undeservedly aspersed. Far be it from us ever to approve or receive any heretical Doctrine, or ever to depart, in the least, from the Letter of our Predecessor, of holy Memory, that is, of Leo. Whatever has been defined by the Four Councils, we receive; whatever has by them been condemned, we condemn*¹. With this Letter the Pope sent the following Presents to the new-born Prince, and his Sister; *viz.* To the Prince a Cross, to wear at his Neck, in which were inclosed a Piece of the true Cross (A), and the Gospels, in a *Persian Box*; and to the Princess Three Rings, with precious Stones: and these he begged the Queen herself to deliver, which, he said, would make amends for the Smallness of the Present^k.

*His Presents
to her Children.*

The Pope promised to return a full Answer to the Writing of *Secundinus*, in Favour of the *Three Chapters*, if it pleased God to restore him to his Health; but God was pleased to dispose of him otherwise. For his Complaint, instead of abating, gained daily new

Gregory dies.

¹ Greg. l. 12. ep. 7.

^k Idem ibid.

(A) Such Quantities of Wood, supposed to be the Wood of the true Cross, are now in the Possession of private Persons, or shewn in the Churches, that, were they all put together, they would make a Burden too heavy for Ten Men to carry.

Great Numbers of them are therefore evidently false and counterfeit; and yet as they are all supposed to have touched the Body of Christ, they are all worshiped with Divine Worship.

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Christ 604.

Strength; and as he was quite worn out with Labour and Cares, it overcame him at last, and put an End to his Life, on the 12th of *March* of the present Year, after he had governed the *Roman Church* 13 Years, 6 Months, and 10 Days, including the Day of his Death. He was buried in one of the antient Porches of the Church of *St Peter*, and in that Church his Tomb is still to be seen under the Altar of the Apostle *St. Andrew*, whom he seems chiefly to have revered after his Brother *St. Peter*.

His Cha-
racter.

Gregory was undoubtedly a Man of extraordinary Abilities, equal in Parts to *Leo the Great*, and much superior to that Pope in Piety, Religion, and Virtue, though his Piety had a Monkish Turn, and in many Instances, seemed to degenerate into Superstition. The Antients all commend him as a vigilant, active, and indefatigable Pastor, as a Restorer of the decayed Discipline of the Church, as a most zealous Assertor of the Observance of the Canons, and, in short, as a Man, whom Providence had raised to the Episcopal Dignity, that he might serve, in all future Ages, for a Pattern of every Episcopal Virtue. *Whom, says Isidorus, can Antiquity shew equal to Gregory? Whom can Antiquity compare to Gregory? He surpassed Antony in Sanctity, Cyprian in Eloquence, and Austin in Knowledge and Learning*¹. The other Writers, who speak of him, seem to have all entertained as high an Opinion of his eminent Virtues as *Isidore*. And truly, if we consider him only as a Bishop, we must own him to have been possessed, in a very eminent Degree, of every Virtue becoming that Station and Character. He was a Stranger to all Pride; treated all other Bishops, even those who were immediately subject to his See, as his Collegues and Brethren; owned himself subject to the Temporal Powers, and readily submitted to their Will and Commands; was in his Disposition and Temper mild, tractable, compassionate, disinterested; an utter Enemy to all Pomp, Grandeur, and Shew; abridged himself often even of the Necessaries of Life, to relieve the Indigent, and redeem the Captives, applying the whole Revenue of his See to such charitable Uses; in short, he spared no Labour or Pains to procure the temporal Welfare, as well as the eternal, of the Flock committed to his Care. Hence, by some, he has been styled *the last Bishop of Rome*; and indeed it may be said, with too much Truth, that, of his many Successors,

¹ *Isidor. de vir. illust. c. 27.*

Gregory.

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Christ 604.

none have taken so much Care as he to acquit themselves, as they ought, of their Episcopal Charge; and, from his Days to ours, none have been sainted but one, *Pius V.* who excommunicated our Queen *Elizabeth*, of immortal Memory. However, it must be owned, that the Conduct of *Gregory*, as Pope, or Bishop of *Rome*, was not quite irreproachable. For he inviolably adhered, as I have observed above, to the Principle common to all Popes, from the earliest Times to the latest; *viz.* Never to part with any Power which his Predecessors had acquired, by what Means soever they had acquired it. By that Principle he was often led to transgress the Canons of the Church, at the very time he was asserting their Authority, and to maintain and exercise a Power which his Predecessors had usurped, in open Defiance of those sacred Laws, at the very time he owned them for the standing Measure of his own Power, and of that of every other Bishop. However, to do him Justice, I do not find a single Instance in History, of his having ever abused that Power; but many occur of his having employed and exerted it to the best Purposes, to correct what had been done amiss by other Bishops, to punish the Guilty, whom they had absolved, or absolve the Innocent, whom they had condemned. Upon the Whole, had the Revolution, of which I have spoken above, never happened, or had *Gregory* died before it happened, he would have had no Superior, and scarce an Equal, from the Times of the Apostles to the present. But the Part he acted on that unhappy Occasion, will be with all, who judge impartially of Men and Things, a Stain on his Character, which all his Virtues, however eminent, will never wipe out. And what can we expect from other Popes, when even a *Gregory* did not scruple to employ, and by employing to sanctify, in the Opinion of his Successors, the most criminal Methods to support and maintain the Dignity of his See?

As for the Writings of *Gregory*, no Pope has left so many Works behind him as he, from the Foundation of the *Roman* See to the present times. His Letters amount to 840; and, besides them, he wrote a Comment on the Book of *Job*, comprised in 36 Books; a Pastoral, or a Treatise on the Duties of a Pastor, consisting of Four Parts, and, as it were, of Four different Treatises; 22 Homilies on the Prophet *Ezekiel*; 40 Homilies on the Gospels; and Four Books of Dialogues. The Comment on the Book of *Job* is commonly styled *Gregory's Morals on Job*, being rather a Collection
of

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of moral Principles, than an Exposition of the Text. That Work, and the Pastoral, were antiently, and still are, reckoned among the best Writings of the Fathers. The Pastoral, in particular, was held in such Esteem by the *Gallican* Church, that all Bishops were obliged, by the Canons of that Church, to be thoroughly acquainted with it, and punctually to observe the Rules it contained; nay, and to remind them of that Obligation, it was delivered into their Hands at the Time of their Ordination. As for the Dialogues, they are filled with Miracles and Stories so grossly absurd and fabulous, that it would be a Reflection on the Understanding and good Sense of this great Pope to think, that he really believed them; the rather as for many of them he had no better Vouchers than old, doating, and ignorant People. He was the first who discovered Purgatory, and it was by means of the Apparitions and Visions, which he relates in his Dialogues, that he first discovered it: so that the Church of *Rome* is probably indebted to some old Man or old Woman for one of the most profitable Articles of her whole Creed. In this Work the Pope observes, that greater Discoveries were made, in his Time, concerning the State of departed Souls, than in all the preceding Ages together, because the End of this World was at hand, and the nearer we came to the other, the more we discovered it. The Apostles were 600 Years farther from the End of this World than *Gregory*, and consequently could not know so much of the other as he, and every old Woman in his Time.

Some of his
Writings
greatly cur-
tailed, or
interpolated.

The Works, which I have hitherto mentioned, are by all allowed to be genuine. But the Comments on the Book of the *Kings*, on the Seven Penitential Psalms, and *Solomon's* Song, are thought by the best Critics, to have been falsely ascribed to *Gregory*. As for the *Sacramentarium*, *Antiphonarium*, and *Benedictionarium*, they have been so curtailed in some Places, and interpolated in others, that no Man can know what in these Pieces was, and was not, written by *Gregory*^m. What *Damascene* gravely relates of this Pope, *viz.* That he prayed the Soul of the Emperor *Trajan* out of Hell, is now universally rejected as a Fable, though, in that Writer's time, that is, in the Eighth Century, it was universally believed, both in the East and the Westⁿ: so utterly unacquainted were Men, in that and the next following Ages, with the Doctrine which we are taught in the

His deliver-
ing the Soul
of *Trajan*
out of Hell,
now deemed
a Fable.

^m See Du Pin. t. 5. art. Greg.

ⁿ Damasc. in orat. de fidel. defunct.

Sabinian.

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Gospels; even Men of Learning: for the Delivery of *Trajan's* Soul out of Hell, by the Prayers and Intercession of *Gregory*, was firmly believed by *Damascene* himself, *whose great Knowledge and Erudition in all the learned Sciences nobody*, says the learned *Cave*, *in his Senses can deny* °. But may we not, in Matters of Faith and Religion, safely except against the Authority of such learned Men, for all their Erudition and Learning?

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Christ 604.

PHOCAS,

SABINIAN,

AGILULPH,
and his Son
ADALOALDUS,

} Kings of
the Lombards.

Sixty-fourth BISHOP of Rome.

IN the room of *Gregory* was chosen, and ordained on the 13th of September, after a Vacancy of Six Months, and One Day, the Deacon *Sabinian*. For now the Presbyters, who had nothing to recommend them but their Merit, were commonly overlooked, and the Deacons preferred, who, as they managed the Temporalities of the Church, had it in their Power to supply, by other Means, their Want of Merit. *Sabinian* was a Native of *Volterra* in *Tuscany*, and the Son of one *Bonus*. In the Year 593. he was sent by *Gregory* to reside at the Court of *Constantinople*, with the Character of his Nuncio to the Emperor *Mauricius*; and was recalled in 597. P; which is all we know of him before his Election. He enjoyed his new Dignity but a very short time; and rendered himself, even during the short time he enjoyed it, so odious to the *Roman* People, by his Avarice, and Cruelty to the Poor, that they could not forbear abusing and reviling him, where-ever he appeared, as quite unworthy of the Honour to which they had raised him. Indeed he gave them sufficient Provocation; for, a dreadful Famine raging at this time in *Rome*, the new Pope, unaffected with the Miseries of the People, ordered the Corn, which his Predecessor used to distribute among the Poor, to be sold at most exorbitant Rates, 30 *Solidi* a Bushel: and thus, while his Granaries were full, great Numbers of People perished daily with Hunger, under his Eyes. To lessen the Merit of *Gregory's* Generosity and Compassion for the Poor, and at

Sabinian
chosen.
Year of
Christ 605.

His Avarice
renders him
odious to the
Roman People.

° *Cave hist. Liter. Vol. I. p. 624.*

P *Greg. l. 2. ep. 52. et l. 6. ep. 24.*

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Christ 605.
He reviles
the Memory
of Gregory.

And stirs up
the Populace
against him,
who attempt
to destroy all
his Books.

In what
manner they
were saved.

the same time, to excuse the opposite Vices in himself, he omitted no Opportunity to inveigh against that excellent Man, loading his Memory with all manner of Reproaches, and charging him, in particular, with having wastefully spent, merely out of Ostentation, and a Desire of popular Applause, the Revenues of the Church, the Patrimony of the Poor, and, by his Prodigality, to have put it out of the Power of his Successor to afford them any Relief in their present Distress. No Man would believe, that such groundless Aspersions, such barefaced Calumnies, could have ever been credited in *Rome*; that in all *Rome* one Person could have been found so ungrateful as ever to forget the manifold Obligations the whole City owed to their great Benefactor. And yet he was scarce gone, when many, hearkening to the malicious Invectives of his Successor, began to revile his Memory, as if their present Calamities were all owing to him; nay, some there were who even suffered themselves to be wrought up, by the new Pope, and his Emissaries, to such a Pitch of Madness and Fury against the Man, whom they had but a few Months before revered as a Saint, that had they not been prevented by a *pious* and seasonable *Fraud*, they had, out of Hatred to him, destroyed all his Works. For they had already gathered together all the Copies of his Writings they could find, after a diligent Search, and brought them into the *Forum*, to consign them there publicly to the Flames. But *Peter* the Deacon, a great Admirer of *Gregory*, and his Writings, seasonably interposed, assuring the Multitude, that whatever *Gregory* had written, was dictated to him by the Holy Ghost, whom he himself had frequently seen, in the Shape of a Dove, whispering the holy Pontiff in the Ear, at the time he was writing. The Vision was believed, the Fury of the Populace was appeased, and the Writings of *Gregory* were saved ^q. Upon the Credit of that Vision *Gregory* is painted to this Day with a Dove at his Ear. The Deacon had probably read or heard of the Vision, or *pious Fraud*, by which *Julius Proculus* saved the *Roman* Senate, upon the Death of *Romulus*, from falling a Victim to the Fury of the Populace. Several Writers are of Opinion, that some of *Gregory's* Works actually perished, and several, that none of them perished on that Occasion ^r. However that be, it were much to be wished, for the Reputation

^q Joan. Diac. in vit. S. Greg. l. 4. c. 69.
Raynaud. de bonis et malis libris, n. 582.
Trithem. &c.

^r Bar. ad ann. 604. Theoph.
Sigebert Gemblacen. de vir. illustr. c. 41.

Boniface III. BISHOPS of Rome.

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and Credit of so great a Man, that, if any of them perished, the whole Four Books of his Dialogues had been in that Number. As for the Ingratitude of the *Roman* People to *Gregory*, it can only be matched by the Ingratitude of *Gregory* to the unhappy *Mauricius*, of which it may deservedly be thought a just Retaliation.

Sabinian had held the See but One Year, Five Months, and Nine Days, when he died, or was killed, as *Sigebert*, and after him, *Baronius*, would make us believe, by his Predecessor *Gregory*, who, having reprov'd him, say they, in Three different Apparitions, for his Covetousness, but reprov'd him in vain, gave him, in a Fourth Apparition, so dreadful a Blow on the Head, that he died soon after. His Death happened on the 22d of *February*; and he was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*. His Body was not conveyed to that Church in the usual Pomp through the City, but privately over the Fields, lest it should be insulted by the *Roman* People, satisfied at last, that the Miseries they suffered were owing to his Avarice, and not to the Prodigality of *Gregory*.

PHOCAS,

BONIFACE III.

AGILULPH, } Kings of the
ADALOALDUS, } Lombards.

Sixty-fifth BISHOP of Rome.

THE Death of *Sabinian* was followed by a Vacancy that lasted (and yet no Writer accounts for it) Eleven Months, and Twenty-six Days; that is, from the 22d of *February* 606. to the 19th of the same Month 607. when *Boniface*, the Third of that Name, was ordained, and placed in the Chair. He too was a Deacon of the *Roman* Church; was a Native of *Rome*, and was sent by *Gregory*, in the Year 603. to *Constantinople*, with the Character of his Nuncio, to congratulate, in his Name, *Phocas* and *Leontia* on their Accession to the Imperial Crown. His having been chosen by so great a Pope to discharge that Office, at so critical a Juncture, leaves no room to question his Address and Abilities. Upon the Death of *Gregory* he returned to *Rome*; and *Sabinian* dying soon after his Return, he was chosen to succeed him, as one who was not

* Sigebert. in Chron. Bar. ad ann. 605. p. 199.

† Anast. in Sabin.

Year of
Christ 607.

What chiefly
recommended
him to the
Roman Peo-
ple and Cler-
gy.

Prevails on
Phocas to
take the Title
of Universal
Bishop from
the Bishop of
Constanti-
nople, and to
grant it to
him, and his
Successors.

only well known to *Phocas*, but greatly favoured both by him and his Wife; for, by flattering the Usurper, as *Gregory* had done, and conniving at his Cruelties, if not applauding him in them, while the rest of Mankind exclaimed against him as an outrageous Tyrant, he had so insinuated himself into his good Graces, as to become one of his chief Favourites, or, as *Sigebert* writes, his only Favourite, being the only Person, in the whole City of *Constantinople*, who approved, or could so dissemble as to make the Tyrant believe he approved, of his Conduct. For that Merit alone he was chosen; and though he enjoyed his new Dignity but a very short time, for he did not even live to the End of the Year in which he was raised to it, yet it may truly be said, that to him alone the *Roman* See owes more than to all his Predecessors together. For he no sooner found himself vested with the Papal Dignity, than, taking advantage of the Partiality and Favour of *Phocas* to him, and of his Aversion and Hatred to the Patriarch *Cyriacus* (A), he not only prevailed on the Tyrant to revoke the Decree settling the Title of *Universal Bishop* on the Bishop of the Imperial City; but obtained, what no Man would believe could have ever come into the Thoughts of a Successor of *Gregory* to demand, were it not vouched by all the Historians to a Man^r; but obtained, I say, a new Decree, settling on himself, and his Successors, that very Title, which his immediate Predecessor but one, and, of all his Predecessors, the best and the greatest, had so often condemned in any Bishop whatever, and rejected, with the utmost Abhorrence, when offered to himself, as *vain, proud, profane, impious, execrable, blasphemous, antichristian, heretical, diabolical*. *Boniface* could not but know, that the controverted Title had been thus stigmatized over and over again by Two of his Predecessors successively, *Pelagius* II.^u, and *Gregory*; that whoever should give it to, or approve it

^r Paul. Diac. de gest. Longobard. l. 4. c. 11. Anast. et Platin. in Bonif. III. Sigebert. in chron. Otho Frising. chron. l. 5. c. 8. Rhegi. chron. l. 1. Albo-Flo-riac. Marian. Scor. Martin. Polon. Ursperg. in Paoc. Naucner. Sabell. Ennead. 8. l. 7, &c. ^u See above, p. 460.

(A) The Patriarch had been so impolitic as Tyrant, a Stranger to all Generosity, Hu-
to pity, and take into his Protection, the manity, and Compassion, could never for-
abandoned Empress *Constantina*, with her give (1).
Three innocent Daughters; which the

(1) See above, p. 537.

Year of
Christ 607.

The Title
granted by
Phocas, im-
proved by the
Pope into
Power.

The Origin
of the Papal
Supremacy.

The Claim of
the Bishop of
Constanti-
nople to the
Title of Uni-
versal Bishop
better
grounded
than that of
the Pope.

ing of 72 Bishops, 34 Presbyters, and all the Deacons and inferior Clergy of that City, he acted there as if he had not been vested with the Title alone, though *Phocas* probably meant to grant him no more, but with all the Power of an *Universal Bishop*, with all the Authority of a *supreme Head*, or rather *absolute Monarch* of the Church. For by a Decree, which he issued in that Council, it was *pronounced, declared, and defined*, that no Election of a Bishop should thenceforth be deemed lawful and good, unless made by the People and Clergy, approved by the Prince, or Lord of the City, and confirmed by the Pope interposing his Authority in the following Terms; *We will and command, volumus et jubemus* ². The Imperial Edict therefore, if we may so call the Edict of an Usurper, and a Tyrant, was not, as the Popish Writers pretend, a bare Confirmation of the Primacy of the See of *Rome*; but the Grant of a new Title, which the Pope immediately improved into a Power, answering that Title. And thus was the Power of the Pope as *Universal Bishop*, as *Head of the Church*, or, in other Words, the *Papal Supremacy*, first introduced. It owed its Original to the worst of Men; was procured by the basest Means, by flattering a Tyrant in his Wickedness and Tyranny; and was in itself, if we stand to the Judgment of *Gregory the Great*, *antichristian, heretical, blasphemous, diabolical*.

But, after all, the Popes new Title availed them very little for the present. For *Phocas* being killed Three Years after he had granted it, the Bishop of *Constantinople* reassumed it, and would no more acknowledge the Pope for *Universal Bishop*, than the Pope acknowledged him. And indeed no Man can doubt, but the Bishops of *Constantinople* had a far better Claim to that Title than *Boniface*, or any of his Successors. To the Bishops of *Constantinople* it had been given by Two lawful Emperors, in no fewer than Thirteen Laws ^a; and had been confirmed to them by a Council consisting of the Two other great Patriarchs, of all the Senators of the Imperial City, and all the chief Bishops of the East, after they had enjoyed it undisturbed for the Space of 200 Years, and upwards ^b. But as to *Boniface*, and his Successors, they had no other Right or Claim to it, nor could they plead any other, but what was grounded on the late Edict, that is, on the Will of an Usurper, and a lawless Tyrant.

^a Anast. Platina, &c. in Bonif. III. p. 458, 459.

^a See above, p. 459.

^b See above,

Baronius, Bellarmine, and the other Popish Writers, have spared no Pains, no Subtilties or Distinctions, to prove that the Title of *Universal Bishop* was condemned and rejected by *Gregory*, in a quite different Sense from that in which it was assumed by *Boniface*, and is borne to this Day by his Successors. The Name of *Universal Bishop*, say they, may be so understood as to import no more than a general Care of the Universal Church, in the Bishop who is distinguished with that Title: and in that Sense alone it was claimed by *Boniface*, and had never been condemned by *Gregory*. But besides that, it may have another very different Meaning, and be so understood, as if the Bishop, who is so styled, were the sole Bishop of all the Cities in Christendom, and the other Bishops were no longer true Bishops, but only the Vicars or Curates of his Holiness the *Universal Bishop*. In that Sense alone, say they, it was condemned by *Gregory*, and never assumed by *Boniface*, or any of his Successors. A pitiful Evasion indeed! which one would think had been rather calculated to expose than to defend the Cause. For, I. Who can be so absurd as to imagine, that it could ever have come into the Thoughts of any Emperor to grant, of any Bishop to accept, the Title of *Universal Bishop* in that Sense? To grant or accept it in that Sense had not been Heresy, but Madness. II. The Bishop of *Constantinople* styles himself to this Day *Universal Bishop*; and yet he does not look upon other Bishops only as his Vicars or Curates, but respects them as his Collegues and Fellow-Bishops. III. No Man can believe, that, when *Eulogius* of *Alexandria* offered the Title of *Universal Bishop* to *Gregory*, he thereby designed to degrade himself, to resign the Second Place of Honour in the Church, and to become the Pope's Vicar, or his Curate. And yet the Pope rejected his Offer with the greatest Indignation, as I have related above. IV. *Gregory* condemned that Title because it exalted the Bishop who assumed it, whether Bishop of *Rome* or *Constantinople*, above his Brethren; because it subjected all other Bishops to him, while he himself was subject to none; and of a Member made him the Head of the Church, and intitled him to a Power over all its Members, which was peculiar to Christ alone, and never assumed by any of the Apostles, no, not by St. *Peter* himself. These are the Reasons of *Gregory's* irreconcilable Aversion and Abhorrence to the Title of *Universal Bishop*.

^c Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. 2. c. 31.
p. 507, 508.

^d See above, p. 517.

^e See above,

Year of
Christ 607.

And from them it is manifest he condemned that Title, as implying an *Universal* Power and Jurisdiction over the Church; and consequently in the very Sense in which it was assumed by *Boniface*, and has been since notably improved by his Successors, as the World well knows.

Boniface
dies.

To return to *Boniface*: He died on the Tenth of *November* of the present Year, having enjoyed his Dignity only 8 Months, and 22 Days. I will not construe his being so soon cut off into a Judgment, for his antichristian Pride and Ambition; though I might with much better Reason than *Baronius* so construed the Death of the good Pope *Anastasius*, for his Christian Moderation, notwithstanding that Pope lived a whole Year longer than *Boniface*^f. Tho' *Boniface* deserved so well of the *Roman* See, that Church has not however thought fit to distinguish him with the Honour of Saintship. And indeed she could not well have sainted him, and not bestowed the same Honour on *Phocas*, the only Merit he had being common to him with that Tyrant.

It were to be wished the Successors of *Boniface* had been satisfied with the Title, which he procured them, and even with the Power, of *Universal Bishops*. But no sooner had they brought that Power to its highest Pitch; than they began to extend their Views, to join insensibly the Temporal to the Spiritual Power; nor did their boundless Ambition allow them, or the World, to enjoy any Rest till they got themselves acknowledged for *Universal Monarchs* as well as *Universal Bishops*, as we shall see in the Sequel of this History.

^f See above, p. 246.

The END of the SECOND VOLUME.





